

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VOL. XXXIV

JULY-SEPTEMBER 1988

No. 3

Subscription { Inland—Annual : Rs. 60.00, Single Copy : Rs. 20.00
Special No. (for Non-Subscribers): Rs. 50.00
Abroad—Annual: £10.00 or \$25.00. Single Copy: £3.00 or \$7.00

Special Number on Training in Public Administration : The Changing Perspectives

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EDITORIAL

THE BASIC character of Indian civil service, cast in the mould of Northcote-Trevelyan and Macaulay reports, has remained unchanged over the past 130 years. This has happened despite pressures from the masses during freedom movement and heralding of the democratic process in the radically changed social and political circumstances after independence. While concern emerging from failures in developmental thrusts has incessantly exposed more and more administrative inadequacies, most of our remedial attempts have terminated at gathering knowledge about systemic ailments. The various commissions/committees appointed at national and state levels, have, almost without fail, emphasised, among other things, the role of training.

In view of the urgency and compulsions of setting our administrative system right and chances of a comprehensive systemic 'overhaul' being somewhat slim, there is heavy reliance on training, particularly in-service training.

Training has enjoyed undiminished importance since the hoary past of our socio-cultural history--it peaked in institutionalising of Guru-Shishya Parampara not only among artists, artisans and practitioners of other professions but also in the field of administration.

The functions of a modern government have expanded in volume, scale and range. Public administration is the chosen instrument of development, and it must necessarily have within itself full range of skills and competences necessary to run a modern state. No less pressing is the need for new orientations and dispositions on the part of public functionaries of the land. The colonial background of Indian administration instilled the concept of a 'ruler' in a public functionary: in a democracy he must think of himself as a

The educational system of a country responds to these challenges but only in part. Skills and requirements of highly localised and specialised nature cannot be promoted from the traditional seats of learning. Nor is it desirable to load the general educational system of the land with instructions of highly specialised nature or localised in demand. Young men and women must be tested in broad areas of knowledge generally taught in universities of the country. As not all aspiring for jobs may hope to be recruited, those who do not succeed must not have reason to complain that they had to take instructions which imposed extra preparation for no purpose. Organisations must themselves provide for instructions unique to their requirements by organising appropriate skill-oriented and other training programmes. As such, there is no other alternative to training in order to fulfil the personnel objective of matching 'square' for a 'square' and a 'round' for a 'round'.

As the complexities of the developmental process expand, training gets growingly accepted as an integral component of development in all countries from First, Second or Third Worlds, even though level of their commitment to development and mode of its articulation may vary. Development entails increasing differentiation which highlights the need for training and enlarges its scope.

Training is also acquiring new urgency in view of great and rapid advances and the resultant equally faster pace of obsolescence in the fields of science and technology which inevitably affect most spheres of social life. With modern public administration's perforce rising reliance on computers and other aides, it would be very safe to speculate that retraining would become equally important in future as training.

Training indeed is a continuing process. It has to be repeated from time to time in view of the fast changes taking place in the society.

In the first article, V. Subramaniam provides a socio-political perspective on the theme of this number in its wide context analysing in the process: (a) causes of recent spurt of interest in this field, (b) evolution of traditional and modern techniques of training, and (c) current tendencies and problems. Before concluding his contribution, he also briefly discusses issues relating to: general disillusionment with the results flowing from training, especially with reference

of Public Administration; evaluating effectiveness of training; and problems of organising and controlling training by state for all skills and professions.

In the context of developmental challenges, R.B. Jain discusses fundamental questions on civil service training in India relating to its basic objectives, characteristic needs of administrators, form and content of training, etc. Besides identifying problem areas of training, he also suggests certain measures to enhance effectiveness of training, such as defining training objectives, outlining a training policy, strengthening programme of R&D for training, etc.

The next article by R.P. Slater and J.R. Watson gives a theoretical and scholarly interpretation of the changes that have come about at global level in the field of development management training. According to them, the first wave comprised teaching of management techniques and procedures, the second imparting knowledge through 'development studies' and the third 'capacity building' instead of mere transfer of knowledge under the preceding two waves. After discussing the profiles of the three waves, the authors give an account of the attempts made by the Development Administration Group (of the University of Birmingham and India's NIRD) to take micro-learning through field work in the area of training in rural development.

C.P. Bhambhri observes in his article that mismatch between theory and practice in training emerges because the premises of training are not in conformity with the expected practice of public administrators. To him, linkage between goals of society, role of administration and the capabilities of administration to achieve social goals is a critical issue in the operationalisation of a training programme of public administrators. After relating India's experience in training during the past four decades, he blames that our expectations from training programmes were based on wrong premises.

Ishwar Dayal deliberates on the methodologies being followed in civil service training in India at the entry-point, and the mid-career short-term (of four-week and one-week duration) programmes and the insights accruing therefrom for the benefit of the teacher.

M.S. Gurupadaswamy, while raising wider issues relating to efficacy of public administration in India in order to inspire trust and confidence of common man, demands that the

friend and guide and not as its adversary".

M.N. Buch feels that training function is presently being discharged with a mechanical approach which has caused suspicion about the relevance of training itself. He, therefore, suggests having a close look at the system of training in army and to draw lessons to make training more meaningful. Buch disfavours the system of sandwich course at the National Academy and wants it to be replaced by an intensive professional course. He, in fact, raises demand for having more specialised training institutions to meet the specific needs of different services. For incumbents of All India Services, he identifies stages of training at 5, 10, 15 years of service and also suggests a scheme of compulsory attachment to academic institutions and 'forced' sabbatical leave for two years with provisions of bypassing promotion and even compulsory retirement in case of those whose performance is not found up to the mark.

Mukul Sanwal, in the light of our experience, feels that an effective training design is to be based on requirements of the development paradigm to facilitate more meaningful interaction between governmental agencies as well as agencies and the public. He stresses the need for caution in transposing prescriptions from the field of private management, since the two differ both in process as well as the content. He also puts forward a set of propositions to argue that the training content for all levels of administrators should focus on organisational rather than functional needs in order to promote service as the new form of accountability. Sanwal also gives in his article an outline of a training design for Development Administration.

In view of the scepticism expressed against focused training courses even on subjects like public economics, Amaresh Bagchi raises and answers fundamental questions like 'should training be focused?' and 'what should it focus at?' confining his observation to in-service training alone. Bagchi's conclusion is that in-service training ought to be focused but there can be no real focus in trainings of a week or month's duration. He suggests that civil servants should be allowed and encouraged to take sabbatical for one or two years to pursue subjects of their interest in a specialised way in properly equipped institutions. For putting to practice their specialised knowledge acquired during training, he endorses the need to establish strong linkages between career

Pradip Bhattacharya writes on relevance of behavioural science inputs in training. He discusses psychological aspects involved in the learning process during training of civil servants--such as personal constructs, inner conflicts of trainees, their beliefs and behaviour systems, etc.--which get further complicated, according to him, due to lack of clarity in training goals.

B.C. Muthayya focuses on the problem of energising motivation of trainees during training as he feels that the aim of training should be to improve the competence of the people in organisations in order to manage the changing job demands. He also discusses the concept of 'trainability' which is conceived as the degree to which officer participants are able to learn and apply the material emphasised in the training programme and is a function of trainees' ability and motivation. He follows up his discussion on conceptual issues with the insights gained in this regard during NIRD's training programmes, particularly on policy analysis for agricultural management and rural development.

Bata K. Dey, besides presenting a framework of developmental challenges and role and nature of training, discusses issues relating to career management in India. In addition to a discussion on the concepts, Dey deals with career stages, need for training at different levels, uniform promotion opportunities, career progress, etc. He favours a highly ambitious package of training programme for all levels of civil servants in the Central Government--from Cabinet Secretary to LDC (occasionally even peons). Dey wants such a learning system to be devised which analyses the work elements, the new job environment, the relationship patterns, the social network, behavioural dynamics and the total cultural perspective by realigning the attitudes, widening the horizon of outlook, and the apposite value-reinforcements.

Utpal K. Banerjee presents a comprehensive picture of training needs in the fast expanding area of computer applications in government, giving details about requirements in the field of natural resource management and application of computer technology for micro planning purposes in districts. Banerjee then takes up for discussion what is being done and what needs to be done to meet training needs emerging from these developments at the state and the district levels. Since training at these two levels pose formidable problems pertaining to access, he has suggested supplementing institu-

ing--possibly through AIMA and NIC--and training through self-learning. Among other useful ideas, Banerjee also gives a usable blueprint of such programme.

The next article is about training in the area of financial administration. In view of the fact that the traditional finance function in government is getting transformed into management finance function, K.L. Handa discusses training needs of government executives. He also presents the design and contents of such a course. Besides discussing relevant concepts and techniques of modern financial management, he also discusses the methodology of training most suited for the purpose. Handa argues that finance function being a service function, which runs through most other functions of management and plays an integrating role among them, improvement in its performance by the civil servants would have multiplier effect resulting in achievement of efficiency, economy, and productivity of operations.

P.D. Malaviya focuses on training of senior police officers. He considers the existing effort in the field as not relevant as it perpetuates dependence on physical force in carrying out police functions, particularly resorting to third-degree methods in interrogation. Though he admits that training institutions cannot do much except creating awareness and stimulating thinking, yet to facilitate success of reform efforts, training needs to be integrated with the entire systemic effort, according to him. He cautions trainers to keep in constant touch with reality. He also suggests a larger role to some training institutions through offering consultancy services to the police forces, in collaboration with established management consultants.

K.S. Shukla takes up the case of training for judicial officers, which, though recommended in one of Law Commission reports yet, is an area comparatively new and somewhat sensitive too. Among justifications of his argument, he mentions a judge's multiple tasks and his major roles, need to maintain his image in the minds of people, and variations that have come about in judicial methods. Shukla follows up the discussion by highlighting recommendations made in this regard in seminars, conferences, etc., to meet the training needs of judicial officers. Besides pre-entry training, these include in-service training through short-term courses, workshops, and conferences.

first considered seriously only in 1963. He discusses in detail the efforts that have been made to institutionalise training in Calcutta's CMDA, ILGUS (which covers municipal bodies and various other authorities in West Bengal), and Calcutta Municipal Corporation's Training Centre. Bhattacharya also discusses the training needs in this area as identified by IIM, Calcutta. Among issues involved in training for urban management, he discusses conditions of training, course development (including one for civic leaders), support system, locating and grooming of training faculty and course evaluation. In view of the nature of training in the area, Bhattacharya recommends that training should ideally be the integral part of career management plan in an organisation.

Due to their nature and sheer size (in terms of investment, employment, etc.) and compulsion of buoying up productivity, training assumes deep significance in public undertakings. O.P. Minocha, therefore, argues for adoption of a systematic approach in these bodies in: identification of training needs, selection of proper methods of training, relating training to jobs and promotions, establishing collaboration with educational institutes for training, provision of educational facilities to employees, etc. Minocha lays particular stress on paying special attention to programmes of executive development and management development in these organisations.

K. Trivikram's focus is on the new training plan of the Prime Minister and the experience of Institute of Public Enterprise at Hyderabad in carrying out training of one-week and four-week durations for IAS officers under the new plan. He gives details regarding programme design, course content and materials, methodology, arrangements made, and evaluation of these programmes in his discussion.

V.R. Gaikwad discusses the present and the future needs of training in agricultural administration in view of the importance of agriculture in development, more particularly its linkage with industry. He surveys the efforts made in the past in the area before identifying present and future training needs in this crucial sector. Gaikwad emphasises the need for training programmes for higher and middle level administrators in this sector on topics like market analysis, organisational analysis, impact analysis, and constraint analysis.

Management at Anand in providing relevant management training in the field of rural development. The IRMA, set up primarily for this purpose, has been conducting a two-year residential post-graduate programme in rural management, short-term in-service training programmes for managers of rural producers' organisations, besides consultancy and conceptual and field based empirical research on processes of rural management. Shah gives the necessary details to depict the nature and character of these activities, more particularly its unique two-year programme.

Mukavilli Seetharam, in the next article, also writes about training of rural development personnel. Giving an account of evolution of training in this area since the days of community development movement, he informs us about the enormity of clientele (levels of BDOs, Extension Officers, VLWs, concerned bank personnel, etc.), number of centres of training available, etc. He then treats separately the effort that is being made to meet the training needs of personnel in these categories. Seetharam also discusses the measures taken to improve training faculty, training content and follow up. According to him, value orientation and attitudinal change are two crucial facets which have not found a proper place in rural development training. He favours vertical mix of trainees in training programmes and pleads for its integration with other processes of personnel administration.

M.V.N. Rao informs us about what is being done to meet the specific training needs of personnel engaged in enforcement of law of the land on customs and central excise with a futuristic perspective. Training in this area of government activity has gained importance from the angle of mobilisation of resources for developmental needs, checking highly sophisticated activity of smuggling in of dangerous drugs, etc., besides reasons of having an efficient system of tax administration. Among the challenging areas in the field of training, Rao mentions about urgency of adoption of latest computer-based technology, and linkage of growth of the department with that of industry and trade. Rao also discusses briefly the measures that have been undertaken to re-structure the department, especially in respect of strengthening of its unit for training keeping in view the needs even of 21st century.

S.K. Pachauri, in his piece, stresses the need to develop

during their training to promote national integration.

Ashok Ranjan Basu discusses the experience of a State training institute in civil service training. Writing about Himachal's STI, he describes its structure, faculty, contents of training, methodology, its linkages with other training institutions, research programmes, evaluation, facilities, etc. Basu also discusses details of a suggested training policy for the state before concluding his article.

Next three articles present a comparative perspective on civil service training and provide an idea about what is happening in Africa (with focus on Nigeria), France (from Europe), and Sri Lanka (from Asia).

I.B. Bello-Imam, after a brief survey covering training in Africa as a whole, writes on training effort in Nigeria bracketed in different periods. He discusses the role of different training institutions, in promoting efficiency in government, assess the effectiveness of present training effort and analyses prospects in future.

France is a country with richest traditions in training and its reverence for training is almost reverential. France has drawn a very comprehensive plan of training for the newly recruited candidates to its various corps. The seriousness with which it is undertaken is of an unusual order. Shriram Maheshwari, with a penetrating exploratory thrust, examines and evaluates the training philosophy and arrangements in France.

H.S. Wanasinghe gives the background, present context and future prospects of civil service training in Sri Lanka. According to him, two basic problems affecting training of development managers in that country are: (1) non-recognition of public administration as a distinct profession with its special demands of knowledge, expertise and attitudes; and (2) inadequate appreciation of the increasing level of sophistication and complexity of the development process and its tasks which the administrative system is required to manage. But he concludes on an optimistic note admitting a growing realisation to institutionalise changes as is evidenced by setting up of an Administrative Reforms Committee in that country now.

S.N. Sadasivan, in this issue's last article on NAA's foundational course, gives the background of setting up of NAA, and the dynamics of conduct of foundational course there. The prime objective of the course was to promote

which could not be adequately fulfilled. He discusses, in this contexts, the factors leading to indiscipline among the probationers, denial of due status to teaching faculty, etc.

Besides 29 articles, the issue also carries a section on documents where useful material on the theme has been reproduced from a number of reports (Indian as well as foreign) for the benefit of the readers.

In the last section, a bibliography on training has been given to serve the needs of our readers interested in research on the theme.

We are grateful to the authors and the compiler of bibliography for their contributions on the theme which, besides causing contemporary concern, is also of enduring significance. Despite our efforts and intentions, there exist some gaps and few instances of overlap of ideas in the coverage of the theme. These limitations notwithstanding, we hope that our enlightened readers will find the contents of this issue of some use and interest.

Civil Service Training : A Socio-Historical Perspective

V. SUBRAMANIAM

THE RESOURCES and attention devoted to training in public as well as business administration have increased phenomenally in the post-World War II decades. But the basic ethos and modes of training consist partly of an inheritance from the 18th and 19th century France and Prussia on which are superimposed the new techniques devised by American management in this century. It is necessary to understand the causes for this new increased emphasis on training and also the combination of traditional West European and modern American techniques to make sense of the paradoxes, problems, hopes and frustrations associated with civil service training at present. This brief enquiry, therefore, falls naturally into three sections discussing three basic issues namely: (i) the causes of the recent boom in civil service training, (ii) a brief account of the evolution of traditional and modern techniques in training, and (iii) the current tendencies and problems in training.

RECENT BOOM AND ITS CAUSES

The good number and variety of institutions devoted to training at all levels all over the world are the visible symbols of its importance.¹ At the international level, the United Nations for Training and Research (UNITAR), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Labour Organisation and several such organisations promote training through research, seminars, conferences, loaning of experts and the like. Indeed there is no United Nations agency, global or regional, be it the World Bank or ECAFE or ECLA, that is not involved directly or indirectly in training. At the academic level, again, the various national institutes and schools of administration meet and work together as the International Association of the Schools and Institutes of Administration. At the national level, almost every country has its national training school or institute; in federal countries, like

India, almost every constituent state has its training school; there are again joint institutes of management for both business and government; and richer municipalities in richer countries have already begun to establish such institutes individually or jointly. In business and industry, in North America, there is again an unprecedented boom in training courses offered internally by firms and externally by consultants using every modern communication technique available. It becomes clear that this process gathered momentum only during the post-war decades when we compare it with the conspicuous paucity of training institutions before the war. As we probe into its causes, we note that it is not due to any single reason but rather to a convergence of several related factors.

The war itself generated great optimism about the potentialities of training mainly based on the success of various short-term training programmes in the US army. These tapped the rich unexplored potential of thousands of ordinary American soldiers but the optimism was rather exaggerated, based as it was on the experience with sharply focused limited training programmes in specific skills for specific objectives.

But the really potent provocation came with a string of events starting with the dissolution of the British and French colonial empires and a worldwide commitment to economic and overall development. Thus, the British transfer of power to Indian hands, in 1947, started a worldwide process of decolonisation, in Asia and Africa, a process which neither the British nor the French had really prepared for, right till the mid 1940s. Particularly in Africa, this posed the problem of the total lack of trained administrators to take over. Independent African countries tackled it in two complementary ways--by retaining colonial civil servants and recruiting others from friendly countries on the one hand and by training junior Africans to take over--with increasing emphasis on the latter.² Indeed the dependence on training as a panacea, was and still is characteristic of most African countries in the post colonial era.

There was a complementary reaction to this in the metropolitan capitals. The administrative unpreparedness of the former colonies partly generated feelings of guilt and shame leading to an eagerness to help with administrative training as part of an overall aid package. Both London and Paris, set up their overseas development Ministries to help training--an Institute of Development Studies (Sussex), and an Institut Internationale d'Administration Publique in Paris--and in general began active training programmes for administrators from their former colonies.³ This was greatly beneficial particularly to Britain where civil service training had generally been neglected in comparison with France and Germany. The

new assumed obligation to train administrators from her former colonial empire was the real provocation for serious modern training initiatives for the Home civil service in Britain.

The decolonisation process that started in the mid 1940s also coincided with, and triggered off several other developments focusing attention on training. Briefly, decolonisation led indirectly to a substantial reorganisation of the economies of the metropolitan countries of Britain and France and of Europe in general on the one hand and total commitment to the religion of development on the part of their former colonies. Both these developments led to greatly increased emphasis of training in the civil services. Thus Britain and France entered an era of growing public enterprise for reasons not necessarily consequent on decolonisation which, however, by turning attention away from colonial government, directed it inwards at their own economies.⁴ The nationalisation of several industries raised the problem of training civil servants in industrial management. This was very soon followed by the gradual establishment of the European Economic Community, involving new areas of administration and cooperation, leading to European administrative staff colleges, exchange and interchange of ideas and personnel in training. Almost simultaneously, every west European country expanded its welfare expenditure establishing a modern welfare state--thereby increasing the size of the civil service in all directions in great diversity.

The double expansion of the administrative state into a welfare state and a European Economic Community, had a mixed impact on training. The state had absorbed and transformed several professions into bureaucracies but could not provide them their professional training; instead it got involved in initiating and controlling several types of professional training in institutions outside the government apparatus and directing the professional output of otherwise independent institutions like universities. Any discussion of civil service training in the post-war years must take into account this wider involvement of the state through its manpower policies.⁵

Training assumed super-importance in the newly independent former colonies particularly in Africa for several reasons. We have already noted how they were ill prepared for independence in terms of trained African personnel to take over and looked to crash programmes of training to solve this problem. A second dimension was added to this by their commitment to development and a concurrent thesis that the new type of administration called development administration, was totally different from the earlier colonial law and order administration, thus involving a new mode of training and new schools and institutes of administration to provide this type of training.⁶ At

the same time, an important aspect of the new administration was defined as political sensitivity and mass contact, ultimately legitimising a certain degree of politicisation of administration.⁷

Another series of developments originated from the United States, mainly from American business and industry, undergoing their spurt of expansion soon after the World War II. Their need for more middle managers coincided with the new emphasis on managerial decision making in academic studies and led to a rapid expansion in management education in universities and colleges. The old case study method was consequently modernised into a conditioning experiment for various decision and conflict situations with in-baskets and management games and the like. A large and new package of mathematical tools was added simultaneously to actual managerial decision-making and managerial training inside corporations as well as in universities. In fact, management education changed unrecognisably in the 1950s and it was simultaneously correlated with increasing American productivity and an ultra-prosperous new class called uppies (young urban professionals) in American as well as European minds, giving rise to some interesting developments in mutual imitation and research. The Europeans and the Russians envied and wanted to imitate the Americans who in turn envied and tried to replicate Japanese successes in management performance and management training. Both these developments have been well documented and indeed over-documented.

Briefly, the mid 1960s witnessed an exaggerated admiration for American management amounting to a fear of being swallowed--on the part of the West Europeans⁸--as they were going through a frustrating period of stagnation, in the EEC and a new open but qualified acknowledgment of the importance of management education in the Soviet Union, all counterbalanced comically enough by an American obsession with the success of Japanese management.⁹ American European contacts gave rise to a lot of exploratory and inconclusive literature on the relation of culture and management, though they sharpened their awareness to the cultural component of management behaviour.¹⁰ By the 1970's European enthusiasm for American management education reached a plateau as they began to rediscover the values in their own tradition. But the Soviet leadership's commitment to management by the mid 1960's was more total though they added several caveats about laundering it free from capitalist taints.¹¹ Consequently, there is management training at all levels in several places, in the party (CPSU), in the factories and offices and in university institutions.¹² By contrast, American fascination with Japanese management has not apparently affected management education though it has generated piles of research literature.

Last but not the least, comes the influence of peripatetic American academics and United Nations consultants in publicising the virtues of administrative and management training all over the world. As part of an American or United Nations aid package, they went to various Third World countries, began to explore the need for development administration, came back with their lessons and frustrations, thus generating a full cycle with feedback through which the importance of training was publicised widely, leading to greater involvement of United Nations bodies and American Universities in Third World management education.¹³ Equally importantly, the budding cult of management as a cure-all for the world's problems received a boost from such world wide involvement.¹⁴

To sum up, administrative and management training received increasing international attention due to a convergence of several factors briefly discussed above. But whether this increased attention has produced commensurate results is an open question. To put it somewhat sweepingly, management training has turned innovative, productive and receptive in a big way, but civil service training, in spite of considerable experimenting, seems to have produced more frustrations than achievements both in the First and the Third worlds.

EVOLUTION OF TRADITIONAL AND OF MODERN TRAINING TECHNIQUES

Training for a lifelong role rather than a specific job was the norm in traditional societies and a role often based on birth in a caste, tribe or some level of society, involved either manual work or leadership roles with social obligations. As the main societal objective was stability and continuity, the chief method of training was apprenticeship or education by continuous contact, learning by observation and imitation of a teacher or Guru. In this integral process called simple apprenticeship for skilled manual work or 'Gurukulavasa' for more complex roles, the 'transmission' of knowledge, skills, aptitudes and motivation was a total package, not fully understood and analysed by either teacher or pupil and hence the aura of mystery and reverence that surrounded it. To preserve the seriousness of the process, several 'admission ceremonies' were enacted, called 'samskaras' or initiations. This basic mode still informs to some extent management and administrative training.

A complementary method, involving peer group influence, was evolved by monkish orders in India and later in Europe. Thus, the Buddhist Sangha evolved rules of communal discipline and governance, in a democratic basis for all monastic establishments--thus making the peer group responsible for mutual training and collective decision on all but the fundamentals of Dhamma.¹⁵ Saint Benedict's

rule was a little more hierarchical but used peer group pressure more consciously for training. The Benedictine rule was based on the clear assumption that individual monks cannot fight the devil and needed the mutual support of a community of monks.¹⁶ The authority of the abbot was firm but was modified by his obligation to consult all monks in the abbey before making a decision. The Jesuit order improved on these two traditional methods by using more formal methods of "conditioning behaviour" well ahead of Pavlov, Watson and Skinner.

Modern bureaucracy was fashioned in the 18th century in France by Louis XIV and Napoleon and in Prussia by the three great Protectors--in both cases as an instrument of absolute monarchy to wipe out feudalism and to establish centralised control while British landed aristocracy resisted its emergence and ultimately accepted it by the mid 19th century on its own conditions.¹⁷ These differing historical contexts governed the shape and colour of civil service training in the British and continental systems. The French and Prussian rulers had to fashion an efficient loyal administrative elite to transform a society with its feudal remnants into a modern industrial society and hence they set much store by training--to give them initiative and keep them above and in control of the society they had to transform. The training, thus, developed both an educational and psychological dimension as it evolved. 18 Both in France and Germany, legal studies formed the basis of training though its form and schedule differed in the two countries. Psychologically, long and fairly expensive legal studies ensured the recruitment of the offspring of families who could afford it, the mental discipline involved in deferred gratification and a gatekeeping initiating function or *samskara*. This was buttressed by continued peer group influence during the long periods of study and service. Functionally, legal studies were closer to government administration in Western Europe as the administrative process was based heavily on law--as European society emerged from a system of feudal obligations into a law-based state through the stage of absolute monarchy. Moreover, legal studies in Western Europe, unlike in Britain, were not purely case oriented but came to absorb a sizable area of social sciences.

While the broad legal education basis was common to France and Prussia (and indeed for other West European states as well later). Prussia developed a more sharply oriented frame of administrative training by: (i) close state coordination with universities establishing chairs of 'cameralism', (ii) by interspersing university legal studies with state service over a period of six years or so, and (iii) breeding a special ethos in the trainees for the service of the state. This state university coordination of civil service

training has continued as a basic feature with marginal changes in the post-war years. Together with this, West Germany established after the war a general civil service Academy called Hochschule Fur Verwaltungswissenschaften, Speyer, for general training and research.¹⁹ In France, however, the state under Napoleon took the initiative in creating engineering schools for the army and the civil service but training for the Grands Corps was piecemeal. It was reorganised and integrated later mainly through the newly established Fondation de Science Politique at the University of Paris before the turn of the century, even while the legal basis of training continued. In fact, the training of France's colonial service was better organised and integrated through L'Ecole coloniale from 1904 and its three year study and training programme was the most intensive, second only to Germany's.²⁰ French civil service training for the Grands Corps was really integrated fully and firmly only after the World War II following various reforms of the civil service. De Gaulle brought the idea of a single administrative class from his British connection and the left wing reformers insisted on curbing the dominance of Fondation de Science Politique over civil service recruitment and training—all of which led to the establishment of the now famous Ecole Nationale d' Administration (ENA) for training the Grands Corps.²¹

By contrast, the British steadfastly refused to take civil service training too seriously till well after the World War II for reasons embedded in their socio-political evolution.²² The landed aristocracy, which dominated British politics, 'administered' the country till the mid 19th century through decentralisation and voluntary service based on a gentleman-amateur ethic, and refused steadfastly to create a 'bureaucracy' they loathed. When they ultimately realised the necessity of a bureaucracy, it was structured on the basis of the gentleman ethic. The ethic glorifying common sense and generalist ability was already cultivated by birth and family upbringing and schooling. As a result, British civil service training was minimal consisting of rotation from department to department and brief periods at the college on Henley-on Thames created originally for the Indian Civil Service.

All this became more explicit in connection with the British Colonial Service, dominated for more than quarter of a century by Sir Ralph Furse. He expressed a deliberate preference for the offspring of landed families and more particularly for those trained in the public schools.²³ As a corollary, he and his recruits believed firmly that all training for general administrative leadership was completed in the public schools.²⁴

As a result of these general socio-historical factors, training

was generally given stepmotherly treatment till after the World War II. Close collusion with De Gaulle led to some mutual exchange of ideas and some interest in French devotion to the training. Decolonisation as we noted, led to an obligation to provide civil service training to administrators from former colonies and this shamed the metropole to organise its own training.²⁵ Moreover, civil service reform was much in the air and ultimately, civil service colleges were established at Ascot and Edinburgh.

American attitudes to civil service training were casual for a long time for a different set of reasons. President Andrew Jackson's dictum that the duties of public office were simple enough for any ordinary citizen to learn them in a short time, ruled out any apparatus for in-service training. Ultimately, when civil service reforms started with the Pendleton Act, and continued with a vigorous reform movement, the US civil service accepted the ethos of detailed position classification and job description under the influence of Taylorism. This shifted the emphasis to specialised recruitment rather than general in-service training. The advocacy for an American version of the "Administrative Class" by academics, like Professor Leonard White had little impact on civil service training. Even President Roosevelt's induction of academics into his New Deal Administration, had only a marginal effect. The American training revolution had to wait till after the World War II, even as the ground was being prepared at the prestigious business schools of America, like that of Harvard.

The War demonstrated the great possibilities of training 'soldiers' in various skills and buttressed the basic American democratic assumption that anybody can be 'trained' to do anything by proper methods. But the training revolution was triggered off by several factors simultaneously. First was the pressing need to train an unprecedented number of people for new positions in the rapidly expanding and changing American post-war economy. Second came a number of advances in learning techniques based on psychology, experimentation and simple common sense, straight and simple ones, such as programmed learning, and faster reading—moresophisticated motivational techniques, such as those of McLelland. Introduction of television, videotape and computer made all such techniques applicable to a wider audience. The third factor was the redefinition of administration and management as decision-making or policy making. As a corollary, it redefined administrative training as: (i) the development of general overarching mental capabilities, and (ii) education in the use of rational choice methodology. The former brought in more psychological techniques and the latter blossomed into the expanding repertoire of the mathematical tools of management

training. The American postwar advances in training revolutionised it.

To sum up; for centuries, training was based on the old methods, straight instruction and reverential reception for transmission of explicit knowledge and peer group manipulation for tacit knowledge. Ortega Y. Gasset's wry comments on both are much to the point; where there is plenty of explicit knowledge to transmit, the problem is to discover more efficient means of transmission; where explicit knowledge is scarce or arcane and tacit knowledge is more important, the transmission is either through subtle means, like peer group influence or through final initiation after long apprenticeship.²⁶ For several centuries, administration was considered an 'art' based on tacit knowledge and hence the traditional modes were indirect; with a lot more 'scientific' or at least specific knowledge to transfer in the post-war period, attention has concentrated on new methods and new techniques. The advocates of the old and new methods now work together in some sort of uneasy equilibrium.

CURRENT TENDENCIES AND PROBLEMS IN TRAINING

We will now look briefly at four major issues that are discussed frequently in connection with training. First comes a general disillusionment with the results of training in the civil services, particularly in the Third World countries, in spite of the continuing expansion of training facilities in most of them.²⁷ This expresses itself as a vague general dissatisfaction in different ways; that training has not changed the trainee very much or that he has forgotten all about it when he gets back into the stride of daily work or that training has not motivated the trainee into a more developmental or democratic frame of mind and in several other ways. There is some truth in all these accounts but a basic factor in the dissatisfaction is the exaggerated expectation from the training process, without reference to the socio-cultural context. An extreme example is that of Zambia, where in the early 1970s nearly a dozen agencies were involved in some area or aspect of training, in a confused competition,²⁸ mainly because of a well intentioned hurry to make for time lost during colonial rule. The situation was ultimately brought under control by the late 1970's with the creation of a special office.²⁹

• Civil service training, even when it is of a purely technical nature, cannot be divorced from the constituent society in which it is conducted. West European and American societies are *gesellschaft* societies in which most social organisations and even families take on some characteristics of bureaucracy. Hence the adjustment to

civil service bureaucracies by the new recruit is already half achieved before entry. In the *gemeinschaft* societies of the Third World such pre-entry socialisation is ruled out; instead, the recruit is first trained into a rational modernising ethos and is later expected to interact democratically at the *gemeinschaft* interface of society in such a way as to modernise it gradually. This dual obligation is part of the burden of the "derivative middle class" in general and specifically so of the recruits drawn from it into civil service.³⁰ It is a tall order and it is so too much to expect any training process to achieve it wholly. It is good to keep on trying but it is better to bear in mind the limitations of training.

Critics usually point to the successes claimed by American management training. To set it in perspective, we should remember that it has comparatively more specific goals with specific methods in comparison with the very broad goals of civil service training. Secondly, American management itself has become self critical in the face of the aggressive successes of Japanese management. Thirdly, West Europeans once dazzled by American management training have realised the appropriateness of keeping intact much of their own legal training.

The second common issue, discussed more in the USA, is the content of training or rather the relevance of University teaching of Public Administration in this regard.³¹ The post-war decades witnessed an increasingly closer liaison of university Public Administration departments and civil service training. Though there has been much soul searching in the last decade about this, yet a fundamental question is not too well discussed in public. Wherever the liaison is close, it is through a school of Public Administration which begins to cater to special training needs rather than tackle basic questions of academic enquiry. Conversely, civil service elite show less sympathy with academic establishments that have a strong critical orientation. This ambivalent relationship acquired a new dimension soon after American universities started developing schools and institutes of public policy both for research and training. This has brought Public Administration faculties much closer to civil service training in the USA than in any other country so much so that American academics equate the two. At the same time, it has banished important critical aspects in the study of the subject. This topic by itself deserves a much more detailed discussion for which this article is scarcely the place.

Thirdly, considerable attention has been devoted to evaluate the effectiveness of training but in most cases the methods adopted are all too simple. A popular method is to measure the attitudes of the trainees themselves at the end of the course with a questionnaire.

This is a limited measure of the trainee's satisfaction but not the course's effectiveness. Comparing the performance report of the trainee before and after training goes a step further but not far enough. It is more useful to test the acquisition of specific skills rather than any increase in general capacities. All told too, much should not be expected from such efforts at evaluation.

Last but not the least comes the problem of the modern State committed through its enveloping manpower policies to organise and control training for all skills and professions and the spectre of retraining as skills become outdated and unwanted in a fast-changing economy. This is a problem for which even the best governments are poorly prepared, considering that they have barely begun to control civil service training. It raises moral questions of individual choice, the increasing interdependence of education and economy and the 'overload' of obligations on an 'etatized society' which need deeper and more detailed discussion than this brief note can attempt.

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The Third Wave and Training in Development Management.

R.P. SLATER AND J.R. WATSON

THIS ARTICLE adapts Toffler's famous analogy to suggest that it is time for a third wave in public service management training in the developing world. It describes the first two waves, analysing these in terms of the debates in economics, sociology and especially anthropology which did much to influence training practice.

Modernisation theory was the source of many of the management techniques and procedures, many quasi-quantitative, that are taught today. The second wave, of "development studies", had its origins on the far shore of the loosely Marxist analysis of production relations. The belief that the rate and form of internal development depended upon such relations left a mark, both on the economic and social investigation of development and upon the training of a generation of administration and management students. It is still possible today, in the curriculum of many management training institutions in the First and Third Worlds (and not inconceivably, the second), to find first and second waves in uneasy co-existence: a student moves between PPBS, economic appraisal or critical paths on the one hand and dependency theory or modes of production on the other.

It is equally possible to find that a significant number of the graduates of such institutions emerge, not unskilled in the knowledge they have been taught but uncertain to the point of confusion about its relevance and operationality in the world to which they are about to return.

Hence the emergence of a third wave; a move from the transfer of knowledge or skill to, in Honadle and Hannah's term, "capacity building": training people to find their own solutions to management problems rather than imposing external ideas upon them.¹ Finding solutions may well involve adopting the concepts and techniques of the first and second waves; but it should be a discriminating adoption and one conscious of the need to adjust, modify and tailor to meet the situation of the user.

The article concludes with a discussion of one model for third wave training in the public sector, developed by the author's institution in collaboration with NIRD, Hyderabad.

MODERNISATION THEORY AND TRAINING

Although the modernisation debate had many roots, social anthropology made a particularly persuasive contribution. Parsonian theory postulated that the need of a society to reproduce itself gave rise to structural determinants, the basis of pattern variables--that is, the range of choices and roles within a society. Change meant the development of greater levels of which in turn required the adaptation of pattern variables. These ideas were disseminated through the works of, amongst others, Rostow, Hoselitz and Eisenstadt.² Modernisation theorists began to characterise certain pattern variables as modern and others as **regressive**. Development meant a move towards modern roles, choices and values, which would replace the traditional features of particularism, diffusion and ascription; thus society would be transformed, to use a term then current. Further, transformation could be trained for through the transfer of modern concepts and skills.

The debate had considerable appeal to those involved in public service training, not least because many management skills could be neatly packaged, duplicated and imparted in almost any location, whether London or Lagos. Indeed the very part-numerate nature of the techniques, whether in project appraisal or planning/programming/budgeting, emphasised their universality. Meanwhile, anthropologists and sociologists were commissioned to identify the pattern variables--customs, cultural attitudes, taboos or rituals--that might hinder the business of transformation.

The consequences of modernisation are now reasonably well understood: for example, the urban master plan concept, developed in the west, which was peddled indiscriminately to planners, architects and engineers from developing countries. As Baross and Martinez³ point out, urban planning and managerial techniques operated by hundreds of professionals in the West were expected to be replicated by a handful of staff in cities throughout the developing world. In the rural sector, massive development programmes, that had passed every test project analysts' ingenuity could devise, failed or stumbled because the tests had failed to allow for a family's preference for a safe food supply rather than cash. De Wilde⁴ chronicles many of the problems that the programmes of the period encountered.

Knowledge Generation Through Development Studies

The difficulties inherent in modernisation led considerable rethinking in the mid-1960's. In the case of the social sciences, this joined with a more general radicalism to produce an interpretation, which can only be described as loosely Marxist, of the relationship between development and underdevelopment. In pursuit of this enquiry, a major debate emerged around the nature of the production relationships which, so it was said, had been shaped by the early encounter of non-capitalist and capitalist forces on the periphery. Some social scientists argued that this encounter led inevitably to forms of private ownership, wage labour, investment and extended reproduction. Others argued that fundamental differences between western capitalism and incipient capitalism in the periphery, generated by the conditions of colonial commoditisation and the expropriation of surplus, all served to underwrite a specific colonial or post-colonial production system.⁵ Whatever the case, small armies of western researchers were deployed in the field, engaged in the validation of the various theoretical assumptions. This stimulating but rarefied debate fired the imagination of academics within the developing world. Daniel Thorner's translation of the Russian neo-populist work of Chayanov was taken up with passion in India.⁶ A number of farm management studies were conducted in an attempt to disprove the Chayanovian notion of demographic as opposed to economic differentiation. Meanwhile, another group of researchers, drawing upon work undertaken in West Africa, maintained that traditional structures were subject to both "conservation and dissolution", giving rise to the notion of 'articulation' between the different modes of production. Much of this work was the preserve of the French Marxist anthropological school of Terray, Reay, Godelier and Meillassoux.⁷

Why should this debate have had such a profound influence on management training? One answer is that the contributors--and especially a few influential individuals--did indeed seem to be offering new and different insights into the problems of getting development done. Perhaps the answer to the continued failure of government projects and programmes really did lie, not in better techniques but in an improved understanding of, say, urban bias or capitalist relationships. Equally important, however, were training relationships, internationally and within developing countries themselves. Whereas the private sector sought training (if indeed it valued it at all) within the ambit of the business schools, a different recipe was increasingly sought for the public sector. Universities, preferably abroad, which offered highly desirable working conditions with a degree at the end and which enjoyed special

relationships with funding agencies, were thought especially suited to administrative training. Perhaps most important, they were the proper place for that fundamental characteristic of the second wave, the transfer of knowledge rather than skills or techniques. The greater the university's contribution to development knowledge the more prestigious it was; the more prestigious it was the more senior the public servant it attracted.

Course contents began to reflect the new orthodoxy as training institutions geared themselves up to deliver the new radicalism. At the Bouwcentrum, for example, Baross and Martinez suggest that subjects, such as appropriate technology, indigenous knowledge, the informal sector and marginalisation began to appear on the curriculum side by side with the residues of the first wave. Trainers from developing countries returned home to reorientate their curricula and teaching materials.⁸

It is important to note however that content might have changed or at least been augmented, but training methods remained the same: essentially a business for ivory towers. Although some foreign experts were prepared to brave tropical heat in their quest for knowledge and provision of advice, indeed some positively promoted physical hardship and disease as part of their training credentials, the location of training remained firmly in the centrally heated or air conditioned seminar room. In retrospect, many might agree that too much time and energy was expended in the task of identifying processes of change and too little on subsequent prescription. Too much discussion was couched in terms of policy alternatives in the belief that every student had a minister's baton in his knapsack. There was a distinct lack of interest on the part of the trainers in the real political, social and financial world within which their students ultimately had to live and work. The result very often was that managers returned partially equipped to produce an instant theoretical critique but with little added value in the realm of their ability to manage.

From Macro-Theory to Micro-Learning

However, the researchers' labour had not been entirely in vain. An increasing body of published material began to question a number of basic theoretical assumptions. These findings suggested that the discrepancies between theory and the economic and social reality encountered during fieldwork might have a good deal to do with the specific character of local processes, patterns and behaviour; and that this character might indeed possess a degree of internal independence and cohesion. Work based in South Africa

substantiated this point, suggesting the need for empirical study designed to explore the complexity of local adaptation and innovation. Friedmann, Kahn and others emphasised the strength of the household production enterprise which has neither been transformed by an all encompassing capitalist State nor subordinated into the role of a "disguised proletariat"¹³.

While critics defended the orthodox theories of structural change, branding their opponents as neo-populist (Chayanovian) idealists, their attack appeared to be as much aimed at the dangers of empiricism as at the theoretical debate itself. Indeed, what anthropologists revealed at field level was immediately interpreted as the product of false consciousness brought on by excessive exposure to social reality. The empirical delusions of anthropologists were nevertheless sufficiently robust to withstand the course of time and eventually crystallised around a type of Chayanovian modification which became more acceptably known as the petty commodity model.

The implications for research work were clear. No longer was the objective a grand theory of development; explanations or part explanations would have to be sought in remote villages or hamlets. This may have been an uncomfortable thought for the researchers, some of whom had developed a taste for the peace and tranquillity of the colonial history stacks; it was an equally uncomfortable realisation for time-constrained trainers who were now exposed on two accounts. Firstly, the authority of their message was again in question. Secondly and more importantly, they had to begin to compile a new message and one which should involve some exposure to the field: micro-learning in other words.

As any regular "training watcher" will know, the impact upon public service management training has been both fascinating and alarming, depending upon the internal composition and orientation of the training institution in question. In the case of those institutions still dominated by the first, wave, there has been little change in strategy; whilst the technology has become more sophisticated, particularly in its ability to cope with social as well as economic problems, there has been little attempt to break out of the mould that derives from modernisation theory. As far as donors are concerned, these institutions, at least in the developed world, retain their value since they are generally responsive to the tender call and eager to engage in an overseas contract.

Second wave institutions, adapting to micro-learning, have found themselves becoming increasingly polarised and personalised. A number of individuals with substantial field experience have

in great demand on the international consultancy circuit. The opportunity to assess, advise and prescribe, but not for too long, is much coveted by the development expert. Consultancy coupled with the other demands of academic life leaves little room for the mill of long training courses, which have perforce to be left to junior staff or external speakers. Another tendency is to build into training courses large quantities of descriptive field material in economics, sociology or management, often termed case studies, in the search for relevance. Another is for part or all of the course to become a tourist trip for staff and students alike. This is most commonly reflected in the orthodox field project or field visit; essentially a guided tour, where participants are shepherded around places or projects in developed or developing countries, on the assumption that a brief visit and a briefer discussion is all that is needed to develop an individual's capacity to plan and manage.

The remainder of this article describes a specific attempt to take micro-learning through field work which goes beyond the guided tour. The essential elements of the approach are: (1) location, the choice of the right kind of area; (2) careful structuring of the field experience; and (3) integration of that experience within the course as a whole. Location is crucial; field experience needs to be close enough to a trainee's own experience to be meaningful but different enough to stimulate enquiry; structuring is crucial in that field work needs to produce results in the form of improved understanding; integration is crucial in that the outcome of the field work, whether materials collected or the shared experience as a whole can actually make technology transfer or understanding transfer more effective.

Field Training in Rural Development: The Birmingham/NIRD Approach

The Development Administration Group of the University of Birmingham and the National Institute of Rural Development at Hyderabad are now in the sixth year of a collaborative programme of rural development training, sponsored by the Government of India and the British Council. The micro-learning approach, which is central to the programme, has its origins on both sides in a long standing commitment to field research and its role in shaping the content and style of training.

The methodology employed has its roots, at least on the Birmingham side, in Sudan where in 1979 the in-country field project was first established as a training vehicle. Course participants undertook a structured investigation of rural development problems--in the first

for use with administrators and managers.¹⁴

A separate but perhaps equally important development was a series of training workshops which were held in India in the early 1980s whose purpose was the collaborative development of and training in guidelines for planning and management. A workshop in Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh, held in collaboration with the project planning cell of the NIRD, was designed as a short in-service training course for district level officers. Although a number of topics were covered, the major thrust was on development of techniques for concurrent evaluation which would be of value to district level staff operating within severe manpower and time constraints.

This approach was developed further in a series of in-service training workshops for the Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation over the period 1981-84. The Corporation, charged by the State Government with the production of guidelines for IRDP evaluation, collaborated with Birmingham in the development of the necessary procedures. The emphasis was once again on simple low-cost data collection and management methods. The guidelines, drafted in advance of the workshops, were tested by course participants who applied them to IRDP beneficiaries in selected villages. They were subsequently published by the Corporation.¹⁵ The emphasis was on brevity and practicability, highlighting the need for small samples, limited information and quick analysis. The major characteristic of the method was its do-it-yourself approach based on a carefully planned procedural progression.¹⁶

The work in Gujarat served to consolidate a number of basic principles: the need to train in conjunction with government and with the support of concerned officers in the field; the need to address the problems of an area small enough and over a period of time long enough to enable a measure of understanding to be gained; the need to focus upon procedures and techniques of practical value. These have been taken further and in a sense refined in our current collaborative course with NIRD.

Course members are drawn from a variety of backgrounds but primarily from the IAS, the Central Department of Rural Development, and officers from concerned departments in State governments. All are either directly or indirectly engaged in rural development management and are more especially concerned with the implementation of the IRDP.

Training is based on a two-country model, combining in-India and in-Britain components. The in-India component is divided into three phases. Initial background training is conducted at NIRD, followed

session. Field work is carried out in selected districts throughout India. During field work, participants study district level management prior to dispersing to representative blocks (sub-districts) and villages to interview field staff and carry out case studies of families receiving assistance from the poverty programmes. Emphasis is placed during this portion of the field work upon contact and interaction with resource-poor IRDP beneficiaries. Participants are encouraged to adopt anthropological style micro-study techniques and where possible to reside for short spells in or near survey villages.

One characteristic of this approach is the inability of most government officers to pose as a neutral 'anthropological' researcher; and indeed it would probably be undesirable. Villagers may have had a long and perhaps mixed relationship with government officers, while officers themselves may possess deeply ingrained notions, values and prejudices about the character of the villagers they meet. With appropriate planning, preparation and guidance, however, many of these problems can be overcome and the exercise accepted for what it is--an experiment in joint learning.

On return to NIRD, a draft report is prepared, which provides an opportunity for inputs on data interpretation, analysis and report presentation. The report analyses the management of the programme, summarises its case studies of individual households, and lays out a modified strategy for the district's future poverty alleviation programmes. This report itself is something of an innovation in its combination of training with consultancy.

The in-Britain component is designed to build upon the field experience, complementing it with a second exercise in Britain or Europe. The training currently focuses upon policy analyses; project planning and appraisal; and human resource management, which combines conventional approaches to personnel management with exposure to current thinking about management culture and behaviour. Experimentation is currently under way in the area of leadership, team building and motivation. Though, of course, a wide base of material is employed, drawn from a wide range of countries, the field experiences provide a common focus--and perhaps more important, a body of experience shared by teachers and taught--which is designed to recur continually.

CONCLUSION

A not infrequently offered criticism of training built around this kind of exercise is that it offers public servants what they already know; why take individuals, who may have served long years in the

field, to yet another district? It is a paradox of training in public management that it has never sought to emulate training in, say, surgery; where it is believed that one important place to improve professional practice is study in the operating theatre. In the same way, we believe that it is in the district, the fundamental building block of administration, that the problems of development management are best explored.

However, the criticism is misplaced for deeper reasons, which return us to the argument about capacity building. The third wave is not, in an important sense, about rejection of skill transfer on the one hand or development of knowledge on the other; it is about the enhancement of individual ability to absorb, modify and apply skills and knowledge to the task of management. This necessarily involves experience in the field; because it is there that the modification and application of training material from whatever source can best be learnt.

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Mismatch between Theory and Practice in Training in Public Administration

C.P. BHAMBHRI

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION is a central factor in all politically organised societies but its concrete role is determined by specific social content. Public administration in advanced industrialised societies has evolved organisational and role structures in response to the social and political tasks of management with stability as the primary social goal of developed industrial societies. In all developing societies, roles of public administration are in the process of evolution with a continuing stress on definition and redefinition of public services and activities required for managing change and resolving crisis and conflicts in society. Public administration in all developing societies cannot have a fixed agenda of roles because new tasks and challenges have to be confronted because developing societies are changing very fast in directions which are not quite predictable. Public administrators in developing societies have to deal with predictable and unpredictable social tasks and new capabilities have to be created among the public administrators. The task of training for public administration is quite complete because new capabilities are demanded by social situation in fast changing societies of the Third World. If social goals are fixed, a structured programme of training for public administration can be devised and contents and methods of training can be evolved. If social goals are in a state of flux, training programme for public administration cannot be a fixed one. New social situations demand restructuring of training programmes for public administrators and many a time such restructuring is not undertaken or planned. A mismatch between a theoretically evolved training programme and actual practice emerges because the premises of training are not in conformity with the expected practice of public administrators. A significant factor responsible for mismatch between theory and practice of training for public administration is the absence of relationship between the values and techniques of

with values and techniques of administration and mechanisms to achieve social values of administration. It has been observed that training programmes are not able to establish an appropriate linkage between the techniques and values of administration and this leads to a mismatch.

A critical issue in the operationalisation of a training programme of public administrators is the linkage between goals of society, role of administration and the capabilities of administration to achieve social goals. The input of training should lead to the output of performance with a view to achieve social goals, and it does happen that such inputs do not lead to desired outputs and the blame is shifted either on the training programme or on the recipients of training.

The discussion in preceding paras provides a framework for the study of training programmes for public administration in India. An attempt will be made to relate the social goals and training programmes with a view to evaluate the experience of last four decades in India.

Public Administration and Constitution of India

The Indian Constitution lays down the institutional arrangements for governance for the country. Parliamentary democracy, universal adult franchise, federalism and secularism are the pillars of governance in India. The Constitution of India provides for justiciable Fundamental Rights of the citizens and the Directive Principles of State Policy provide for establishment of welfare state in India. The role and responsibilities of public administrators in India are determined by the constitutional and legal framework of the country and public administrators have to operate within a democratic and secular political framework. The do's and don'ts of administration flow from the Constitution of India. On one hand, public administration has to operate in the context of pre-eminent role of political leadership, on the other, public administration is accountable to the elected representatives of the people. The letter and spirit of the Constitution of India establishes a system of "democratic public administration" where authority is exercised by keeping in mind the spirit of accountability.

Public Administration and Economic Development in India

Public Administration in India has to perform regulatory and developmental functions because the Central and State Governments in India are the fountain source of economic development and social change. Public administration in India is an active force in economic and social transformation and multiple developmental roles are

assigned to the administrators. As catalysts of economic and social change, public administrators in India have to grapple with complexities of policy formulation and implementation of programmes for economic development and eradication of poverty of large population of the country. Complete policies for economic development of India cannot be formulated or implemented without the active involvement of public administrators and this involvement demands a lot of information about economic realities on the part of public administrators. Public administrators have to act as data collectors, analysts, and programme leaders to achieve the goals of economic development.

Public Administration and Science and Technology

During the last four decades, India has based its developmental strategies on the basis of scientific knowledge and technological choices. A fundamental distinction between pre-independence and independent India is the employment of science and technology for economic and social regeneration and this is essentially a new phenomenon in the public administration of India. India has established heavy industries, machine tools factories, steel plants, and the thrust has been on modernisation of agriculture and development of manufacturing sector in industry. India has adopted a path of scientific and technological revolution to achieve developmental goals and public administration is intimately linked with this revolution. Public administration in India is integrally connected with developments in science and technology. Many ministries, departments and organisations have been established by the Government of India which are primarily concerned with the use of science and technology in economic development. Public administration in India has ceased to be a routine law and order phenomenon; it has become a complex structure because basic transformations are derived from science and technology in the country.

The goals of public administration in India are varied and complex and many contradictory pressures are at work because democracy, economic development and science and technology are interacting in the operation of public administration. The programmes of training for public administration have to accommodate and respond to the varied needs and requirements of public administrators. The programmes of training have to equip administrators to operate in a 'democracy' which is following the path of economic development through science and technology.

How has the Indian training programme for public administration grappled with diverse and complex constitutional and social goals during the last four decades?

Public policy makers and economic planners in India have laid great emphasis on training to achieve efficiency and performance of public administrators. The basic goal of training has been to create a level of competence among the administrators so that performance of the government is based on a level of efficiency which is satisfying to the citizens. A basic distinction between public and private administration is the absence of motive of private profit among the public services. Efficiency in private administration is measured on the basis of private profit but efficiency and performance in public administration cannot be easily measured and this makes it difficult to clearly define the task of training in public administration. Public administration has generalised social goals and in achieving these goals a mismatch emerges between the general and specific performance of public administrators.

The general goals of training in public administration are laid down by the Constitution of India, the various economic plans of the country and the performance of training is to sensitise and familiarise the administrators with broad social and economic goals of society. Further, public administrators have also to be trained in the procedures and techniques of administration and the institutions for training have to achieve the goals of social orientation and technological competence of the administrators. India has opted for institutional training, on-the-job training, system of refresher courses to achieve the goals of efficiency of the administrators. The Government of India and the state governments have evolved an elaborate institutional arrangement for the training of diverse public services. The establishment of institutions for training is a correct approach to deal with the complex problems of training of public administrators. A continuous system of refresher courses is a step in the right direction because public administrators should be emphasised to new ideas and developments in society.

While institutional training is necessary, it is not sufficient to achieve the social goals for public administration. Many diverse kinds of factors operate on the administrator, and as a thinking individual, an administrator may be reluctant to accept the basic social goals as enshrined in the Constitution of India. It must be recognised that an administrator may be enthusiastic about the social goals or he may passively agree with the goals of society. Further, in stable and advanced industrial societies, a degree of consensus exists on social goals, and such a consensus is about in changing societies like India. Can a training programme change the social outlook and values of administrators? A training programme can expose an administrator about social goals, but it cannot ensure his agreement with the dominant social philosophy of the Constitution or the

values of economic planning. Many social values of an administrator are already formed before he enters the public service on the basis of success in a competitive examination. Can a training programme make an administrator identify himself with public social goals which may be contrary to his beliefs? A young person has an evolved social belief system before he enters the public services and the training programme can never be a substitute for his early education and processes of socialisation. The problem is not only with the trainee, it also involves the trainer. The trainer and the trainee may operate at different intellectual levels regarding societal goals and this factor obstructs the process of transmission of goals or the acceptance of these goals. The trainer and the trainee can have an indentivity or a formal relationship during the programme and its result is a weaker acceptance of the social philosophy of administration.

Training as a mechanism of transmission of social goals has serious limitations and inadequacies. Such limitations arise out of many factors. First, in a transitional society, consensus on social goals does not exist. Second, training cannot work out the impact of education and early socialisation on the mind of trainees. Third, trainer and trainee may operate at different wave lengths in relation to social goals. Fourth, generalised goals of Indian society, like secularism, democracy and planning for development may not bring an enthusiastic support from a large section of society, including many public administrators.

A.P. Saxena's edited and mimeographed volume on "Third Course on Training Methodology" in 1978 for the Indian Institute of Public Administration is a serious attempt at grappling with the difficulties of training programmes in India. But we are making a fundamental distinction between two goals of training, i.e., training for social goals and training for efficient performance. We are suggesting that problems of training for improvement of performance are different from the problems of inculcating social norms for public administration. Efficiency in public administration can be mechanical and it can be improved by exposing the administrators to the various techniques of job performance. But the job performance of a public administrator cannot be delinked from an enthusiastic commitment to the social philosophy of public administration in India. If a public administrator in India does not have an empathy for the poor, he cannot deliver the goods in the task of eradication of poverty. If a public administrator does not have a genuine and active commitment to secularism, he cannot effectively resolve inter-community conflicts. The issue is not of the receptiveness of the trainee or his apathy to fresh learning during the training programme. A very active learner may appreciate new training inputs

and use them for improving his job performance. Efficiency in public administration may improve with training.

A mismatch exists between the premises of training and the reality of training because training has been treated as an Allaudin's lamp to deal with the totality of the personality of an administrator. We have built training programme on wrong premises because we have assumed that training can intervene to work out the values with which public administrators have entered the public services. We have faulted in assigning a role to training by confusing it with education. The educational process is a broader phenomenon and its impact on citizens is fundamental, and a training programme has a limited reach and limitations of training should be recognised. It is wrong to assign tasks to training and then complain about its inadequacy.

A distinction exists between the model of training within the advanced industrial societies and societies in transition. In terms of values in transitional societies, a public administrator is continuously struggling to adapt himself to the changing social goals of public service. This is not the reality of advanced industrial societies because education and training are interlinked because of social consensus on values. In India, the learning process of a public administrator may demand a serious break with his part value system and training programme may be inadequate to perform this role. Training for improving efficiency is legitimate but training for creating social values of the Constitution of India is impossible to plan and even if it is planned, the desired results will not be achieved. The mismatch has emerged because our expectations from training programmes is based on wrong premises and expectations.

Methodology of Civil Service Training in India

ISHWAR DAYAL

THE ESSENCE of training for administration is to reduce trial and effort and be better prepared to handle an administrative job. The trainee must be able to evaluate why one approach is better than other approaches in a given situation and the likely consequences of each. Skills of many exceptional administrators and their perceptions become the knowledge of many, with refinements provided by systematic studies. Hence, the teaching methodology for civil service must prepare the participant for his job and for improving performance.

Methodology of training depends upon the purpose it must serve. Understanding of the dynamics of behaviour may need training methodologies that create new kinds of experiences for participants. Some of these methods are group dynamics, role play, case analysis, psychodrama and the like. Understanding the inter-relationships between segments, or scenario building may require help of physical models, spreadsheet, case analyses and other such methods. Understanding of the geopolitical environment or impact of social, economic and political forces in decision-making may require study of comparative situations or case analyses. Outcome of a phenomenon or impact of certain forces on a given situation is necessary in a programme that provides knowledge for use. Knowledge acquired in terms of abstract rules of behaviour may not by itself be sufficient to establish how this knowledge can improve understanding of administrative situations. Teaching of physics or chemistry relies on laboratory work to understand the laws of natural phenomena, as do engineering and medicine. Application of knowledge is an important requirement of professional work.

Choice of methodology would require that the rules of behaviour or a phenomenon is understood through its effect and not as an abstraction. Case teacher, for example, arranges his cases in such a way that a participant is involved in solving a large number of problems so that from these, cumulatively, he is able to draw certain

generalisation, and further, develop concepts that explain and link the variety of situations. This, in effect is the simulation model of concept building--from variety of experiences, generalising about the phenomenon. This process of generalising is further strengthened or supported by reading assignments for the participant.¹

In the same manner, a spreadsheet is able to quickly show how changes in one factor in a situation is likely to influence several other factors, and therefore, the outcome. These are some examples of how one makes the effort to understand administrative situations in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Administration was learnt through experience. By dealing with specific situations, the administrator over the years, could evaluate what ways worked better than others. Such generalisations come for some after many years of experience, and for the less perceptive, they may never come.

I have found that a comprehensive perspective of training raises two questions:

1. What knowledge, skills, perceptions of work, etc., are desirable for civil service jobs; and
2. Which of these can be learnt through classroom training, job training or by self-learning.

In post-war period, the role of government has changed in all countries. In developing countries and in India, the government has taken direct responsibility for development in many areas of economic, social and political life of the nation. The civil servant has a key role in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of developmental or promotional programmes. He has to perform a managerial role as compared to enabling or peacekeeping roles. Changes have been made from time to time in the curriculum of training for civil servants. Facilities for training have also been improved for central, secretariat and state level employees. The training of Indian Administration Service (IAS) officers has traditionally laid the pattern of training of civil servants. The training facilities have been further strengthened in the last 2-3 years. It would, therefore, be useful to examine the training methodology employed in training programmes for IAS officers.

In this discussion, the structure of the programme and the appropriateness of the curriculae are not discussed. The emphasis is on training methodology.

IAS training is provided at three stages:

1. Intensive training at entry level. This training covers general management and job related subjects. The design

combines class-room training and job placement in the field.

2. Four-week programmes in general management arranged two or three times during the career of an employee.
3. One-week compulsory programmes for every IAS officer every year.

The first kind of programmes are handled primarily by the institutions set up by government for the purpose. Some of these institutions have also run the second and the third kind of programmes. The mid-career programmes are generally conducted by outside educational or training institutions. The four-week courses are meant for officers after ten and 20 years of service.

ENTRY LEVEL PROGRAMME

In the entry level training programme, the emphasis is placed on subject knowledge, understanding of the socio-economic and political environment and sanctions provided by legal framework for administrative action and the way in which the government functions. There is increasing concern for familiarising the trainee with modern tools of management and developing some skills at problem diagnosis and problem solving.

In the field training, the trainee carry out a job of work, and ideally, serve an apprenticeship to a senior officer such as district collector.

Four types of training methodology are involved in the entry level training: (i) Lectures on subject matter; (ii) assignments; (iii) cases; and (iv) apprenticeship.

The lectures constitute about 90 per cent of the classroom training. The course structure consisting of classroom training, field work and further classroom training is an extremely effective entry-level training structure. It, however, assumes that the field placement will provide guided experience, the mentor will be able to initiate the trainee into the practice of administration. The close association with the mentor will enable the trainee to understand the sensitivity of the environment and the compulsions of the administrative framework. He should build on the classroom study and begin to differentiate between one situation and another and the approach to each. He should learn to observe, differentiate, analyse and act in various situations both by doing the work himself and by discussion and the guidance of the superior. An important condition for learning through apprenticeship is the care and the interest the mentor takes in the training and development of the young entrant. The Japanese industry rely primarily on this method to train their

managers for higher level of responsibility. During the ICS period, this method served extremely well because the district collector was able to devote a great deal of his time to the trainee and the senior saw this as an important part of his job. In the present context, the mentor-pupil relationship is weak.

The trainee is able to gain experience by doing a job of work, and this is important in its own way, but receives insufficient guidance and care. The system tends to generally become impersonal.-

The lectures in classroom are generally the pattern of lectures in college teaching. The greatest weakness of the training methodology is that it does not place the onus of learning on the participant and perpetuates giver-taker relationship.

In some of the institutions engaged on preparing young people for careers in business and industry, deliberate effort is made to place the onus of learning on the student. He has to prepare case material and decide on action alternatives on his own. He has to prepare assignments, projects and seek out material on his own from either field situation or the library. These approaches are relevant for civil service training as well. The student involvement must come from preparation required for each classroom session and through individual effort to find solutions. The social system has also to be concerned with developing values and attitudes that are necessary for the service as a whole. The advantage of a residential programme is that the academic and the social system of the institution is able to develop among the participants a sense of the totality. The better public schools are able to provide both learning in academic areas and the personal habits, attitudes, perspectives towards life, and the like. Some of the management schools have recognised the significance of the residential programmes. The Institute of Management at Lucknow was able to initiate a social system where self-discipline, responsibility, concern for others were core values. It was reported that some of the members of the graduating class were able to develop independent perspectives on organisational issues. Development of these concerns must form an integral part of the education of young people who are groomed for professional careers.

In summary, the structure of the programme is appropriate.² The training methodology perpetuates dependence on the teacher, and it is doubtful if full advantage of a residential programme is taken to develop concern for social values and personal discipline. For the last few years, a project in rural areas is assigned to participants. The project requires trainee officers to stay in rural environment. This exercise provides new experience to participants and some say that this experience gives them a new outlook on social life.

subject knowledge. The training of IPS, however, does lay emphasis on discipline. The teaching methodology is, however, dependence producing. There is limited concern for self discovery, or developing a spirit of enquiry and the like. These aspects are necessary for senior civil service personnel.

MID-CAREER PROGRAMMES

Four-Week Programmes

The four-week programmes invariably follow the methodology of the host institution. The quality of these programmes vary from one institution to another. The teaching methodology includes case discussion, computer aided learning, project work, assignments, lectures and syndicate method. Barring a few institutions, roughly 10 per cent of the total, the most common method is a lecture by invited faculty. This methodology will, in most courses, cover approximately 70 per cent of the programme. In recent years, computer applications have become common in such programmes, though computer aided teaching is rare. The case material is rarely prepared for civil service population. Exercises and assignments are also few except in some institutions where such methods are regularly used.

Behavioural Sciences inputs using exercises for self awareness, group working and team building are used. They consist of standard text book exercises on small group working and mutual feedback on behaviour. There is some evidence that a large number of trainees do not like these exercises. There are few programmes that use audio-visual material extensively.

Briefly, the characteristics of teaching methodology could be summarised thus:

1. Teaching methodology used in four-week programmes varies because these programmes are mainly run by different institutions. The methodology used is that of the host institutions. A few institutions have a distinct preference for experience based teaching methodology. These are invariably the institutions which have long-term degree or diploma courses. Training establishments generally use mixed methods of teaching.
2. There is little demand made on the participant to recognise that responsibility for learning is primarily his. This is an important condition for learning.³
3. Most of these courses are residential but no special inputs are designed for learning from living.

One-Week Programmes

These programmes are also run by various institutions and each

follows the methodology of their own. There are some innovations in the teaching methodology due to the fact that very senior officers attend such programmes. The programme is not designed for subject knowledge. They have a theme. The participants are required to examine the role of the administrator and learn from one another what improvements each can make to his own performance. They must examine the work ethics, the value system and see how these can be made suitable for the task.

The presence of officers with five to over 25 years service provides considerable scope to learn from one another. Minimum structuring of the programme is desired and greater responsibility is placed on the participants themselves to learn from one another. Invariably, resource persons are available to define problems, provide data and identify issues from studies and literature on the subject. The participants have to examine the issues from their own experience. In one programme, organised for these groups by the institution with which I worked, the theme was divided into four or five major sub-themes. Each day one sub-theme was discussed. The typical day started with a brief discussion by resource person outlining the data and issues of immediate concern. The participants worked on the sub-theme for three to four hours. Each group made a presentation and the problems were re-stated or conclusions were reached in the area of policy, implementation, administration and other related aspects. At times, the groups also reflected on their own strengths and weaknesses to carry out the programme and gained some insights into their own behaviour. At times, field visits were arranged. Papers were also available on the experience of other developed and developing countries.

One significant contribution of one-week programmes is that participant's reliance on teacher is minimum.⁴ The variety of experiences among the participants is an asset to the group. It is possible that the experience of such programmes will enable teachers to devise ways by which onus of learning is shifted from teacher to the participant. This would improve the quality of professional education.

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Administration - For What ?

M.S. GURUPADASWAMY

UNTIL 1947, India was a colonial territory and a police State. Society was backward and very much feudal in character. The Civil Service established in the pre-independence era was meant mainly to serve the foreign masters. Its primary task was preservation of law and order and collection of revenue. People and their welfare were not their concern. There was lack of responsiveness and authoritarianism in their dealing with the problems. But later on, when the country attained independence and constitutional set-up was ushered in and the citizens' rights were established, the civil service had to undergo a great change in response to new compulsions and needs. From the colonial and the servile status, which it had been through for long period, it had to emerge as a machinery of "the welfare state in action". It had to be transformed as a fit instrument of socio-economic change. It had to shoulder new responsibilities and undertake tasks covering wide spectrum of activities, from formulation of policies to implementation. As a well-endowed and well-knit organisation, the public administrative system in a developing society like ours was required to function as a main catalyst of innovative and structural changes in society. In other words, it had to be a responsive administration in a responsible state. To meet this new role of the government, the civil service had to acquire new knowledge and skills and altogether a new temper and attitude and capability to handle the complex problems. The spread of competence and responsibility as well as accountability were required to be universal and not confined to only patches. As Tottenham in 1945 observed that reliance on "too few officers of the right type and too many clerks of the wrong type" would surely fail to meet the situation. The administrative lag then would, therefore, be unavoidable.

Lack of Sincerity in Implementing Reforms

Under the stress and strain of war, whatever the administrative

down and was of very poor quality. War time corruption among the various grades of personnel was very visible for all to see. The scarcities of essential goods had made it worse. When India achieved independence, it had in fact provided an opportunity for ushering in a new era of clean and modern administration. The old rotten cobwebs of rules and regulations, the unalloyed habits of paper work and file pushing, the hierarchical stratification as well as the remnants of authoritarian trends; and the last but not the least the ugly veils of secrecy surrounding the decision-making process could have been changed, ended or drastically cut by a more rational system. The chasm between the administration and the people, which has become a bugbear later, could have been minimised. But, unfortunately, the new leaders of India, strangely enough, did not make conscious effort to bring major change in the administrative system to achieve and subserve the democratic goals.

But this is not to say that the subject of administrative reform did not receive attention by the rulers in India since Independence. As a matter of fact, the Central Government had appointed 18 committees and commissions since 1947 to enquire into various aspects of public administration. In addition, a number of state Governments also, from time to time, appointed administrative reforms commissions. A number of parliamentary committees have made several recommendations. In spite of these efforts to reform, the Indian Administration, at both Central and state levels, the gap between promise and performance; and administrative response and popular expectations remain wide and is increasing. No sincere and serious approach was made to provide an effective answer to the all-important question, namely, "what kind of administrative system should the nation have?", when the country had undertaken planning and large-scale economic development and the uplift of millions of our population from the morass of poverty. The kind of administration we require should have been honest, clean, responsible, objective and dynamic and should be capable of inspiring confidence and trust among the people. But this is easier said than done. To secure such a band of men, the present administrative system has to undergo a ruthless catharsis. There has to be a revolutionary change in the organisation, methods and procedures.

But at present, we find almost invariably commonplace clerical approach even at higher echelons of administration. Utilitarian functional approach, which ought to be the case, is rather a rarity. There is little intellectual and meritorious input in the formulation of plans, policies and programmes. In the absence of intellectual talent, the introduction of new techniques and methods and training got distorted; at the same time, the plethora of long-winding proce-

dures and regulations which, in turn, encouraged proliferation of officers and offices and red-tapism. This has resulted in administrative tyranny in a democratic set-up. Once the legislature passes the law, the powers of making rules and administrative orders vest entirely in the administrative machinery of the government. If they are not used properly, they pose a threat to the life and liberty of the people. Indeed, actual implementation of laws and rules is not with the ministers but with the officials. In this situation, officials become more powerful than the ministers and the elected representatives.

Need to Involve People

In such circumstances, "the government of the people, for the people and by the people" a famous saying of Abraham Lincoln may be conveniently rephrased as "the government of the bureaucracy, for the bureaucracy and by the bureaucracy". In a bureaucratic state, there can be lot of paper work but no results. There can be any extent of corruption and no accountability.

We are a developing society. We have still a long way to go. But the question is, that even at this early stage of development, when the administration is so weak, flabby and corrupt, how can we make any credible progress as a nation? and how our poor sisters and brothers get justice without being treated as aliens? How can we make the people feel that they are part and parcel of the government? In what way and how to generate the feeling that the citizens and the administrators are co-participants in development? These are some of the questions which cannot be easily answered. But solutions have to be found any way if we have to meet new challenges arising out of complex situations.

Change Training Policy to Have Civil Servants Who can Serve

I am of the view that we are in need of a new breed of civil servants. We should give a go-bye to the existing humdrum of conventional bookish creatures, who have no knowledge of their surroundings and who know more of Europe and America than India. We do not want superficial careerists, who indulge in pretence, show and arrogance. What the country needs is a class of men who have capacity and talent for honesty, work and sacrifice; who can mingle and mix with the people; who understand and solve their problems and who have a will to take initiative in matters of public good. Performance, rather than promise, should be their motto. To have such a breed to talent, the present recruitment policy of the Centre and the States will not help; nor the existing training network is appropriate. There is need for new training policy to meet the present and future needs. It

Training Strategies for Responsive Administration : Service as the New Form of Accountability

MUKUL SANWAL

IN EARLY 1985, the Government of India's new training policy changed the definition of training from being remedial, removing skill deficiency in a few, to the developmental aim of preparing all public servants for future responsibilities. Existing ad hoc arrangements have been replaced by regular and compulsory training programmes. Training has been brought on to the political and administrative reform agenda because it is seen as part of the strategy for social and economic development. Though the bureaucracy initially resented the compulsory element, it soon saw the value of acquiring new perspectives to deal with the increasing complexity of relationships. Since the response depends on the inputs provided during training, the concern has shifted from debating techniques and practices to substantive issues and results.

The problem with administrative reform, and the training that it is supposed to guide, is that policy makers do not have time to think about fresh approaches, high officials continue to hold convictions formed before they reach their positions and academics do not provide useable recommendations. A dialogue between the three groups is important because plans for reform through committees, seminars and workshops have remained impervious to political guidance that is supposed to inform them. Though getting things done in administration remains a slow, hazardous, wearisome and frustrating affair, at least some of the problems are amenable to a training solution. The challenge before practitioners is to determine what these inputs should be.

Three trends in reform, and training design, are emerging. Firstly, the increasing gulf between politicians and administrators, because of overlapping roles in policy and implementation, leads to recurrent demands for less bureaucracy. A greater reliance is being placed on non-governmental organisations. Secondly, the changing scale and character of government is resulting in a questioning of objectives as well as the structure, methods and styles of perform-

* The author is grateful for many useful insights provided by participants of Conference on 'Training Rural Manager', organised by Harvard University and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, at Cambridge (USA) from June 16-18, 1987; and

ance of tasks. The personnel function for improving organisational performance is now becoming important. Thirdly, since budgets are no longer balanced, efforts are directed at scrutinising programmes in attempts to reduce recurring costs. There is a growing realisation that the bureaucracy is the principle beneficiary of public expenditure rather than the public it serves.

Attempts at reform initially focus on restructuring the career civil service with dubious results. In the United States, within four years of the formation of the Senior Executive Service, in 1979, 40 per cent left government service.¹ It has been difficult to maintain the momentum of reform with these approaches because results are the end product of seemingly minor decisions made by middle level administrators and the reluctance of the members of organisations to suffer any reduction in influence or power. The enforcement of change to give effect to the scope of government activity becomes a matter of political commitment.

Administration, regardless of what the encyclopaedia or dictionary define it as, is a political activity. In Britain, a report from the government's efficiency unit, *The Next Steps*, points out that only about 5 per cent of the country's 600,000 civil servants advise on policy issues. Others are mainly concerned with delivering services and should be converted into autonomous agencies. A number of countries--Sweden, Canada, Australia and Denmark--have already taken such steps. It is agreed that there are serious problems with this approach of reducing the scope of administration and the discretion of the administrators; how to make monopoly suppliers responsive to the least advantageous through market oriented operations remains an unresolved issue. While it is agreed that present management systems reduce rather than enhance effectiveness, the moves to introduce management skills reflects the ideological orientation of the regime. It also highlights what is probably the most important problem in the state machine everywhere: the public is tired of delays, rude service and corruption in government offices.

Governments in practice provide some service of some kind to somebody, they no longer produce goods or collect money, and the administration is the principle instrument. These services can be internal to the institution; they can be directed to the community; some are discharged by prohibitions; others impose requirements; there are also the usual provision of services, paying cash benefits and production of goods. In these activities, it is hard to pin down objectives because of the possibility of a conflict of interests between organisational and national interests--the reasons range from lack of clarity, obscurity, incompatibility and the tactical requirements of quieting criticism. There can be considerable disagreement

on the circumstances in which a policy or programme is introduced and the objectives behind it.

There is also disagreement on what policies are appropriate. For administration to be given a service orientation, there are significant differences between providing service to and service for the public. The former adopts a target approach, with detailed specifications and uniformity of treatment, focusing on the content and the technology as well as treating the public as dependent clients. The latter adopts a decentralised approach, with wide discretion and responsiveness, focusing on the beneficiary and the views of the public, as well as treating the public as demanding partners. The generalised image of service delivery can itself become an obstacle to determining the missions of organisations and learning what the public wants from the services they receive.

The distinctive feature is dealing with activities of systems composed of interdependent organisations and relations between organisations and their publics. In this context, the question of **relevance** of both public administration and training, becomes important. The discipline itself is yet to develop in the developing countries.² The Union Public Service Commission has introduced a full paper on the subject in the All-India services only in 1987. Major Universities do not as yet have a separate department for the subject. The Indian Institute of Public Administration and the training programmes conducted in the Institutes of Management continue to be skill oriented and cater to the needs of individual clients. The major theme is improving the managerial competence of bureaucracy through planning and appraisal rather than implementation: dealing with limited concepts of operating efficiency rather than participative ways of bringing about change. Development administration everywhere is only recently emerging from an excessive emphasis on the formal aspects of the organisation.³

Greater clarity is needed in the objectives, scope and methodology we employ in trying to understand implementation. There are three methodological problems in the study of Development Administration. Firstly, usually a part of the system is studied and on that basis generalisations are made about the entire administrative system. Most of our present knowledge comes from a limited number of case studies of projects, mainly IRDP. Secondly, universal characteristics of decision-making are sought to be applied to very different contexts. Recommendations almost totally ignore the socio-economic context, like common property resources in hill and tribal areas. Thirdly, the links between analytical levels, organisations, officials and behaviours--are not made. The continuing debate over district planning is probably the best example. There are also

conceptual ambiguities between bureaucracy and politics, the language of coordination and the levels of bargaining in decision-making. The essential nature of government is regulation of a pattern of relationships, internal as well as external. In reality, the autonomy of the official is limited--political, legal, as well as handling of personnel; growing uncertainty about the role of the public service; and, the need to balance regional and political considerations. Though reviews of difficulties and delays in implementation indicate institutional or managerial factors as the most important causes their exact nature is seldom defined or analysed in detail.

Since there is no agreed measure of effectiveness where organisational needs have not been specified, training, despite the new policy, remains focused on improving skills of individual trainees. Changes in individuals' performance has little observable effect on organisational performance. Training can only be a catalyst, and requires attention to clearly defined organisational objectives as distinct from programme objectives. Since not all problems are amenable to a training solution, it is important that a thorough and impartial review be undertaken before training is promoted. Secondly, training plans often reveal that they want to resolve complex issues in a single 'step', whereas, organisational excellence is more likely to be attained by doing many things a little bit better rather than by trying to solve the big problems at one time. Training programmes have to be modular. Thirdly, the specialised form of task analysis that training systems require is time consuming, needs competent staff and active cooperation with the concerned departments. A common problem is to take recourse to programmes developed to meet other requirements,⁴ rather than review prevalent practices, often resulting in irrelevant training.

Large organisations, whether in business or government, also display certain common characteristics, to which even the management schools do not have ready answers.⁵ We need to be clear about the distinction between leadership and management. In big organisations, like governments, accepted routines become the order of the day; tedious deliberativeness, staff work and elaborate studies distance the top level from direct contact with reality. Prudence requires big decisions to be carefully calculated. The inherent inertia reduces risk; the mistakes are those of delay and inaction not haste. Actually, for improving performance the need is not for quantitative analysis skills but to inspire and lead. Successful managers also do not attack the large strategic issues as the first priority; they first look to the structure of relationships and responsibilities.⁶ This stress on developing human resources is reinforced by other

studies which show that the challenge of radical strategies is to bring about changes in culture and individual mind sets in addition to analytical management and political management of internal conditions.⁷ Effectiveness criteria involve the management and development of human relations.⁸ Studies of what managers actually do show that far from being one who plans, organises, coordinates and controls an orderly process, the manager is dependent upon many people, with much more human activity than is suggested in text books.⁹

These are distinctive problems for which new solutions have to be found, where administrators will have to develop and apply new concepts to fit the tasks and political constraints of government. This will depend substantially on securing the commitment of the civil service to the task. Objective task setting must take into account the political environment; designing and negotiating working relationships is also vitally important. Progressive improvements also require a capacity to manage structural change and institution building. Developing adequate yardsticks of efficiency and establishing positive motivation to improve performance are very difficult in governments everywhere.¹⁰

The Institute conducted a survey to identify the present organisational and personnel inadequacies felt by public administrators. Two questionnaires, one for assessing the knowledge needs and another for assessing the skill needs, were sent to Group A officers of the State Government, including the All India services. The data shows that as regards knowledge needs, most officers consider the causes underlying major rural and urban problems as important followed by provision of specific services and social processes. The data about skill needs shows that most officers want skills in assessing community needs, handling inter-personal problems and delegation.

Three conclusions emerge from these responses. Firstly, there is a high degree of similarity in the identification of training needs across levels and groups. Secondly, the differences between responses from the state and district levels, or policy and implementation tasks, is not as great as one would expect. Thirdly, management principles are not seen as being of importance in the functions administrators are required to perform; even functional services feel the need for improving human resources.

A similar conclusion emerges from the training options from IAS officers for the five-year cycle, commencing from 1988. The government asked them to select one general, two sectoral and two functional programmes. Some 1637 (about 50 per cent) of the officers replied. The majority, with over 300 requests, identified their training needs as--development administration (534), industrial

policy planning and development (493), financial Management (408), MIS and Computer Application (402), International Trade (388), Human Resource Development (363) and Management of State Enterprises (317). The least number of options in each of the above categories were for specialised and functional programmes like, terrorism/violence, workstudy, animal husbandry and dairy development.

A survey was also conducted at the academy with officers in field assignments to identify the nature of operations associated with rural development, to determine their curriculum design. This survey is based on their description of events, programme evaluations and a questionnaire administered at the academy. The study draws on about 5000 responses over a three-year period. The most significant recurring issue for field officers concerns the **external environment** of their work. These involve complex relationships with politicians, other departments, head office and beneficiaries; and require clarity about roles, interorganisational relationships, knowledge of administrative and financial procedures and motivation. A similar study at Harvard University also found that the essential requirement of developing participatory behavioural styles is not often incorporated in training curricula.¹¹

Beginning from October, 1987, the Government of India has conducted five workshops for improving the responsiveness of administration, and elicited the suggestions for reform from all the District Officers in the country. This unique experience also provides vital clues about the perceptions of these key functionaries towards the inadequacies in the present arrangements. The recommendations are for decentralised participatory decision-making with elected representatives, introducing a service concept by reducing points of contact with the bureaucracy and changing the culture of the administration towards more trust, mutual cooperation and discretion. Their report was the discussion paper for the conference of Chief Secretaries, on July 30, 1988, where the opinion was that making administration more responsive through district planning required a political consensus. These discussions have focused on the strategic problems of our society, and the interface role of the administrators between the government and the public. What clues does this data, though limited, provide us for determining the design of training ?

There is a growing emphasis on training in all developing countries and government agencies and trainees accept its validity. However, there is no agreement in the literature on an appropriate training design for development administration. The limited number of studies either stress the management of training institutes,¹² instructional methodology,¹³ or training technology,¹⁴ as the most appropriate intervention. Attempts at integrating these efforts are

only now being made.¹⁵ Unfortunately, all these efforts limit their scope to central bureaucracies, projects set up outside the government structure or a specific set of techniques; whereas development administration essentially concerns field-level transactions. Training institutes, to be effective, should, along with departments, participate in improving the organisational performance of the entire administrative system.

From the experience gained in India, three issues emerge. Firstly, the critical factor is what the training seeks to achieve, rather than how many have been trained. Secondly, the stress on training presupposes the identification of inadequacies in systems and practices. Thirdly, course evaluations stress the need for "a practical bias" to the courses. Post-training evaluations indicate that only a few individuals have introduced innovations in their organisations based on the training programme; a number of participants have felt that they learned something new from the interchange of ideas and experiences and updating of knowledge; they all felt they needed a rest.

These experiences form the basis for six propositions, regarding the approaches and methods, on which training design should be based:

1. Inadequacy of the management model.
2. Requirements of development administration are different to those of public administration.
3. Generalised models will not serve the purpose of specific departmental requirements.
4. The content must focus on organisational rather than functional needs.
5. The methodology must be one of support to promote learning rather than teaching.
6. The arrangements must be deinstitutionalised so that these become broad-based and make training a departmental activity.

INADEQUACY OF THE MANAGEMENT MODEL

The similarities and differences about administration and private management are a continuing source of controversy and debate. Some argue that management is a generic concept with universally applicable principles, and, that private management offers readymade solutions to administrative problems. Others see sharp contrasts in context and process, which preclude adoption of private sector practice. The superiority of the management approach is supposed to rest on neatly structured hierarchies, well-defined tasks and clearly allocated responsibilities. Such neat prescriptions are without

empirical support in government and also, as recent findings show, in business administration.

The need in government is to develop new principles for improving service. The direction, regulation and persuasion in administration is very different to running a corporate enterprise. Democratic functioning requires a sensitivity to changing circumstances, criticisms, emergencies, and the methods employed are themselves subject to questioning. Services are also dependent on decisions of the central government, provided within statutory frameworks approved by Parliament and State Assemblies, but the responsibility for providing them rests with local authorities. The autonomy of public servants is also limited--there are legal limitations, organisational constraints, limitations in the handling of personnel and subordination to politically responsible authorities. In administration regulation of a pattern of relationships, internal and external, is as important as provision of services.

There is a need for development administration to move away from a reliance on business management techniques. Firstly, even in the west, the usefulness of business schools is being questioned, since they are too quantitative and theoretical and produce technicians suitable for the middle level, a shortcoming business schools realise. Harvard introduced its first new required course in 20 years, in 1981, on "Human Resource Management".¹⁶ In developing countries most public servants do not play an instrumental role and take decisions comparable to those of top management in corporations, who engage in dealings with others and who are vested with a large area of discretion. They are acutely aware of the inadequacy of merely using techniques to solve the problems they face.

Secondly, the goal of development is to reach the poorest, who are dispersed in the remotest areas; the effort is to 'maximise' rather than 'optimize', as business does. The optimum is most effort lies around 75 per cent of the theoretical maximum, and in order to reach the remainder, additional costs go up exponentially while additional results fall off exponentially.¹⁷ This makes development administration more complex, ambiguous and different from management. Governments tend to get landed with the most difficult problems with which no one else has been able to cope and which require organisational rather than technical solutions.

Thirdly, the present approach in training remains technocratic, even though human relations instruments of motivation are replacing the principles of management. Development administration is concerned not only with executing activities but also dealing with political, technological and ethical issues.¹⁸ Politics--in a wider sense which includes the reactions of the public, affected groups and imple-

menting authorities--and development administration are not two different things. The choices of allocation and location are primarily political, rather than financial. Development policy analysis and implementation has a multidisciplinary content, very different from the investment-oriented microeconomics-based training models, adopted from business experiences.

REQUIREMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Even in developed countries, there is no agreed model for training public servants. The stress in government training institutes varies from policy analysis (USA), management and technocratic skills (Great Britain), law (France), to cooperative work culture (Japan). The extensive coverage through training is, however, a common feature. In the USA and Japan, for example, 25 per cent of all public servants are trained every year; in developing countries on an average 20 per cent of the upper-level group is likely to be trained in their career, and 30 per cent of all employees, those in regional and local government, receive less than 10 per cent of the training budget.¹⁹ In Britain, training expenditure is about five per cent of the payroll.²⁰ In most developing countries even such computations are not made. Public sector (industrial) training alone is adequate in developing countries, since it can adopt widely accepted Western models.²¹

Training models in development administration have suffered from a lack of validity for a variety of reasons. Firstly, while government's own training institutions are responsible for most of the training in developed countries, developing countries rely heavily on management institutes. Secondly, and partly following from the first, these institutes respond to Western initiatives and evolving development paradigms, rather than act as catalysts for change, and paying the way for institutionalisation of innovation. Thus, both the technical assistance programmes of the 1950s and 1960s and the project related training programmes of the 1970s and early 1980s, have largely been found to be ineffective. Thirdly, training needs are particularly pronounced in the poorer and less developed areas where administrators at all levels act as the driving force in social and economic development, but adequate funds are not provided for training. Building and inaugurating are politically more attractive than maintaining or operating.

For the trainers, also, the concern remains limited to the central higher bureaucracy and the replication of the experience of the West in stressing functional techniques, planning, budgeting, personnel,

These principles of enterprise management have not led to greater administrative internal efficiency and external effectiveness, even in the West, because they are suited to a growing economy and the internal arrangements of organisations rather than linkages between organisations. The attempt to extend planning, programming and budgeting systems (PPBS) and zero based budgeting (ZBB) in the Federal Government in the USA, and to transplant MBO to administration in Britain, have also largely failed.²²

In the developed countries, currently, considerable debate is centring around the public service in terms of its efficiency, costs and service level, and the limitations of earlier efforts are being recognised. Sweden has identified the way of giving service as the most important in reshaping the public sector through improved interactions between politicians, agencies and the public.²³

In development administration, the requirement is for joint effort towards managing interdependence and not singlemindedly pursuing departmental objectives. As the Report of the Workshop of District Officers on Responsive Administration stresses, the requirement is not document processing, storage of data, retrieval of reports or timeliness of outputs, but involves attitudes towards the work rather than mere knowledge or skills in processing matters:

- it looks at locational choices rather than performance of people,

- it is concerned with linkages within the system rather than the functioning of an organisation, and

- the information intensity for decision-making increases at the implementation rather than the policy end of the hierarchy.

Training programmes for administrators should be directed towards the goals of the administration, in particular resolution of specific problems or bottlenecks.²⁴ The programmes now being taken up by government--family welfare, social welfare, command area development, etc.,--all depend upon the administrators in different institutions and the public working together, because behaviours have to be changed, disadvantaged groups have to be helped, and facilities have to be used.

DEPARTMENTAL REQUIREMENTS

The implementation of policy is also affected by the character of executive agencies, particularly in view of the requirements for peoples participation, extensive delegation of responsibility and

Administrators, because of their long tradition and scientific nature of functioning, have developed their own cultures. These behavioural characteristics contribute towards determining their perceptions and priorities, and will need to be taken into account, even modified, to get the appropriate response for improved service delivery.

The efforts to integrate forest bureaucracies into rural development through the social forestry programmes provides a good example. The Academy is conducting regular programmes for officers of the Indian Forest Service, and these experiences are very revealing. They have historically had three concerns--working plans, plantations and equity. The stress of "scientific management" has been on working Plans and its prestige makes it easy for foresters engaged in social forestry to draw inspiration from that tradition when they are preparing Project documents for aid agencies and governments. Farm forestry, too, has precedents, though limited, in the 'taung ya' cultivations within forests; and, decentralising nurseries with broad-leaf species is only a change of technology. Community forestry programmes, on the other hand, are quite anti-thetical to the policing reserve forest tradition, where the needs of local people were definitely subordinate to commercial and conservation considerations. Rather than limit equity considerations to merely checking that the relevant legal conditions have been met by the claimants, community forestry requires foresters to identify local needs, remove difficulties and to develop local groups.

Not surprisingly, community forestry programmes have met with limited success. The National Wasteland Development Board is still struggling, over a period of three years, to secure the participation of the villagers which is so essential for the survival of the saplings. In the training programmes organised for members of the Indian Forest Service at the Academy, this problem of role ambiguity comes out very clearly. The older foresters find it easy to do nothing more than tolerate local groups. The younger foresters at the field level are more conscious of the altered power relations between different interest groups and the challenge to the profession from NGO's and local activists. Their own rural background makes them more responsive to changing socio-economic conditions and the growing crises in the lives of the poor. The rapid expansion and diversification of the forest departments has also led to a weakening of professional standards.

A massive training, or re-training, programme for foresters is certainly needed. The inputs will be additive in nature, according to the particular programme being promoted. Farm forestry requires new knowledge of extension methods to be given. Social forestry also

needs negotiation skills. Community forestry is the most demanding, and qualitatively different, because it requires, in addition to the above, attitudinal change and a wider understanding of the purposes of the programme. There is an emerging positive response from the

Table 1 IMPORTANT ABILITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATORS

Responsibilities	Functions	Tasks
Motivating Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessing strengths and weaknesses of staff - Delegation of work - Development of staff - Adaptation to meet - Changing needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explaining reasons for a task - Allocation of tasks - Encouraging staff
Organisational concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Own Role in the department - Concerns of other parts of department and other organisations affected - Political and Social context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improving service - Relationship with control structures and use of resources - Negotiating persuasively with outsiders - Innovation
Managing own work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Setting objectives, measuring performance and time management - Representing policies - Public relations - Information technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allocating priorities and coping with deadlines - Handling group discussions - Clear communications - Using micro-computers
Specialised Aspects of work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy - Administrative law - Finance - Quantitative skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessing options and institutional arrangements - Equity considerations in decisions - Interpreting financial statements and investment appraisal - Use of statistical data
Expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Depth of knowledge in a particular area of work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keeping up to date with developments

foresters to the allocative, rather than merely technological nature of their activities which needs to be encouraged with concomitant structural changes by policy makers and a massive training programme, alternately, the view is growing that the community forestry programme will have to be placed under some other department.

A neglected aspect of training is the different organisational requirements for regulatory, service and developmental functions, in addition to inputs on technology. The attitudes of these administrators condition both their response to the environment and to their colleagues. It also influences their priorities in work. The complexities of jurisdictions within the administration and the competency struggle between individual departments hinders attempts to develop a coherent policy, as the case of environmental policy illustrates. Only when these different role perceptions have been identified can effective curricula design even be attempted (Table 1).

FOCUS ON ORGANISATIONAL NEEDS

Reforms in the functioning of the public service in the rural areas will have the greatest impact on the lives of the people in developing countries. Service needs particularly to be improved in four areas:

1. more access to and contact with public servants;
2. limited waiting period for replies and decisions;
3. less red-tape through simple language; and
4. cost control.

This can be achieved through an information service for the public, decentralised routines, fewer and simpler regulations and new attitudes.

The training to achieve this excellence in service requires a human resources concept:

1. Public managers are not only those at the top level--all professionals need to be public managers. Those at the lower levels and in technical cadres also take similar decisions; only the emphasis varies between different organisations and levels. Improving administrative capabilities at all levels, especially grassroots levels is essential.
2. The development administrator is a problem-solver. He is not only executing programme and projects but also relating with other officials and groups, as well as linking

behavioural skills more than he needs analytical skills.

3. Values, attitudes and ethics in personal and public relationships are more important than the knowledge or skills. In the absence of strong coordinating structures, commitment to national goals and values remain the only guiding principle. Performance, particularly at the micro-level, is dependent more on motivation than on ability.

To have an impact, integrating training with a broader set of reforms will act as a reinforcement by supportive changes. The need for such a reorientation is not readily accepted because present evaluations of training seldom go beyond a questionnaire survey of trainees at the conclusion of the training, which essentially measures reactions. Evaluation after a period of six months to one year can determine whether the training is achieving its objectives and whether there was right measuring of objectives to assess the amount of change attributable to training and how these changes affecting an organisation's performance have to be translated as training goals.

Innovation also needs to be incorporated in the training content. Three trends in development administration are already becoming apparent and need to be incorporated in the training design. Firstly, there is an increasing decentralisation of decision-making, reduction of job classifications, introduction of network structures and stress on quality over cost. Secondly, there is the changing nature of middle management with the introduction of microcomputers to process information, the simplification of procedures, and the increasing self-management of services in place of functions. Thirdly, in place of top-down bureaucratic hierarchy, assembly line focus and uniformity, there are improved horizontal relationships also involving clients, a focus on the lowest levels, and flexibility to manage change. These trends will be greatly facilitated by giving all public servants a general administration training rather than functional or specialised training, which is needed only by a few in given development projects.

SUPPORT SERVICES

Determining training interventions is still a complex task since the objectives and types of training for the needs and duties of different levels of personnel have to be specified. The needs range from policy analysis and exploring alternatives for higher-level personnel to knowledge of basic rules and procedures and office

"administrative management", which is needed by all organisations and levels, will be cost-effective, through the sharing of common facilities and trainers. The interchange of ideas and experiences among participants from different organisations and levels also strengthen the learning process. Separate facilities should be set up only to meet the unique training needs of individual departments.

The policy should also define the role of universities and other autonomous bodies who are assigned responsibility for certain types of training. Though increased allocation of resources will be needed, and should be a specific part of the policy, much can be achieved through a reallocation of existing resources and redesign of programmes. Unfortunately, investment in physical infrastructure of institutions has received higher priority than the more critical 'software' requirements--quality and motivation of trainers, training materials and methodologies, and adequate training evaluation. The practice of repeating the same programme design and methods without periodically reassessing needs should be discouraged; funds should be earmarked for research and for developing new training material.

Training of trainers should receive high priority--better salaries, training fellowships, and opportunities for specialised studies should be provided. Training institutes will need more stable leadership and greater autonomy than departments engaged in routine functions, and strengthened linkages with client organisations in evaluation and research to increase relevance and innovative capacity. It is not sufficient merely to declare a training policy, but to integrate the various components to ensure effective implementation.

To become catalysts for change, training institutes will need to adopt a wider role. For example, the introduction of microcomputers involves structural changes where as support services need special attention. The preparation of interactive material with this specific objective largely accounts for the increasing popularity of the programmes on "microcomputers for administrators", being conducted at the Academy for the Government of India.

On the one hand, micro-computers can be used as tools in the learning process (computer aided instruction), on the other hand, one can learn about computers themselves and how to use them (computer literacy). For administrators, computer appreciation courses usually contain technical information--computer components; elementary programming; the computer language BASIC and its applications, both existing and potential. There are also different levels of training programmes for various administrative levels. This approach assumes that the factors in end user computing would be similar to product

straint in adoption.

Administrators now need to themselves deal with micro-computers. It is also important to train serving administrators in end user computing because the government salary scheme and conditions of service are not attractive enough to retain a sufficient number of computer personnel. In order to encourage usage, innovative steps will also be needed: Singapore provides loans to officers to buy micro-computers for their personal use. Without proper training and ongoing support, the introduction of micro-computers will fail altogether.

It is important to gain a positive attitude from key groups throughout the organisation, i.e., enthusiasts, supervisors, as well as field level and clerical operators. The commitment of the top level is important for support. More important is the 'push' that key functionaries in the office, like the head clerk and stenographers, will provide; because forms and registers will also be modified in the process and administrators do not do their own typing, therefore, Clerks must be included in the training programmes, along with officers.

Familiarisation is the key in bringing about more favourable attitudes towards micro-computers among local level officials. Most have never even seen the equipment or used a typewriter key board, and mental preparation is needed to reduce the mystery and uncertainty. These officials have the greatest need for such training because their position in the organisation will be affected. Being at middle levels, and with a lower level of general education than those at the top level, they have fewer training opportunities. They should not be treated as passive participants but given a similar input as given to those at higher levels in the organisation, only then can interactive usage develop.

Organisational learning will be involved in achieving the goal of computerisation. This will require experience sharing to build group consensus, on at least three issues: the different perspectives of users, system developers and central agencies; experimentations by end users to recognise opportunities and develop prototypes, only some of which will succeed; and, a different approval procedure because of the shifting micro-economics, with benefits seen not in terms of savings but improved service and a tolerance of failure.

We should be aware of the values imparted by the material we use. The need is to stimulate creativity, curiosity and self confidence in the participants, rather than treat the technology as 'given' which inevitably causes certain consequences, to which people have to adjust. People, in order to put data to good use, have to make demands on the information system and this includes an element of

administrative reform and familiarity with quantitative techniques. Training is one of the means to create these pre-conditions for this effective use of micro-computers.

The training content for micro-computers should focus on three factors involving the characteristics of the problem (software) the people perspective (user interface), and the management of the process (applications); the critical success factor has been found to be the type of user involvement, rather than type of knowledge of techniques imparted. Micro computers should not only be projected as easy to use but also need to foster group rather than individual approaches that cuts across levels and functions. Only then can the potential of micro-computers to bring about institutional change and increased productivity, particularly in Rural Development, be realised.

Similar interventions are needed to develop capabilities for organisational design to manage change in other innovations and, development administration is the management of change--in terms of structure as well as relations (Table 2).

Table 2 ORGANISATIONAL ATTITUDES TO TRAINING

	Department		
	Regulatory Enforcement	Service Technical	Development General
Leadership	Identified	Not identified	Group influence
Roles	Group loyalty	Supportive	Complacency
Attitudes Towards Environment	Fear, siege mentality	Looking down upon others	Hesitancy
Attitudes to Change	Suspicion, no self reflection	Do not say no, dilute	Goal disorienta- tion, cliques, fantasize
Own Training Priorities	Use of modern equipment	Sector Planning	Process of implementation

DEINSTITUTIONALISATION

The appropriate training methodology for such a curriculum has also to be different from the usual pattern followed by teaching institutions. Classroom-oriented graduate-school-type instruction is ineffective for practising administrators. The pace and content need to be limited, with coverage in depth rather than width. A few issues should be taken and not crowded with too much content. Since learning is a thinking process, participant awareness of the problem increases the motivation to change. To change attitudes, a lecture or reading assignment is less effective than experience-sharing in which participants work out their own conclusions. Experience-sharing among a homogeneous group, the formation of subgroups for in-depth discussion both inside and outside regular sessions, trainers with both academic and practical experience, and audiovisual aids are all needed. Action-learning, i.e., group discussion and commitment to action through group consensus has been found to be most effective in bringing about attitudinal change.

In the learning design, direct information transfer along with different points of view, presented with controversial aspects to stimulate discussion, has been found useful. Role-playing in simulated situations and case studies have a limited impact. The Harvard-type case is loosely structured. The participant has to find the problem and then solve it. This technique is more suited to financial analysis rather than capturing relationships; even in Harvard the case method is used extensively in Law and Business Schools, and only sparingly in the Kennedy School of Government, which relies more on discussion and assignments. The illustrative case, where the problem is stated and conclusions arrived at on the basis of research, is more effective, particularly if combined with films, officials at all levels are keenly interested in gaining knowledge of implementation in concrete situations. Syndicate work on live problems should be a vital part of the curriculum, rather than historic case studies.

The practical orientation in diagnosing organisational problems, and identifying and implementing solutions jointly, has been welcomed by all participants. To be effective in promoting institutional change the outreach and scope of training has to be extended beyond structured programmes in classrooms. The Academy has successfully encouraged administrators to sit for correspondence courses, meet the needs of others for knowledge acquisition through a compilation of financial and personnel rules, and dissemination of articles of interest. An increasing number of administrators is availing of

The responses emphasise some important emerging trends in the structure and functioning of development administration. Firstly, decentralisation of powers covers much more than the much talked about district planning; powers of drawing and disbursing, head of office and appointing authority are being exercised at levels much below the district by officers--doctors in public health centres and principals of high schools--who have no previous exposure to these concepts; the evaluations of these courses consistently contain a request to extend the duration from one to two weeks. Secondly, officers of the judiciary, police and the technical cadres have not traditionally been given exposure to socio-economic concerns of society and requests for most of the articles in the *Sandarbh Darpan* comes from them. Thirdly, technical cadres in large numbers are sitting for the Management diploma, which was earlier limited to the generalist cadres. Such interventions expand the range of activities potentially useful in learning, once training is not viewed exclusively in terms of instruction by an expert authority in 'courses' taught in a classroom setting to a selected 'elite'.

Training innovations need to build upon, as well as elicit, participant knowledge. Successful interventions include getting participants to discuss problems of implementation and reflect upon what they are already doing. Getting 'adversaries' together to discuss and determine areas of agreement as well as disagreement, as a strategy of conflict resolution, has been very successful. Calling teams of administrators, who are required to work together, to understand that different perspectives are involved and discuss inter-organisational issues has resulted in noticeable changes in the field. Putting officials and elected representatives together has led to better understanding. A 'neutral, but controversial, issue is extremely useful in defreezing participants, rather than relying upon traditional behavioural exercises and games.

Lastly, self-development is also a part of training; opportunities are needed for study leave and research, for a period of up to two years, on topics of individual interest. Distance learning, computer-based packages and video cassettes, also needs to be utilised, since courses in institutions are expensive when large numbers have to be trained.

The Academy has successfully decentralised training to the districts. Programmes are conducted by officers posted in the district and not by Academy staff. The Academy provides training material, including a lesson plan and audio-visuals, and funds. Uttar Pradesh has some 43,000 group 'A' and 'B' officers and it is not possible to bring them to institutions for regular training. Apart from being

lead to better inter personal relations--most noticeably, increased informal contacts. The usefulness of the programme has been commented upon by Divisional Commissioners and a number of districts are repeating the programmes on their own.

Ultimately, training has to made a departmental activity much like the regular monitoring of programmes. The District Officer of Uttarkashi is conducting seminars of village functionaries, and the sub-divisional magistrate of Ranikhet is calling a workshop of all gram sabhapatis to explain to them the details of beneficiary schemes and get their involvement in other programmes of government. One tangible result is that programmes, like family welfare, where most administrators resort to tacit coercion or inducements, are being implemented smoothly. The quality of other programmes has also improved. Continuous on-the-job training is operationally the vital need.

CONCLUSION

While there can be disagreement on what training policies are appropriate, there is broad agreement on the problems faced by officials. The stress in the coming decade will be on greater concern for the poor, as well as relations between the centre and the field, i.e., working with and through people. The assembly-line focus of industrial management or the military pattern of line and staff functions on which public administration has been modelled is not suited to these requirements. The institutional arrangements for anti-poverty programmes require a focus on the functionaries rather than on the functions involved. Modifying the way of giving service is the most important factor in improving the administration.

Problems related to roles and relationships are the biggest obstacles to development. They can be improved through training; by providing useful perspectives and a sense of interdependence for building up support and coalitions for change, along with a forum where officials share information on how common problems were handled. Administrators are increasingly expected to be less legalistic and process-oriented and more result-oriented. The challenge is to find innovative ways of dealing with teamwork, co-operation and mutually supportive linkages amongst the administrators, and between them and the political cadre and the disadvantaged groups.

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Role of Focused Training in Public Administration

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CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION has been paid to the training and training needs of civil servants in recent years, based on the perception that the tasks which a civil servant has to perform in a developing society often demand skills for which a formal university education at a young age, however broad based, can scarcely be adequate nor can they possibly be acquired through experience alone. The present emphasis on training also reflects the recognition that in a world of growing specialisation and fast changing technology, those who run the country must update their knowledge periodically and be familiar with the trends of current thought, developments in the technological field and application of new concepts and approaches to solution of problems in important areas of public administration, if the pace of development is to be quickened and the country is not to be left behind others. The precise objectives of the training sought to be imparted are, however, not defined clearly and, consequently, the form and content of training programmes remain hazy and their orientation, uncertain. As a result, training effort lacks direction and there is a widely shared feeling that the results achieved are hardly commensurate with the time and resources spent. Attempts to define the objectives are marked by ambivalence and inconsistencies as to what is sought to be achieved.

The ambivalence manifests itself in the directives given by the authorities sponsoring the in-service training programmes for civil servants on the non-technical side to the training institutions regarding the tasks envisaged for them. In one breath they are called upon to organise the training programmes around a given theme, and at the same time they are told not to try to structure the courses as such but only to provide facilities for the participants to unwind and interact among themselves, exchanging notes and so on

especially when the courses are of such short duration as a week. The objective is stated to be to develop qualities of leadership, involvement in the country's development and welfare, etc. Not knowing how to inculcate such sterling qualities within a week or a month, the trainers go about their task to the best of their understanding with the resources available with them. What the trainees gain at the end is not known. It would appear that while there is appreciation for courses which focus on transactions analysis and the like, scepticism, if not strong dislike, is openly expressed of focused courses which seek to go into subjects like public economics in some depth, even when the subject is dealt with by known experts. Not often, one hears that when asked, "What for they go out to join the courses?", trainees promptly reply, "A paid holiday".

All this raises a fundamental question. Granting that periodical training for public servants is essential, should training be focused and, if so, what should be the focus? The question, though apparently simple, raises some basic issues, such as what are the tasks of a civil servant in a developing society, what should be the role of generalists as against specialists in public administration and what would be the appropriate personnel policy of the government to maximise the efficacy of training in improving public administration. These issues need to be addressed squarely if schemes of training are to be devised in a manner which will be truly useful and evoke genuine enthusiasm among those who are required to undergo the courses laid out for them. The revelation that the training models followed in development administrations under the technical assistance programmes of the 1950s and 1960s and the project related training programmes of the 1970s and 1980s sponsored by international aid agencies have largely been ineffective¹ lends urgency to the need for taking a fresh, unbiased look at the training needs of administrators in order that a satisfactory answer can be found to the question, "What should be the role of focused training in administration?" The article seeks to discuss some aspects of this question. Taking note of alternative approaches in assessing the training needs of mainly civil servants with administrative and managerial functions, attempts has been made to evolve some broad principles for devising training programmes keeping in view the implications and the need for supportive action through administrative reform. It should be added that the discussion is confined to the role of in-service training excluding the form or content of pre-entry training.

what should be its focus obviously depends on what a civil servant is expected to do and what are the intellectual inputs required to equip him best in fulfilling his tasks. A perceptive and thought provoking paper on Training of Public Servants brought out by the Department of Personnel and Training last year,² to which a reference has already been made, while drawing attention to the unsuitability of training models for public servants based on principles of 'enterprise management' emphasises the importance of behavioural skills rather than analytical skills for a development administrator. It is argued that the environment in which a civil servant, in a country like ours, has to work is 'heterogeneous and complex' and, in decision-making, the administrator has to take account of factors like 'historical, cultural trends, relationships of short-term and long-term and various levels and agencies of administration'. Since strong, coordinating structures are generally absent in such societies, commitment to goals and values can be the only guiding factor and motivation rather than ability influences performance. Hence, it is concluded:

For Development Administration, the most important objective of training is to change attitudes and values rather than merely provide knowledge for personal development and work skills.

The reasons advanced for this proposition are simple, viz., that development administration involves providing public service and not profits in the market place, that it consists of delivering goods and services over which there are competing claims and, in these tasks, personal knowledge of techniques is less important than communication and negotiating skills for establishing contacts with or persuading colleagues in other departments and agencies.

An additional reason for stressing motivation rather than skill as the key factor in the performance of a development administrator is that most of his time is taken up in routine administration/such as processing papers, success in which does not depend so much on the methods of supervision and control as on the motivation of the personnel working below. Hence, the development administrator's task, the paper goes on to argue, also calls for 'innovative ways to manage morale and improve individual and organisation performance', the focus being on optimising 'external relationships'. All this points to motivation rather than ability as the key factor in determining performance. Given these premises, it follows that training for public servants in development administration should aim at inculcating a general educational and questioning approach rather than teaching technical skills.

would seem to need is "a general administration training rather than functional or specialised training". Only those who have to handle specific development projects need specialised training.

It follows that for efficient administrative management, training is better centralised under one training institution to meet the requirements of all organisations and for different levels, as that would be cost effective because of economies of scale, sharing of common facilities and trainers, and exchange of ideas and experiences among participants. Specialised training may be provided separately for meeting the needs of individual departments. If the logic of this approach is accepted, training for public servants need not be focused, or, if it is still felt that there should be a focus, it should be on general administration comprising knowledge of office procedure, financial and personal rules combined with behavioural skills. The pattern of training which follows from this approach is what seems to be attempted now for civil servants in the administrative cadre at the pre-entry stage (e.g., in the National Academy of Administration and the State level administrative institutes). Under this approach, in-service training should aim mainly at providing opportunities for administrators to get together to exchange notes and ideas and do some reading and thinking on their own.

The logic underlying the approach delineated above has considerable validity in a country with a tradition of generalists dominating the administrative scene. *Prima facie*, what officers in the administrative cadres at the district level need to enable them to perform their functions well is mainly the motivation and ability to coordinate different agencies and lead the teams set up for specific functions. However, the snag is that with the massive growth of public sector and the state assuming a major role in initiating and guiding social and economic development, the task of the civil servant no longer consists merely of coordinating the activities of different agencies at the district or State level or overseeing law and order and the delivery of essential public services. Often the civil servant is required to undertake jobs as diverse as running a public enterprise, laying down pricing policies for agriculture and industry, heading the departments of education, health and communications, banking, etc., undertaking external aid negotiation, formulating fiscal policy, reforming tax laws and so on. While services of specialists are also availed of, the generalist civil servant usually has the decisive voice. That is to say, the senior administrator does not remain confined to the task of development administration in the field all his life but plays a crucial role in government activity in all areas including specialised ones as well. In fact, few remain tagged to development administration as such

beyond the first few years in their career.

It would, therefore, not be correct to say that development administration consists only of administering employment programmes or distributing essential commodities in the districts under their charge and, therefore, a strong background in general administration alone is adequate for equipping a civil servant to take up responsibilities which he may be called upon to undertake in the course of his career. Thus, the attempt to impart liberal education in the training of civil administrators might have sufficed in the colonial days³ but it can scarcely be regarded as adequate for the civil servant of today.

No doubt, the changed context and the need for a change in the character of civil servants intellectual equipment to discharge their duties has been recognised by those in charge of formulating training programmes in the current phase. Thus, one finds that in the one-week refresher programmes for IAS officers, which are intended to provide a kind of sabbatical to officers of varying seniority and to facilitate "interaction and experience sharing between those who formulate policy and those who implement it", the content of the courses is supposed to be built around a "particular specialism" relevant to the country's development, such as ecology, energy, forestry, education, agricultural and industrial policy and so on. The conflict inherent in the two aims—providing a sabbatical for interaction among officers and at the same time look for 'specialism'—is apparently not considered serious enough to require reconciliation. The result has been an undesirable degree of ambivalence in the approaches to what in-service training programmes should consist of and lack of direction.

For providing a sabbatical to facilitate interaction among participants, holiday resorts with library facilities rather than specialised training institutions are obviously more suitable. In any case, there could be no need for lecturing to the participants in such a programme. As has been noted earlier, experience shows that while programmes with specialism in behavioural and managerial skills seem to have gone down well, attempts to provide specialism in some depth in other areas, like public economics, do not evoke much enthusiasm. In several such programmes while some did make a serious effort to get the best of what was provided, quite a few could scarcely conceal their indifference, if not contempt, and openly exhibited it by doing cross-word puzzles around the table. Of course, this reaction must be attributed partly to the dullness of the course or inadequacies of those who delivered the lectures. Mismatch of programmes, curricula and methods might also have something to do with this apathy.⁴ But it was evident that partly it was due also to the lack

of interest in the subjects presented and/or the degree of 'specialism' sought to be provided. A common reaction to specialised or focused courses was that they were 'theoretical' and 'academic' and of no relevance to the professional requirements of the participants. This reaction to specialism was only to be expected among generalists whose experience and interests had developed among different lines, for some in the field of rural development and employment programmes, some in land reform, and for others in tax administration or small scale industry.

Even in training programmes for cadres of specialised branches of administration, like income tax, sales tax or excise, attempts to deal with the subjects on hand analytically, such as by arranging lectures on the role of fiscal policy in development or problems in resource mobilisation or principles of taxation or the relative merits of direct and indirect taxes, evoke questions about their usefulness. In a training programme for senior managerial staff of a leading bank in the public sector, talks by eminent experts on issues in economic development and even on monetary policy, evoked adverse reaction among participants and they sharply questioned their utility. Framers of training programmes would do well to ponder on what accounts for this apathy. For no amount of prodding would induce the trainees to take genuine interest in or derive any benefit from training programmes, however thoughtfully designed, unless they are convinced of the relevance and utility of the courses.

Should one then conclude that training for public servants need not have any focus and the aim should be not to impart analytical skills but only help to improve their ability to 'manage' and handle behavioural relations? For all the persuasive arguments put forward by Sanwal in support of this point of view, it is difficult to accept this approach for the simple reason that, to repeat, the responsibilities of a civil servant in a developing society range over diverse areas calling for specialisation or at least an acquaintance with the broad trends of thought and research findings in the respective fields with which they are or may be required to deal in their role of policymaker and policyimplementor. Contrary to the belief which civil servants generally tend to develop in the course of their career, issues which arise for consideration in policy making or even policy implementation in various fields of government activity cannot be tackled by relying only on common sense, however strong or extraordinary or on the basis of knowledge acquired by them in their respective disciplines in their college days, it may be. Knowledge gets rusted unless used and often gets obsolete with the passage of time. Hence the need to renew and expand one's reservoir of knowledge and keep one's analytical faculties sharpened periodically. It

would be quite wrong to suppose that a civil servant has no need to renew his knowledge and can get along well only on the strength of common sense and general knowledge. Sheer complexity of the subjects he has often to deal with underlines the need for some degree of specialisation and its continuous upgradation on his part. To illustrate, should a civil servant involved in tax policy formulation not be aware of the pitfalls of commonsense assumptions of who bears the burden of a given tax, or what impact it can have on the economy in all its ramifications? While it would not be fair to expect him to be fully conversant with the literature on the subject, should he not at least have some idea of what latest researches in the area have to say if policy is to be based on informed judgement? Unfortunately, not many among the civil servants in our country recognise this need or take it for granted that their common sense can see them through and tend to dismiss anything which contradicts their ideas and prejudices as simply wrong or theoretical and academic and so of little relevance to the real world.

The truth is that public servants in this country enjoy power and privilege to an extent unthinkable in any other part of the world except possibly the Indian sub-continent. This coupled with the constant adulation of subordinates and the public tend to breed a kind of complacency and arrogance among our civil servants to the point that readiness to learn from others or appreciate a different viewpoint from what they themselves hold gets dimmed if not vanishes altogether. Quite a few even lose the habit of reading and it is this more than perhaps anything else that accounts for the tendency to dismiss anything that demands some intellectual effort as 'theoretical'. They fail to appreciate that a theory is supposed to be an abstraction of reality to help identify factors and interrelationships which determine or influence the reality, an understanding which is essential to deal with reality and that a theory which is totally divorced from reality is not a good theory or no theory at all.

Of course this kind of insularity is not peculiar to public servants in India alone. The refusal or inability of civil servants to grow intellectually had led Keynes to lament that "practical men, who believe themselves exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." Dissatisfaction with the process of tax policy making and the chaotic state of the tax system in UK has been ascribed by a noted fiscal economist to the insularity of the Inland Revenue officials and their immunity from any intellectual influence.⁵ The point for consideration is, can the deficiencies and shortcomings which mark policy-making in a system dominated by civil servants, who are basically generalists, be cured through training alone and if so, what kind of training would best

achieve this objective?

An extreme view would be that policy formulation should be left only to specialists, who are acknowledged experts in their respective fields, and that generalists cannot be expected to deal efficiently with matters which call for a high degree of specialisation. If this view is accepted, the generalist would be confined only to look after general administration and the training of generalist administrators would then need no focus. In other words, the role of focused training in administration hinges ultimately on the respective roles envisaged for generalists and specialists.

Issues arising in the debate over Generalists vs. Specialists would take us too far afield from the subject matter of the present essay. Suffice it to note that in the developed countries, the trend is towards specialisation in administration and putting specialists rather than generalists on top in matters concerning formulation of policy. There is evidence of some recognition in India too of the need for specialisation in certain fields, like science and technology and also economic policy formulation. However, application of this principle here has so far been rather limited. Thus, one finds departments of revenue, commerce, industry, statistics, environment, health and education still headed (and several of them also manned at the second or even third levels) by generalists.

The reasons for the continued supremacy of generalists are several. One important reason seems to be that since most activities in which the government is involved are interrelated, policy making in any sphere requires a breadth of knowledge and vision which narrow specialisation often fails to confer and in fact inhibits. Hence, while services of specialists are needed they should be on 'tap' rather than on 'top'. Also, the experience of departments and ministries headed by specialists have not always been very happy as specialists often lack the capacity to carry a team along because of lack of experience in cooperative and collective action. The sorry state of many academic institutions in the country lends force to this argument. Also, specialists often fail to take a broad view of the issues before them and so what they would prescribe as a technically correct solution to a given problem may indeed prove disastrous in practice.

Given our situation and the fact that our civil services continue to draw the cream of our young intellect and also that the administrators acquire an ability to handle human relations in a way while specialists often lack, the wisdom of relying so heavily on generalists will be generally acknowledged. At the same time, it cannot be gainsaid that generalists also require a degree of specialisation

order maintenance or dispensing distress relief. How to enable the generalists to acquire the right degree of specialisation constitutes the basic task of training and a challenge for those who devise the training courses.

NEED TO ENCOURAGE SPECIALISATION

While the task so formulated does not admit of a simple answer and the degree of specialisation needed by a generalist would naturally not be uniform for all fields it is fair to say that no serious specialisation of any degree is possible in any sphere in the course of one week or even one month. With rapid advance of technology and research in various fields, to acquire even a nodding acquaintance with the basic facts and research results and the contents of the unresolved issues and controversies, one requires sustained interest and effort. In many fields, it calls for a life-long pursuit. The duration of a training course should at least be such as to equip the participant to catch up and follow the trends of thought and debate in the field of his/her interest intelligently in the subsequent years which cannot be done merely by reading newspapers and popular journals. In most fields, such training would require a duration of at least a year in a really good specialised institution where the trainee can attend courses of his/her choice. An equally good, if not better, way is to allow and encourage civil servants to go on a sabbatical or study leave of one or two years to a university or institution of standing at least once in their career and take up a regular course or a research programme of his/her own.

A corollary to this proposition would be to let the generalist administrator to choose and develop one or two broad areas for specialisation and ask for study leave to develop his/her interest in a more serious manner than a short-duration training course permits. It also follows that the mobility of civil servants from one task to another must be restricted to spheres of their specialisation and the practice of moving them from between totally unrelated fields abused. Thus, the plan for sending civil servants abroad for training is not a bad idea, provided they are sent not to courses of general administration or management but courses with a clear focus and also oriented to problems and environment of developing countries. Since such orientation is best acquired in the environment of a developing society, it would be desirable to develop a few well equipped training institutions within the country.

This is not to suggest that the function of training should be to turn generalists into full-fledged specialists or that in-service

transformation. The aim of in-service training programmes for civil servants should be two-fold, viz., (i) to enable them to renew their knowledge in special fields of their choice, and (ii) to sharpen their analytical skills and keep themselves intellectually alive so that they can bring to bear an analytical approach in finding solutions to problems and issues posed before them. It is possible that some among the civil servants may indeed excel even experts in several fields (the late L.K.Jha for instance surely ranked as a leading Indian economist) but by and large, training would have achieved its purpose if it served the twin aims put forward here.

SUMMING UP

To conclude, in-service training ought to be focused but there can be no real focus in trainings of a week or month's duration. Civil servants should be allowed and encouraged to take sabbatical for one or two years to pursue subjects of their interest in a specialised way in institutions which are equipped to provide such courses. Short duration courses may yet have their utility in helping the civil servants who have already developed interest in some specialised fields by taking advantage of study leave or sabbatical, to catch up with developments in the areas of their specialisation periodically. But such short programmes must be duly focused and not treated as a discursive excursion into diverse fields. 1

These observations would apply also to training programmes meant for officers of specialised services like revenue service, economic service and managers of banks, insurance, etc., in the public sector. The degree of specialisation in their case would, of course, have to go beyond what would be appropriate for generalist administrators. Thus, while for a generalist civil servant who has to deal with tax policy issues, it might be enough to get acquainted with the basic logic underlying the principles of, say, optimal taxation, an officer in the Economic Service ought to be able to apply the principles in a given situation if called upon to do so. That is to say, a generalist has to know what a new theory is about or what newly developed analytical techniques help to analyse while a specialist civil servant must also be familiar with the techniques themselves. However, the basic approach suggested here, viz., encouraging and enabling the officers in each service to keep themselves intellectually alive and abreast of developments in their respective fields would remain valid also for specialist public servants. For this again there can be no better way than to allow them to go in for intensive courses with study leave for longer periods than a week or

focused on subjects of their interest.

The approach suggested above must also be combined with due recognition of those who evidently make good use of such opportunities, such as by publishing their work or sitting for tests in the training institutions. This in turn calls for a radical reform in personnel policy in two directions, viz., encouraging specialisation as a way of career improvement and utilisation of services of **generalists**, who have acquired specialism in certain areas primarily in the fields of their expertise. Training cannot but leave one cold if the feeling persists that posting and promotion depend primarily on seniority and the service to which one happens to belong rather than on performance. Similarly, training cannot take off unless specialised knowledge is put to good use in practice. The need for intervention in personnel policies to establish strong linkages between career development plans and training has been emphasised by others too in the past.⁶ It is a pity that the message does not seem to have been taken as seriously as it deserved.

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Relevance of Behavioural Inputs in Civil Service Training in India

PRADIP BHATTACHARYA

"He does not think there is anything the matter with him because:

One of the thing that is
the matter with him
is that he does not think that
there is anything
the matter with him

therefore

we have to help him realise that,
the fact that he does not
think there is anything
the matter with him
is one of the things that is
the matter with him."¹

THESE WORDS of R.D. Laing sum up succinctly the core issue with which trainers of civil servants in India have to struggle. The question is, what options are open to such a trainer, options which hold out at least some assurance of impact? Clues to this are available if we examine two things: how trainers learn; and how trainees learn.

Learning associated with managerial competence has been found to emerge from nine types of processes²:

1. Modelling, i.e., copying or imitating a 'respected other'.
2. Vicarious Discovery, i.e., observing the conduct of others, its consequences, and acting accordingly in similar situations.
3. Unplanned Discovery, i.e., experiences; trial and error

learning.

4. Planned Discovery, i.e., going into the situations with the deliberate objective of learning from those experiences.
5. Being taught, told, or shown an approach or idea, etc.
6. Discussions, i.e., the sharing of information, ideas, feelings and experiences.
7. Storing of Information, i.e., remembering data during the course of events.
8. Coaching, i.e., being guided and encouraged along a determined path towards an objective.
9. Organisational Climate, i.e., by imbibing the ethos of the system in which one works.

PROCESS OF LEARNING OF CIVIL SERVANTS

An examination of the learning processes of civil service trainers has shown³, that a considerable amount of learning takes place in an unplanned or 'non-contrived' manner. Further, such learning is found to occur through pleasant as well as unpleasant, exhilarating as also painful, processes. This has very important implications for the training methodology and the assumptions underlying training. We tend to assume that a trainee learns best only if the feelings associated with the process are pleasant and if it involves an active role for them. The available data, however, shows that this is not the whole truth and that like trainers, the trainees, too, are likely to learn from passive and unpleasant experiences. Thereby, the range of training interventions available to trainers of civil servants becomes wider and enables greater flexibility in formulation and implementation of programmes.

Summarising these findings in terms of a paradigm we can attempt to suggest how the civil service trainees learn. This paradigm is the four-stage experiential learning model of Kolb as modified by Boydell⁴ and further altered by Temporal⁵ (see Fig. 1).

This Learning Cycle can be entered at any one of the four stages and can also be opted out of at any of the four stages to pursue a non-developmental path. It is internalised the most if the cycle is completed, as Confucius had pointed out long back:

"I hear and I forget.
I see and I remember.
I do and I understand."

An examination of the feedback given by fresh entrants to the

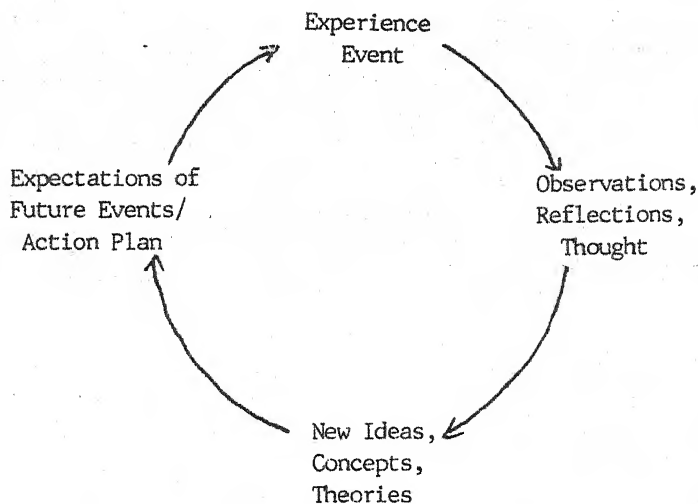


FIG. 1 The Learning Cycle

Indian Administrative Service regarding their training has revealed the following⁶:

1. They value learning what they perceive as of immediate relevance by way of professional knowledge and skills for their job and this motivates them even where the methodology is trainer-centred and trainee-passive, such as lectures.
2. Even where relevance might not be very immediate, they value the input if it is learning-by-doing.
3. They value sessions calling for active participation.
4. They get intensely involved where the subject arouses strong emotions or the presentation provides a total experience (as with films on the Bhagalpur Floodings, Bara, 'Thanneer Thanneer', etc.) even if the feelings aroused are unpleasant. From these, a vicarious learning is found to take place which they prize on account of the strength of the feelings aroused within themselves.

Personal Constructs as Barriers

In terms of the learning paradigm, the first of these lies at stage three, i.e., of ideas, concepts, theories. From this cognitive input, the trainee sees what he can expect from the job and might be able to formulate an action plan (stage four of the Cycle) and hopefully go on to complete the entire Cycle. The second category is at

stage one of the paradigm, namely, an experience or event. It is the job of the trainer, in this case, to structure opportunities in which the trainees will receive encouragement to proceed to stages two and three and, hopefully, even four. The third category is also an experience, though less intense and possibly emphasising more the second and third stages of the Cycle (e.g., exchanging observations and coming up with new solutions to problems). The last category can be either at stage one, as when watching a strongly emotive film which turns into a vicarious experience, or at stage two when a discussion follows such a film to tease out its implications.

When the IAS trainees were asked to list what, according to them, had been gained from the training, they enumerated twelve benefits. It is a very significant revelation that almost all the 'gains' mentioned relate to the affective domain, the feelings area. Their emphasis is found to be consistently on the 'process' aspect rather than the cognitive. While in successive years the feedback on cognitive aspects has fluctuated widely, this has remained a steady constant.

The implications of this analyses is that this process by which trainees learn, this overwhelming feedback concerning the benefits of inputs belonging to the affective domain, must be kept at the centre of the formulation of an effective training programme for the civil service in India. P.C. Candy had put this pithily: 'Training, therefore, has as its primary focus an attempt to understand the construction systems of learners'.⁷ By neglecting to do so, the trainer might find that the trainees' personal constructs have become barriers to learning in the process of the trainer having proceeded purely on the basis of the paradigm of his own belief-and-behaviour model without bothering to take into account that of the trainees.

Inputs to Overcome these Barriers

Behavioural inputs become critically important in tackling these barriers to learning set up by the personal constructs of the trainees. Paul Temporal⁸ has identified six categories of blocks to learning:

1. **Perceptual:** The trainee is unable to perceive the problem. For instance, the civil service trainee might not perceive caste distinctions as a problem. Since he is unaware, he is in no position to move towards solving it.
2. **Cultural:** The trainee will avoid a range of behaviour options because of his cultural script. Thus, he might not oppose an illegal order passed by his superior because of the bureaucratic culture and his own upbringing of unquestioning acceptance

of commands from above.

3. **Emotional:** The trainee feels insecure and is, therefore, reluctant to act on his idea. He might believe that all men are equal but he would not like to stay in an untouchable's hut or share his meal because of an emotional repugnance. Civil Service trainees have been known to be reluctant even to visit a Harijan colony out of apprehension that they might be offered some refreshment there and are unsure of how to respond to such a situation.
4. **Intellectual:** The trainee lacks the mental competence to resolve the situation. Paulo Freire calls this "semi-intransitivity of consciousness".⁹ This is seen in trainees who, being educated only in the vernacular, find themselves at sea with management and computers. To them these never become problem-solving tools but remain mysterious, magical things for which experts must need be summoned to work, like magicians, all the inexplicable abracadabra.
5. **Expressive:** The trainee possesses poor skills of communication. Thus, he does not ask for explanations of what he cannot follow because he feels he is unable to express his needs adequately.
6. **Environmental:** The organisational climate inhibits the exploration of new learning opportunities. For instance, the entire bureaucratic environment in India is geared not towards management of change and of conflict but towards maintenance of status quo ante. Naturally, civil service trainees are chary of trying out any novel ideas learned during training when they are back inside the system.

Learning How to Learn

These blocks have to be overcome as much by the trainers, so that they themselves can keep growing through continuous learning, as by the trainees. The first step in this is to have them identify and 'own' their own learning blocks and then design activities for overcoming them, keeping in mind that learning originates from a wide variety of sources through multifarious processes embracing a broad spectrum of feelings. Learning how to learn is one of the most useful ways of effecting entry into this growth process.¹⁰

The problem is that all this is simply not recognised in the existing system of civil service training in the country. The nature of complaints received from trainees themselves are, interestingly enough, almost verbatim those regarding teaching in universities, viz., poorly prepared, boringly delivered lectures, the impersonality of large classes, adherence to the letter of the law, irrelevant and

outmoded syllabi, emphasis on traditional examinations testing merely formal rote learning, and stress on teaching instead of learning. Norman Mackenzie's statements regarding the assumptions underlying the recruitment of academic staff applies, quite uncannily to inductees to the higher civil services in India (the paraphrase in parentheses is mine):

It is generally assumed that outstanding academic performance as an undergraduate, coupled with a period of supervised (attachments), is necessarily correlated with the skills, or even the personality factors, required of (administrators). The result is the recruitment of (trainees) who are somehow expected to acquire by experience a wide range of competenciesThe remarkable feature of this system...is not that it is done well, but that it is done at all.¹¹

Lack of Clarity in Training Goals

So, what are we to do about it? Leaving aside the much-debated question of the recruitment system as outside the scope of the present study, let us revert to the available option of using training as an instrument of bringing about change by focusing on the affective area with the help of behavioural science. Inevitably the question arises: change from what, how and to what?

A.R. Hoyle has pointed out that the failure to appreciate the role of the administrator lies at the core of lack of clarity regarding the goals of administrative training.¹² To understand the role of the civil servant, therefore, is our primary task.

Examining the milieu in which he functions, it is found to be constituted as of a series of Chinese boxes, one within the other. The governmental environment is one such 'box' within which is another box of the bureaucratic ethos. The government itself exists within a larger box of the socio-economic and politico-cultural environment of India. The civil servant himself is a product of this 'box' which is not just outside him but also inside him at the very core of his personality. An understanding of all these is a prerequisite for arriving at an answer to the question posed above.

Looking at the government 'box', of which the civil servant is a creature, we find that the stated goals of government become the mandate for the actions of the civil servant. Government, like all organisations, has life-plans which are like prepared scripts in a play. These can be analysed under three classifications suggested by Eric Berne.¹³

1. **Etiquette:** Organisational beliefs, norms, hierarchies, pre-

judices, etc., such as the Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Policy, etc.

2. **Technicalities:** Organisational knowledge, skills, methods of work, economic and social processes, distribution of power, etc., such as laws and rules for implementing the etiquette.
3. **Character:** Organisational ways of experiencing and acting out feelings, as well as ways of sabotaging or deviating from the etiquette. A good example is Paul Appleby's reference to the good Indian administrator's "deep sense of emotional involvement" in the welfare state commitments as opposed to "the spirit of programmatic detachment so often invoked on behalf of civil service irresponsibility" in the Weberian model. However the curious feature about character is the insidious manner in which it deviates from the etiquette. Thus, while the etiquette demands emotional commitment to stated goals, the bureaucratic ethos perpetuates a pseudo-Weberian detachment and hands-off policy. If the goal of government is to have a socialist republic, we cannot ignore what Julius Nyerere said: "Socialism is an attitude of mind" and, we might add, of heart as well. This cannot be brought about just by the technicality of legislation. It is the character that holds the key to change in the functioning of the civil servant.

Inner Conflicts of Trainees

The reason why the excellent Technicalities of laws and rules turn into red tape and sources of corruption is that Government is not a third force existing outside Indian society. It has evolved from this society, which is polarised broadly into two major groups: the Haves and the Have-nots or Have-littles. Government is interlinked with both as shown in Fig. 2.

The Welfare State mandate inter-links the Government with the Have-nots so that they have more as enunciated in the Etiquette. Government is inter-linked with the Haves in a double sense. According to the Etiquette it has to ensure that the Haves do not have more but actually have less, so that the excess can go to the Have-nots. Thus, a situation of overt tension is created which is reflected in measures like nationalisation of banks, abolition of privy purses and zamindari. Simultaneously, however, there is a covert relaxation of this tension because the executive arm of government (the politicians and the administrators) is rooted in the social class of the Haves in which it has its origins. Hence there is a deviation, insidiously, from the Etiquette of Government to the Etiquette of the particular socio-economic class to which the politi-

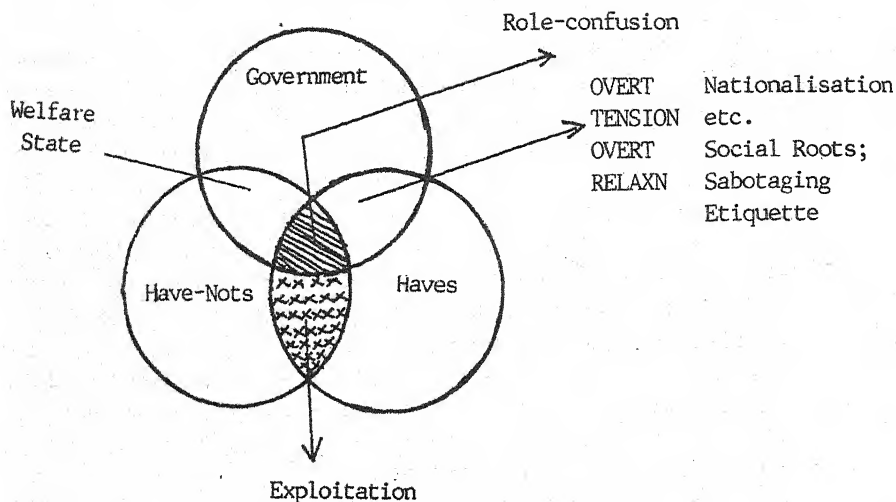


FIG. 2

cian and the civil servant belong. This is where Character, in the sense in which Eric Berne uses it, plays the key role as commitment to one's social matrix over-rides loyalty to government's mandate, taking cover behind the bureaucratic values of detachment and anonymity. Among those civil servants, who take the overt tension seriously, an inner dilemma is set up because of the conflict between the organisational script of government and the cultural script of his social origins. The task of training civil servants would lie in bringing out into the open these latent dichotomies for critical reflection and thereby equipping the civil servant to deal with such inner conflicts for achieving role-clarity. Jack Mezirow has described it in an incisive statement: "We all acquire the meaning-perspective prescribed by our culture, but we have the potentiality of becoming critically aware of our perspectives and of changing them. By doing so, we move from an uncritical organic relationship with society to a self-consciously contractual relationship".¹⁴

'Pentagon' of Belief-Behaviour Systems and Role of Civil Servant

An understanding of the belief-behaviour systems of the Haves and the Have-nots is essential for achieving this critical awareness, for the civil servant is born a part of the one in order to serve the other. This is not, however, the place for that examination.¹⁵ We shall only point out that the civil servant is all the time being pressurised to remain part of the Haves by the role-expectations of both the Haves and the Have-nots. To the former, he is one of them

and ought to be loyal to them and therefore must treat any attempt by government to share-out their power with the Have-nots as absurd and immoral (for are they not innately inferior beings?). To the Have-nots, he is a ruler, the 'maaibaap' and the referral itself casts the civil servant constantly in the role of the paternalistic benevolent despot.

If this is the existential predicament in which the civil servant finds himself, certain consequences follow with the inevitability of a clockwork pageant which it is essential to understand for arriving at options for intervening into this triple-tangle in a manner which will bring about attitudinal changes in the civil servant. For this purpose, we shall use the psychological instrument evolved by Oswald Summerton called the Drama Pentagon¹⁶ (Fig. 3).

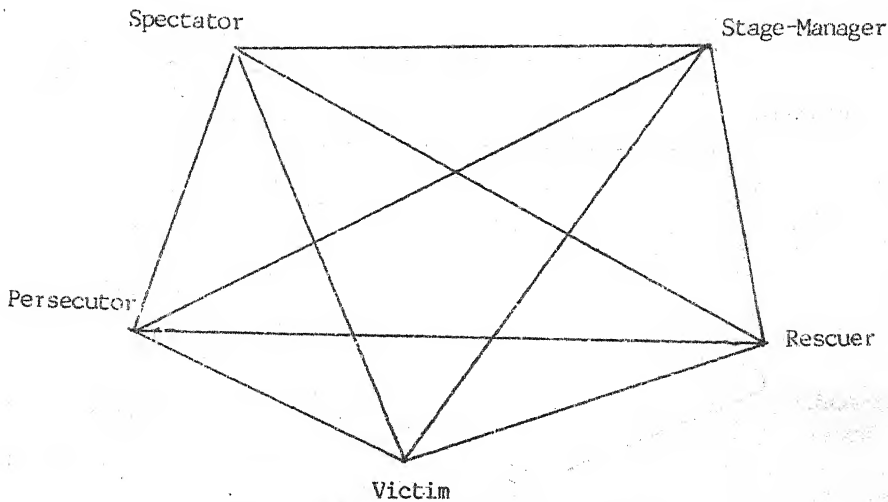


FIG. 3 The Summerton Drama Pentagon
(N.B.: Persons can move to any of the roles)

There are five positions on this Pentagon: Stage-manager, Rescuer, Victim, Persecutor and Spectator. Summerton's finding is that once one enters the Pentagon it is impossible to remain locked in any single role and inevitably one switches from a role to the others. Further, these roles are specious and un-authentic. For instance, the Rescuer is really saying, "you are not good enough; I'll do it for you", thereby actually putting down and in a sense 'depriving' the person he thinks he is rescuing. Similarly, the victim is really saying, "So, you think you can help me? Let's see how you're better than I am", thereby discounting the rescuer. Because of the non-authentic nature of these roles, the feelings they leave behind are

negative, destructive and do not move the participants towards self-liberation or critical awareness. A genuine rescue would be a collaborative process in which the helper and the helped work out their liberation jointly in a process which Paulo Freire calls 'praxis', instead of a handing-down of prescribed, pre-fabricated solutions which become 'assistencialism', in Freire's words and are a tackling of symptoms not of causes; rather like administering aspirin for cancer.

The first stage of this drama finds Government in the Stage-manager position. In the name of the people, the elite enact a Constitution, 'invading', in Freireian terms, the people with their ideas and plans of what is good for them, not caring to find out what they feel, what they want. The Government sees the Have-nots in the Victim position and the Haves as the persecutors. On the diagram, this is what it looks like:

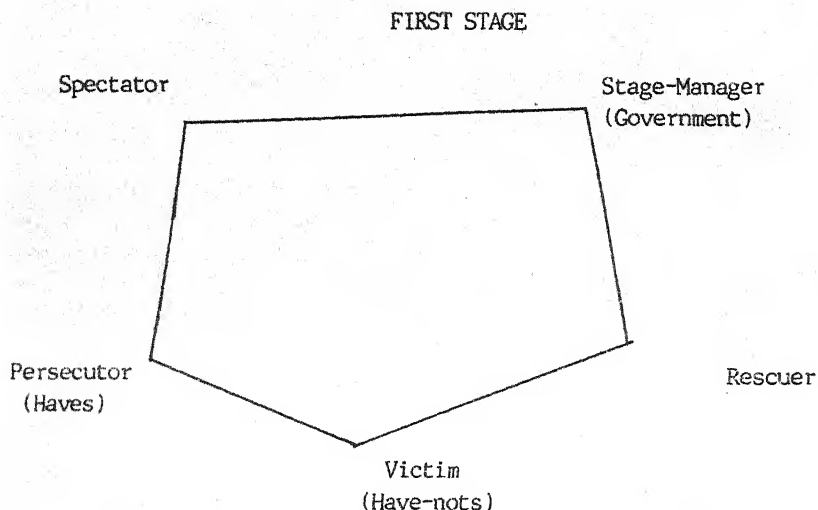


FIG. 4

In the second stage, the dynamics get more complicated. The Have-nots through the 'maai baap' concept of Government they project¹⁷, lock into the belief which the Government has internalised from the Haves who constitute its executive, namely, that the Have-nots are inferior, incapable of identifying their needs, critically analysing their problems and evolving solutions. All this, government feels, has to be done for them and to them, not with them as equal partners. In this attitude it is also unconsciously perpetuating the colonial thinking which it claims to have replaced, because, again, it is an

attitude typical of the Haves who constitute the government of the new nation. Thus, government is propelled by its welfare state mandate, the expectations of the Have-nots and the prejudices of the Haves, into the Rescuer role of "You're not good enough, so I'll do it for you". The Have-nots are in the victim position because they discount (put-down) themselves, are passive and wait for liberation to be handed-down to them by government which seems, at times, to have taken the place of God for them.

SECOND STAGE

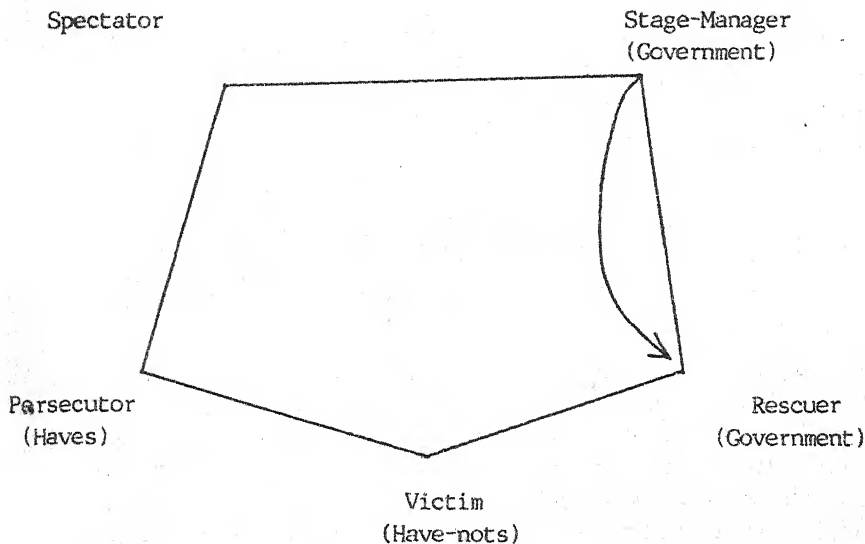


FIG. 5

In the third stage a switch takes place. Since the Have-nots are passive and since the solutions prescribed are not evolved out of their situation by them, this handing-down of Rescue fails to achieve the envisaged results. Thereupon, government experiences, inevitably, a switch to the victim position and in frustration the civil servant often sees the Have-nots as Persecutor (by refusing to collaborate in a programme imposed upon them from above). The Haves, in the meantime, move to the Spectator position, watching the fun!

In the fourth stage, the Government (or the civil servant) switches roles yet again to that of Persecutor. He locks into his own internal 'Haves' ethos with the feeling, "they don't deserve it; they are ungrateful dolts". At times, this goes further into actual

THIRD STAGE

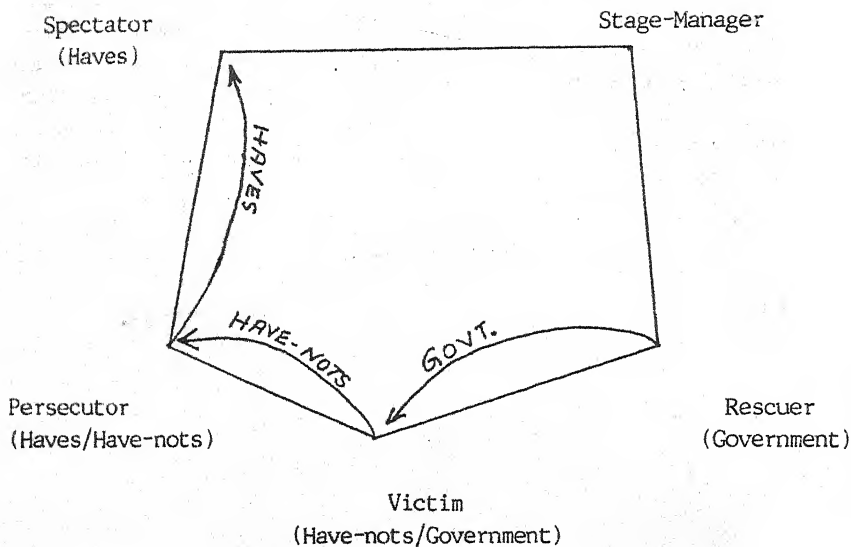


FIG. 6

nots to insist on recovering loans forced upon them for implementing schemes which failed (inevitably, the schemes were tailor-made by the all-knowing government without bothering to consult the potential beneficiaries about the practicality and need for these). At this stage, the Have-nots switch back to their familiar Victim role, feeling more stupid than ever and reinforcing all their negative behaviour.

FOURTH STAGE

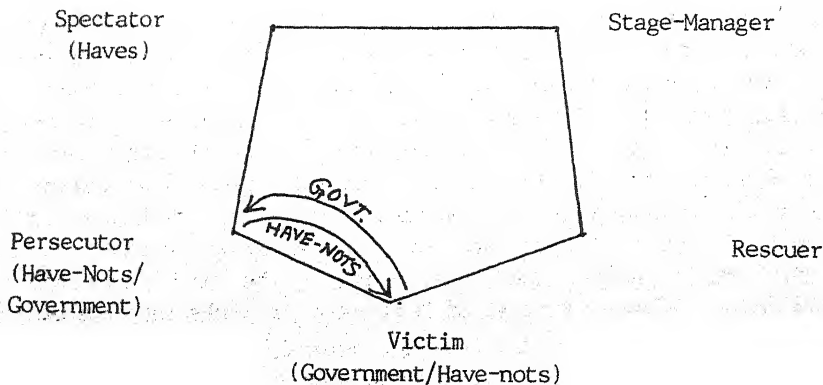


FIG. 7

Occasionally, someone wakes up to the basic contradiction and speaks of the need of planning from below. This is promptly turned down by the executive into telling the people what they should plan, because they are ignorant, illiterate, backward and cannot know what is good for them. The moment this is done, the symbiosis¹⁸ takes vicious hold and the civil servant is faced with blank, passive faces among the people he is trying to develop (typically, not working with them to develop themselves and himself). In the worst cases, the passive acquiescence of the Have-nots is seized upon as an opportunity for diverting benefits to oneself or to the Haves of whom the civil servant and the politician are part and parcel.

If such be the tangle of mutually re-inforcing dependence-and-oppression systems which faces the civil servant, what is his role going to be? Such existential dilemmas cannot be resolved merely by structuring courses for supplying him with more information, better problem-solving skills and 'positive' attitudes. What is needed is a realisation that pre-masticated food is meant for those who are not autonomous, who are held in symbiotic relationships with a 'giver'. As Freire said, this is an 'object' world which is invaded, manipulated, governed and educated into domesticity by the Haves. The civil servant we need is one who will enable the 'object' to look at themselves and discover that they have teeth and can masticate food themselves. This civil servant is not an avatara, bringing down the golden age from the havens to the hellish nether regions. He is a facilitator grappling with the problems of working with the oppressed to "become critically aware of the fact that we are caught in our own history and are relieving it and the cultural and psychological assumptions which structure the way we see ourselves and others"¹⁹. This is the first step, both for the civil servant and the people he serves, namely, to realise that they need not be enslaved by the past, but can transcend it to recognise today as it truly is and respond in freedom to choose and create their own tomorrow. This is the enhancement of self-directedness of autonomy and the development of what Camus called "a mind that watches itself". The process of doing this is what Freire calls conscientisation. It entails continuous examination and re-examination of the reality around us to identify and remove the dehumanising structures. That, indeed, is the path to freedom from oppression and of escape from the fear of freedom which enslaves people to inequitous systems.

SUMMING UP

In the final analysis, training needs to do in the civil service what Camus did with the myth of Sisyphus: become critically aware of

the absurdity of playing out a programmed life without challenging the roles assigned and meeting the expectations prescribed by the situation.²⁰ Sisyphus, it will be recalled, was condemned by Zeus, the king of the gods, to keep pushing a huge boulder to the top of a cliff, only to have it rolling down the incline just as he had reached the top, time and again. In achieving the ability to stand above his situation, to objectify and distance it and be able to analyse it for what it is instead of seeing it in terms of the pre-fabricated parameters laid down by society, the civil servant will be facilitating not only his own liberation but also that of the people he serves; and not just of the Have-nots or Have-littles but also the Haves, for this liberation does not leave any untouched.

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Training for Performance and Behavioural Change*

B.C. MUTHAYYA

IN RECENT times, training has been perceived to have a major input for facilitating the development process in improving the quality of personnel, engaged in the delivery of services and programmes. The new impetus given for training generated a wider interest in evolving training programmes and content which would contribute to personal development vis-a-vis organisational development. Most often, questions have been asked about what training does to the individual who passes through various training programmes periodically. However, it should be admitted that most of the training programmes are not built into the career development of the personnel in government organisations. Career development is a life long process of developing work values, crystallising any occupational identity, learning about opportunities and trying out plans for part-time recreational and full-time work situations. In case, we conceive training as an opportunity to improve one's career performance, then it has to be provided for in such a manner that it fulfils the career demands, enhancing the individual's potentialities in meeting the requirements of work and organisation. Career development perspective¹ has the following implications:

1. Improving human resource planning and development activities in organisations;
2. Improving individual career planning and helping people who are caught in difficult work situations to cope more effectively with those situations;
3. Problem of improving the matching process at all stages of the career so that early, mid and late career crisis can be dealt with more effectively by both the organisation and the indivi-

*The ideas expressed in this article are of the author and not of the Institute where he works.

- duals caught in this crisis;
4. The problem of obsolescence, demotivation and levelling-off which occur in mid and late career;
 5. The problem of balancing the family and work concerns at different life stages; and
 6. Problem of maintaining productivity and motivation of all employees who are individual contributors and/or who are not motivated towards climbing the organisational ladder.

Assuming these have implications for career development, the question arises whether the current training efforts contribute to any one of these aspects. In case, it does, then it will have a meaningful role in contributing to the improvement of organisational performance. Otherwise it would become a routinised exercise in futility

TRAINING AND ORGANISATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

Looking at training as a concept, it could be understood as a planned learning experience designed to bring about permanent change in an individual's knowledge, attitudes and skills and if I may add, to create the required understanding in organisational inter-personal interactions.

In case, we conceive performance as a function of ability in interaction with motivation, we may perhaps assume that people employed in government systems have the required ability. The latter could be sharpened further through training for improvement in knowledge and skills resulting in competence. In other words, training should aim to improve the competence of the people in organisations in order to manage the changing job demands emerging from time to time. This should not be a problem for any training institution as imparting knowledge and skills seems to constitute the main focus in all training endeavours. The basic problem would be to energise motivation which, coupled with self confidence, contributes to commitment. One may be able to produce competent individuals but it may be difficult to produce committed individuals as the latter seems to be a challenge to the modern trainer and the training institutions.

Training effectiveness is usually determined by assessing some combination of the following criteria: Trainees' reaction to the programme content and training process (reaction); knowledge or skill acquisition (learning); behaviour change (behaviour) and improvements in tangible individual or organisational outcome, such as improvements in performance or productivity (results).² It is believed that the positive trainee reactions, learning, behavioural change and

improvements in job-related outcomes are expected from well-designed, and well-administered training programmes. However, trainee attitudes, interests, values and expectations may attenuate or enhance training effectiveness. In the context of this preposition, it would be of interest to analyse the influence of specific individual characteristics on the effectiveness of the training contributing to either improvement in job performance or behavioural change. This factor seems to have been taken for granted in our endeavour to train on a large scale the in-service personnel of the Indian Administrative Service. In our efforts to bring about responsive administration, changes in values, motivations, perceptions and attitudes of incumbents in the government systems become of paramount importance. It is also believed that the trainability of the individual participant may influence his learning, behavioural change and performance. Trainability is conceived as the degree to which officer participants are able to learn and apply the material emphasised in the training programme.

Trainability

Trainability is a function of trainees' ability and motivation. The cognitive and psycho-motor skills that trainees possess directly influence whether or not, they will be able to understand and master the content of the training programme. Assuming, particularly in the case of officers of the Indian Administration Service, that the trainees possess the prerequisite skills needed to learn the training programme content, performance in the programme will be poor if motivation is low or absent. In other words, the trainee's motivation and attitude make all the difference in training effectiveness regardless of a well-designed and well-administered training programme. The influence of work environment on trainability is another factor that also needs to be considered. It is believed that the climate of the organisation (supportive or non-supportive) and the social context (relations between superordinate-subordinate officers and colleagues) of the work setting provide the reinforcement and feedback. Wherever the work environment is supportive, there is a likelihood of transfer of skills and knowledge from the training environment to work environment. The environmental component encompasses both trainees' perceptions of the social support for use of new knowledge or skills and possible task constraints (lack of equipment or financial resources). Viewed in this context, the question arises as to what extent the civil service training programme--whatever may be the objectives as advocated from time to time for short or long duration courses--has fulfilled the objectives of transferring learning experiences gained through training to job situations, pri-

marily in improving performance coupled with the required behavioural change. It is also found that most of the training institutions seem to concentrate on improving knowledge dimension or skill development or concentrate fully on behavioural change through a variety of exercises in human dimensions.

Evaluation of the civil service training seems to have received a favourable feedback as it touches only the 'reaction' component. The reactions of the officer trainees to a large extent depend upon a variety of factors. In case, we seek guidance from Herzberg's theory of motivation, one can infer that reactions generally are based more on 'hygiene factor' than 'motivation factor'. Quite often, the trainees have expressed unhappiness about the living conditions, the type of facilities provided for board and lodging, transport arrangements, reception and other arrangements for local and private visits during the programme. Wherever these have been taken care of excellently well by imaginative or business-minded training institutions, the reactions of the participants have been very positive to the entire programme. Wherever, this is neglected or not provided for up to the expected level of satisfaction of the participants, then it gets reflected in the reaction to the entire programme. In case we conceive the programme content, methods and their outcome as the 'motivators', then the satisfaction resulting from this should undermine the little dissatisfaction that may result from 'hygiene factor'. However, experience has it, that the reverse process from 'motivators' to 'hygiene' generally does not take place but the influence of 'hygiene' on 'motivators' seems to be predominant. A cursory glance of summary evaluation of one week IAS courses offered at NIRD revealed that the reactions of the participants keep on varying from course to course as what one group endorses, another group underrates it. Thus, the value of benefits accruing from this evaluation from 'reaction' becomes dubious towards improving programme content. The general observations are mostly mixed or uncertain to the course content. This is particularly so as the participant's groups are not homogeneous in regard to the fields of assignment. Since the focus of NIRD programmes was on 'Policy Analysis and Management for Agriculture and Rural Development', most of the participants who had either not worked in the area or do not foresee the possibility of working in this area, perhaps felt that the opportunities to put to use their acquired knowledge in the course was limited and their reactions to the course were generally not always positive. Those officers, who were at the fag end of their career, did not visualise their working for rural or agricultural development in the few years of service left to them. It was a general feeling among the participants that if they are trained in any particular

area, they should be allowed to specialise in these areas in order to motivate them to sustain their interest. They also expressed a desire that training programmes should have a practical orientation. This concept of "practical orientation", which people who matter frequently use without mentioning its operational aspects, seems to be an escapism from absorbing anything new or different as it is believed that nothing is practical unless some one makes an attempt to try it out. These participants were generally against classroom type of lectures and opted for a learning process through brief statements of the basic areas followed by discussions and case studies. This seems to be a good suggestion but experience seem to suggest that not all participants were found to contribute to such discussions and invariably it gets bogged down to a few; the others being passive spectators. The heterogenous nature of these training groups, except that they all belong to the same service, being influenced by its immediate applicability to a particular job situation may guide them to view the course objectives differently than what was indicated.

Size of Group of Trainees and Duration of Course

There were also opinions about the size of the group being large and not necessarily conducive for successful interaction in a classroom situation. Though the size of the group has restricted itself to 30 participants, it has not exceeded 27 or so. The size could be a hinderance when discussions in a vertical-mix group takes place in the same order as perhaps obtaining in the organisational hierarchy. It is likely that those in the lower levels of seniority may get neglected as seniors seems to monopolise by virtue of their position. Though it was expected that in courses of this type, interaction power should supersede position power' but then habits do not disappear just because one has moved from the office to the Training Institute. This is particularly so in government based Institutions which does not seem to foster a different culture than what obtains in the general administrative set-up of the country at large. The one-week courses were viewed as too short and four week courses too long. They were of the view that the participants should have the choice to select the courses and should not be forced into courses which are not of their choosing. Only advantage perceived in one-week courses was that it would provide a forum for officers of varying seniority to interact freely, update their knowledge and share their views and experiences. Some were of the view that the benefit of the course, with the focus on courses offered at NIRD accrue more to those who are currently engaged in this area of work.

Similar assessment have been received for the four-week IAS

course, held recently at NIRD on "Policy Analysis and Management for Agriculture and Rural Development". The course has been rated favourably (Reaction), and most of them felt that this exposure was good to equip them with an understanding of the various dimensions of policies and programmes of agricultural and rural development and also provided them an opportunity for interaction with colleagues. However, it was found that in a four-week programme, the initial period during the first week will have quite an amount of resistance, may be an attempt to size up the training situation but after the first week, there is certain amount of accommodation and slowly this will turn out into a positive attitude. This in a way suggests the importance of the first week in the long duration programmes and the way in which the first week is handled will have an impact on subsequent accommodation and adjustment of the participants. The four-week courses seem to have a better appreciation of the course content and the opportunity provided for their exposure. Another problem expressed in the attitude of the participants to speakers, either guest or internal faculty members. There was a mixed reaction to the speakers. It was found that in some courses, the speakers were never allowed to make their points of view or complete their presentation and interruptions follow one after another, at times deviating from the main theme under discussion. It is likely that participants, by virtue of their position in a superior service or assumed "know all attitude" do not seem to have the patience to first absorb what the other professes to say and then react. This could be termed as "evaluative listening" rather than listening with an open mind. This discussion and the learning process gets enhanced if there is a healthy interaction between the speaker and the listener instead of what was observed in some of the training programmes.

Need for Basic Strategies of Training

These experiences in managing the courses for senior officers of the IAS seem to indicate that exposure to training programmes, as a matter of routine in order to fulfil the requirements, will defeat the very purpose for which these courses are organised and investments made. In order to obviate this difficulty, it would be better for those who matter, to evolve the basic strategies of training instead of leaving it nebulously to the myriad number of training institutions. All are aware that the task needing attention at the moment of time is improving performance or efficiency coupled with the behavioural change to bring about self-confidence, optimism and adaptability to the changing demands and cut across the bureaucratic rule and procedure oriented behaviour. In case our concern is clear, then we have to find out a method of transmitting these concerns

through an exposure to a reasonable period, not the "hit and run" one-week programme but may be a little longer duration say for 10 days with the above objectives in focus. It is also believed that the knowledge which is not perceived to be useful will meet with lot of resistance from the participants however, good the knowledge per se. Therefore, the knowledge and skills imparted should be in consonance with the organisational requirements as well as job expectations of the incumbents.

SUMMING UP

Taking the preamble of this article into consideration, one may have to work for improvements in competence and commitment in order to manage the given task regardless of the subject matter specialisation. The latter could always be obtained through individual efforts as the capability is inherent among these officers occupying pivotal positions in the organisation. However, behavioural change involving not only personal development but also establishing healthy relationships, particularly in the context of inter-dependent and coordinative administrative activity in the organisation, both between super- and subordinate officers as well as across the different departments involving colleagues, cannot perhaps be managed by the individual alone unless they are put through a well-designed, purposive and meaningful training programme. The training situation should be designed to encourage participants to learn to work with other people without giving room to be unduly influenced by prestige or status. In other words, effort should be made to build up team work and its importance in the management of current programmes need to be stressed. This seems to be the essence of the present day administration dealing with dynamic programmes like Poverty Alleviation, agricultural productivity and the population control to name a few.

As mentioned earlier, it is also necessary to work out career paths for each officer after say six years of administrative service and expose them to training programmes at periodical intervals to enhance their capabilities in rational problem solving and for managing programmes through working with relevant people. It is also felt that over a period of time, everybody reaches their Plateau in work life which prevents them either from changing their work habits or getting motivated to do their jobs better. In such a situation, any kind of training oriented to help these people to overcome the constraints of the Plateau may go a long way in enhancing their potentialities and make their contributions. The task would be to decide, both in short and long duration training programmes, preparation of inputs in training situations to manage development of

competence and commitment of the officers. This could be facilitated through assessment of training needs³ on the following lines:

1. **Basic Management skills** (organising, planning, delegation and problem solving): involving setting goals and work objectives, developing realistic time schedule to meet work requirements, identifying and weighing alternative solutions;
2. **Inter-personal skills** (developing subordinates, motivating others and building team work): involving, resolving inter-personal conflicts, creating a developmental plan for employees and identifying and understanding individual employees needs;
3. **Administrative skills**: involving understanding and interpreting rules and regulations, impartiality in managing the affairs related to the people; and
4. **Quality control**: involving ability to collect, analyse and interpret statistical data and feedback and also using statistical software on the computer.

In case, the training capsules are built around these training needs, there is a possibility of this being fitted into the career map of the officers. In this context, periodical reinforcement through training may help the process of maximising one's potentiality and ultimately result in self-actualisation in the larger context of organisational vis-a-vis national goals.

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Annexure

CALENDAR OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN THE CONTEXT OF CARRIER STAGES

A. PLAN PROGRAMME OF TRAINING

A Plan Scheme of 'Training of Personnel for Development Administration' was first included in the Fifth Five Year Plan after a study of the training needs of senior officials in relation to the tasks to be performed for implementation of the Five Year Plans. Since then, a large number of training programmes are being sponsored under this schemes every year with a view to improving the planning and implementation capabilities of senior and middle level officers at the Centre, in the States as also in Public Sector Undertakings.

A number of specially-designed training programmes have been initiated for personnel engaged in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of various plan projects. These are mostly in the different sectors of developmental activity like Land and Water Management, Industry, Health, Utilities and Transport, Rural Development, Tribal Development, Environment, Energy and Power, Training programmes are also conducted in the subject areas like Human Resources Development, Project Management, District Planning, Financial Management and Computers. The Scheme also includes programmes for training of trainers from the States so that the State Governments may be able to arrange for the training of the relevant field and other staff for more efficient implementation of projects.

There are two types of training programmes in the Plan Scheme: (1) 'General' category programmes, which are conducted on an All India basis for middle level officers at the Centre, in the States and in Public Sector Undertakings, and (2) 'States' Category programmes, conducted by the State Training Institutions, which are meant for senior and middle level officers of the respective State Governments and State Public Undertakings.

Duration: 3 days to 4 weeks.

B. NON-PLAN PROGRAMMES

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Objectives

- Enable the participants to examine the challenges of the socio-economic and political environment in Public

Administration.

- Acquaint the participants with current and emerging concepts in both administration and programme management in government as these pertain to the executive job performance with a view to enhancing their knowledge and skills and contribute to an effective execution of their administrative responsibilities.
- Provide an understanding of some of the principles of management including behavioural patterns, leaderships and human relations; and
- Impart appreciation of selected tools and techniques of management with a view to improving their analytical skills and decision-making ability.

Duration: 3 weeks.

Programme Contents

The coverage in the Management Development Programmes is on providing knowledge of the theoretical concepts at an advanced level and emphasis is on their practical application at a higher management level.

The course contents cover the socio-economic-political environment. Importance of Bureaucracy, Organisation Development, Project Management Techniques, Information Systems, Introduction to Computers, etc.

Participants' Level: Career stage.

Officers of All India Services (e.g., Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Forest Service) and Central Services Group-A (both organised or non-organised and technical and non-technical) with not less than 10 years of service and not more than 16 years of service.

The Officers should not be more than 50 years of age (relaxable up to 53 years in case of officers belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and in exceptional cases).

MANAGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES

Objectives

- To acquaint the participants with theories and practices of management as applicable to public system;
- To provide them orientation to some of the tools and techniques of management as applicable to public systems; and
- To upgrade their management skills.

Duration: 2 weeks.

Programme Contents

The entire theme of the management in Government Programme will be covered through the following modules:

Module 1 : General Management

Essence of the Indian and Eastern Culture and Philosophy-linkage with management, different systems of Management with emphasis on MBO, mission objectives, etc. job profile of participants and common irritants in work, delegation and decentralisation, Promoting innovation and creativity in government with emphasis on Management of change, Performance appraisal, Development of subordinates, implementation-Opportunity, etc.

Module II : Basic Management Skills

Communication and perception, Superior-Subordinates and interpersonal relation, Effective supervision (Leadership and motivation), Conflict Management, Team Building, Effective decision-making skills including Role-Play exercise, Self-awareness and Self-development.

Module III : Office Management

MIS in Government, Office automation and use of computer with demonstration, Records Management, Time Management, Disciplinary procedures.

Module IV : Financial Management

Decentralisation, Financial Management, Financial Propriety and Government Audit, Cost Accounting and Cost Consciousness, Budget including performance/zero base budgeting.

Module V : Project Planning and Investment Decisions

Cost benefit analysis for investment decisions (including discounted cash flow), Project Planning and Evaluation (including reference to network techniques).

Participants' Level: Career Stage

The programme is meant for officers with 5-10 years of service in Group-A or with at least 8 years of service in Group-B (both Central and state Governments). The Officers should not be more than 50 years of age (relaxable up to 53 years in case of Officers belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes).

MANAGEMENT ORIENTATION PROGRAMME

The Training Division of the Department of Personnel and Training, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions sponsors a series of short duration (1 or 2 weeks) training programmes in specific areas of Public Administration at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. The programmes were formerly called Executive Development Programmes. Since 1977-78, these have been christened as Management Orientation Programmes (MOP).

Objectives

The main objectives of these programmes are to enable administration of Central/States/Union Territories and Public Sector Undertakings to:

- acquire an understanding of socio-economic environment influencing policy formulation and decision-making.
- to acquire basic knowledge of some of the management techniques and tools available to meet the challenges of development administration, and
- to provide a better understanding of the various factors and forces influencing attitudes and behaviour of individual and groups of civil servants.

Duration: 1 to 3 weeks.

Participants' Level: Career Stage

The courses under MOP are meant for officers of the Central Government/State Governments/Governments of Union Territories and Public Sector Undertakings. The eligibility conditions are that the officers nominated should have put in 6 years of service in All India Services/Central Services Group-A or 10 years of service in Group-B (Gazetted rank) and equivalent middle management level officers of Central/State owned Public Sector Undertakings. The upper age limit for these courses is 50 years (relaxable for SC/ST and in exceptional cases).

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (CSS)

Objectives

The programme for empanelled Deputy Secretaries is proposed to provide:

social environment in which they function.

- An increased understanding of the process involved in policy formulation and execution, and
- Exposure to the skills and technique of organisation and management.

Duration: 4 Weeks.

Participant's Level: Career Stage

The course is compulsory for the selection grade officers of the Central Secretariat Service.

ADVANCED PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMME IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Objectives

This is a post-graduate programme designed to bring about comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of Development Administration through interaction between experienced administrators and academicians. It aims at providing an understanding of socio-economic environment and of the tools and techniques that are useful in meeting the challenges of development administration. It seeks also to develop in the participants inter-personal skills and sensitivity to people with a view to make administration more responsive to the needs of the people it seeks to serve.

Duration: 9 months.

Programme Contents

The contents of the programme cover classroom studies in various aspects of Development Administration and Economic. Administrative system, Organisational Theory, and Behaviour, Social Research, Methods and Statistics and Management Tools and Techniques, including managerial economics. The participants are expected to select an area for specialisation relevant to their present and likely future assignments. The area of specialisation available for study in the Management, General Administration, Planning and Rural Development. Officers participating in the course will be required to conduct field studies and prepare a project report and dissertation. On successful completion of the programme, the participants will be eligible for the award of M. Phil degree by the Punjab University, Chandigarh (wherever such postgraduate degrees are recognised by Panjab University).

Participants' Level: Career Stage

The course is open to officers of All India/Central services (organised or non-organised); Technical or non-technical subject to the following eligibility conditions:

- Length of service: At least 10 years of Group-A (Class I) post.
- Age: Not more than 45 years on the day of commencement of the course, i.e., on July 1; 50 years in case of officers belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

C. PROGRAMMES FOR IAS OFFICERS

**TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR IAS OFFICERS
(6-9 YEARS SERVICE)**

Objectives

- Survey of the recent changes in economic, social, industrial, and physical environment.
- Formulation and implementation of strategy to meet such changes in Development Administration.
- To develop and understanding of other's attitudes and approaches to major problems and issues;
- To elicit more efficient performance from staff through leadership and motivation.

Duration: 4 weeks.

Contents

The course content is equally divided to provide inputs in the areas of knowledge, skills and human behaviour. It includes:

- Socio-economic and physical environment and the recent changes in it.
- Enquiry in rural development, strategies of rural development.
- Policy making process in segmented societies and role of civil servants.
- Crisis Management.
- Role of District Collector and inter-departmental coordination at District level.
- Financial propriety, institutional finance and District Credit Plans.
- Municipal Administration.
- Special programmes for weaker sections (e.g., SC/ST, women

- and bonded labour).
- Special programmes related to animal husbandry, small industries, etc.
- Environment and development, role of voluntary agencies.
- Efficient delivery system.
- Grievance redressal and corruption.
- Human aspects in management-motivation and leadership.
- Communication skills.
- Computer applications (hands on experience).
- Inspection, touring, disciplinary proceedings.
- Social programmes (health and family welfare planning, adult literacy, reservations, etc.).
- Presentation of individual papers.

Participant's Level: Career Stage

IAS Officers having seniority of 6-9 years who are expected to work in capacities of District Magistrate and Collectors. Deputy/Joint Secretary in State Government and Head/Joint Head of Departments in the State.

TRAINING PROGRAMMES OF IAS OFFICERS (10-16 YEARS SERVICE)

Objectives

The focus will be on Management Concepts and decision-making with special attention to Management in Government and in the Public Sector. The training at this stage is so designed as to help the officers going for specialisation in selected areas later in the career in particular. The objectives of the programme are to:

- Sensitize the participants to the environment--economic, political and social--both at national and international levels.
- Appraise the participants of the emerging concepts and practices of management.
- Equip them with the analytical aids for decision-making.
- Provide opportunities for development, problem solving skills and effective contribution to organisational performance.

Duration: 4 weeks.

Programme Contents

The total number of working days would be divided into three, more or less equal components devoted respectively to skills (subject matter knowledge); management techniques including computers and

human behaviour).

The training programme will cover functional areas to make the participants good and competent managers. Training in the functional areas will be against the background of one or the other sectoral areas.

Participants' Level: Career Stage

Officers of Indian Administrative Service, falling in the group of 10-16 years of service.

**TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR IAS OFFICERS
(17-20 YEARS SERVICE)**

Objective

The basic objective is to intellectually challenge the participants and stretch their minds to enable them to become more creative and innovative and to provide leadership in specified priority sectors, like Agriculture and Rural Development; trade, commerce, Industry and Finance; Delivery of services including health, education, water, civil supplies, etc., and National Security--internal and external. The focus will be on policy-Planning and Analysis in important areas/sectors of governmental function. The programme will address itself not only to policy analysis and formulation but to problems in implementation, as well. Each programme deals in identified sectors with functional orientation.

Duration: 4 weeks.

Programme Content

The total number of working days would be divided into three, more or less equal components, devoted respectively to skills (subject matter knowledge), management techniques, including computers and human behaviour.

Participants' Level: Career Stage

Seniors officers of Indian Administrative Service in a seniority group of 17-20 years of service.

ONE WEEK REFERSHER COURSES

Objectives

- To be a sabbatical.
- To sensitise the participants to national concerns and the values enshrined in the constitution.

- To provide for exchange of experience and adequate discussion on the issues of values, ethics and attitudes.
- To make the participants more confident to face problems in their work areas and attempt solution.
- To train the participants to look at problems in an integrated manner and develop a system approach.
- To provide an annual opportunity for the participants to 'unwind' by interacting with people with similar or different experiences and discuss the experiences with reference to the research and conceptual material available.

Duration: 1 week.

Course Contents

1. The programme contents should include certain basic skills necessary for all IAS Officers in whatever job they are placed, such as financial analysis as a tool for cost reduction and productivity improvement, project or investment selection and project implementation aided by modern management tools. These skills should be imparted with reference to a specific issue of a sector rather than skills 'per se'. The participants should be exposed to new ideas, alternative approaches and diverse techniques and tools available to tackle the issues.
2. The contents should be so designed that the programme heightens their awareness of the new concepts and decision support system.

Participants

1. Vertical integration of all IAS Officers should be included who would not be retiring within 9 months after the financial year to which the course relates, e.g., participants slotted for 1988-89, refresher courses would be those who will not retire before 31-12-1989.
2. Selection should be as far as possible on the basis of options exercised by the officers regarding the specialisms.
3. The group size should be generally 25 but may not exceed 35.

D. ONE WEEK JOINT TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR DISTRICT MAGISTRATES AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE

Objectives

- To highlight interdependence and interpersonal relations between the DM and SP as well as their subordinates.

- To understand the roles of the DM and SP together with their joint role in the perspective of District Administration.
- To understand, assess and appraise the forces determining Law and Order situations, involving students, women, religion, industrial labour, pressure groups and grievances, etc.
- Coordination with all other agencies in maintenance of law and order.
- To bring out norms of behaviour and inculcation of value systems at the level of DM, SP and the District Administration.

Duration: One week.

Course Contents

The programme will broadly cover the following topics: Interpersonal relationship and interdependencies; Forces impinging on Law and Order situation; Coordination with other agencies, in maintaining law and order, action preparedness for operation, Role of Media, Citizen contact and Elected Representatives; Grievances Redressal and Listening skills; General awareness of modern concepts in Health and Nutrition and advances made by science, technology. Environment, handicapped and welfare, Management including human relationship and Office Management; Role of DM/SP in the district set-up: Norms; Ethics and Value Systems.

As the programme is compulsorily residential, pre-dinner talks may be organised on subjects like 'How to Combat Terrorism and Extremism', Organised Crime, Family involvement in Administration and ideas for restructuring District Administration to enhance efficiency and responsiveness to citizenry.

Participants Level

District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police from the same district representing all States according to the slots assigned to various States in each training programme. The group size of the pairs (DM&SP) should not exceed 20.

Civil Service Training in Computer Technology

UTPAL K. BANERJEE

INDIA IS a country rich in its resources. Almost every conceivable natural or mineral resource finds its place here. It is wonderful to speculate what the country could do--if full knowledge was available of all its crops, forests, waters, minerals, fish and ocean-bed wealth and if there could be detailed district-level planning to make use of each of these resources!

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY FOR DISTRICTS (REMOTE SENSING)

This is precisely what is going to happen now. There is a National Natural Resource Management System (NNRMS) which has been drawn up by the nodal agency of Department of Space in the Government of India in coöperation with several other concerned agencies and organisations. The NNRMS scheme is now being linked with Natural Resource Data Management System (NRDMS), which will have the country's districts as its major beneficiaries.

Natural Resources

What are the natural resources that are going to be monitored and what is the monitoring mechanism? Indian Remote Sensing Satellite (IRS-I) has gone up in the third week of March this year and is now orbiting at a height of 900 km from the earth to scan the complete surface of the Indian sub-continent once in every 22 days. The remote sensing images are to be received back and thereafter interpreted in digital form as well mapped for specific areas.

The idea of satellite imagery for remote sensing data can be given in terms of image-frame, frequency, resolution, cost and data capacity. For this purpose, French SPOT and the American LANDSAT satellite are being used by India so long. With IRS-I, the expectations have certainly gone high and satellite imagery are expected from India's own system which would be more cost effective than from the French and American systems.

Among natural resources, first and the foremost is the glacial resource which supplies water to all our snow fed rivers. Knowledge about the timing and extent of glacial melting is vital for flood forecasting and irrigation purposes. Second is the surface water resource in dams, barrages, reservoirs, canals, ponds, lakes and rivers--to give an idea of the current status of water in the country.

The third is the cropping resource. The main crops, their seasonal variations, the experiments in cash crops and the inter-cropping are all very important to determine the progress on the country's food-front. The fourth is the forest resource: showing both the forest wealth and the deforested areas. The fifth is the underground water--lying as aquifers under the entire Indo-Gangetic plain and elsewhere. This knowledge is essential for solving the potable water problem: to provide drinking water to all.

The sixth is the underground mineral resource, revealing the country's immense mineral wealth on both sides of the Vindhyas. By the way, for both the underground water and underground minerals, infra-red photography is to be used to make out false colour composites.

The seventh is the sea-fish resource. For our fishermen from West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Goa and so on, it is most rewarding to know, for instance, that schools of Tuna fish come to the shallow waters near the coast in the twilight hours between 3 and 5 p.m.--to ensure their bountiful catch!

The eighth and the last is the ocean-bed mineral resource. There are rare deposits of iron, copper, manganese, nickel, tin and cobalt in the dark recesses underwater which can be explored and exploited, for augmenting our mineral resources. Otherwise, it is more than likely that the developed countries would not merely find out about them, but also send mine-sweeping submarines to take them away.

Computing Facilities and Pilot Districts

In order to do justice to the flow of data from the sky--as something like 36,000 pages of a book every hour--there are going to be many computer centres at IIT, Karagpur; at the Indian Institute of Remote Sensing, Dehra Dun; at the Central Arid Zone Research Institute, Jodhpur; at the Geological Survey of India, Bangalore; and at the National Bureau of Soil Survey and Land Use Planning, Nagpur. These centres apart, the Annamalai University at Madras; the National Remote Sensing Agency at Hyderabad; and the Indian Agricultural Research Statistics Institute at Delhi will have their computer capacity augmented.

All these data will then come to help our districts in the NRMS

scheme. Drawn by the Department of Science and Technology, the scheme visualises participation by some five districts, to start with. Vishakapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh is working with the National Coastal Research Institute in the same city; Sultanpur district in the UP with Aligarh Muslim University; Gurgaon district in Haryana with the National Institute of Science and Technology Development Studies, Delhi; Koraput district in Orissa with Operations Research Group of Baroda; and Khera district in Gujarat with IIT, Bombay.

These pilot districts are planning to make out blue-prints for development, combining the NRDMS data with the existing census data; National Sample Survey Organisation's data; and adhoc field data. Perhaps many other districts will join soon.

AIMS OF NRDMS

The main aim of NRDMS is to facilitate conductance of area specific and decentralised planning and monitoring exercises by providing data at various levels--village, block and district. The project seeks to:

- established an area-specific data management system for decentralised planning;
- adapt the methodology for island system, such as natural disasters in specific areas and other ecologically sensitive areas;
- establish linkages with the programmes of National Natural Resources Management System, National Informatic Centre Network and other sectoral information systems;
- generate development profiles of different regions; and
- support specific studies to develop regional development perspectives using NRDMS as an aid.

The NRDMS file structure consists of data files on different types of natural resources (forests, land, minerals, meteorology, environment, etc.) and socio-economic characteristics (agriculture, industry, demography, infrastructure, etc.). It also contains separate files of remote sensing data (satellite imagery and aerial photographs).

A standardised comprehensive computerised data-base is created and updated from two types of data sources: (i) conventional--statistical and survey reports, etc., and (ii) technological--remote sensing, computer-aided and digital processing and instrumentation surveys. Sophisticated methods have been developed for use in NRDMS for rapid storage, retrieval, aggregation and analysis of data. Spatially

oriented thematic atlases and multiple-attribute interactive data structures are generated as the decision support system for developmental planning.

While data collection, processing and entry has been planned, the analysis of data is to be undertaken for theme generation and for identifying sectoral trends. The creation of the following file structure is in progress, for instance, in Gurgaon district: (1) natural resources, (2) energy, (3) environment, (4) demography, (5) agro-economic, (6) socio-economic, (7) remote sensing, (8) sectoral, (9) infrastructure, (10) block information, (11) village information, and (12) household information.

NRDMS Software

The integrated composite software package called 'GRIDS' stands for 'Geo-Encoded Resource Integrated Data System'. This is a special software package which is operational on a cost effective micro-processor based system. GRIDS takes into its fold the conventional database which are available at various state and central levels coupled with data generated from the canvassing of structured questionnaires at various levels for specific studies. An innovation in the system is the integration of high technology like remote sensing, computer-aided data processing, compugraphics and instrumentation surveys with the classical data sources. The package develops spatially oriented thematic maps, multiple interactive data structures and details out computerised planning priority decisions which have area specificity as the underlying theme. Further, the package is capable of monitoring and evaluating a programme. Compatibility, rapid updation, quick retrieval and aggregation of multiple attributes and spatially oriented structured data are some of the advantages of this package. The package consists of a number of programmes which may be classified into four categories: (i) thematic map generation for different sets of data like natural resources, demography, agro-economy, socio-economy, infrastructure, remote sensing, etc.; (ii) selection of areas suitable for specific applications or developmental programmes; (iii) determination for development indices and potential indices for blocks of districts; (iv) remote sensing application programmes; (v) analysis programmes for geophysical parameters for such essential purposes as ground water evaluation.

Usefulness and Current Status of NRDMS

NRDMS is expected to be handy in: (a) providing a sound information base for a district at one point for decision-making; (b) facilitating assessment of resource potential and extent of development of different sectors in different regions; (c) making available the

resource and opportunity profiles in different sectors for entrepreneurial initiatives; (d) assisting in the identification of target groups, specific locations and situations; (e) supplying information for taking suitable measures for managing natural disasters like droughts, floods, earthquakes, cyclones, landslides and avalanches; (f) assisting in agro-economic services by providing ready information on commodity prices and their trend, crop yields, cropping pattern, soil characteristics, moisture content, etc.; (g) helping in district-level planning taking into consideration clusters of blocks and villages; and (h) creating conditions for hierarchical planning from district level to State and to national and vice versa.

The ultimate goal of NRDMS is to provide linkages of micro and district level planning with macro level planning. It is expected to help in undertaking monitoring and evaluation exercises. The uniqueness of NRDMS lies in the prompt supply of grassroot information to the users--government, NGOs, researchers, specialists and people at large. The major achievements of the project are: (i) formats for recording data on natural resources and socio-economic parameters have been developed and provision has been made to store about 225 attributes in computer; (ii) software packages for analysis and retrieval of data have been developed; (iii) NRDMS application test studies have been undertaken. Some studies already completed are: Block planning exercise in Similiguda block; District planning exercise in Medak district; Wastelands in Visakhapatnam; Selection of harbour site--case of Goa; OR studies on water management and industrial potential of an area; and A multiple database study in the Ghaghra-Gandak area of the eastern Uttar Pradesh to study parameters related to flood plain zoning.

Decision Support Systems from NRDMS

The district databases as conceived are expected to find applications of far-reaching significance in the areas of decentralised planning and decision-making. Some of them may even be of non-conventional type. It has, therefore, to have the requisite level of flexibility and comprehensiveness, so that it can cater to a wide variety of requirements. The following are typical of the applications that can be visualised as decision-support systems, using the computer actively to arrive at rational decision:

1. **Establishment of a Veterinary Centre in the Gurgaon District:**
To get a rational decision in this respect, the database should provide the name of an appropriate village in the district, after applying the following tentative criteria: (a) Block-wise list of villages not having veterinary centres

within a radius of 8 km.; (b) Cattle population in these villages; (c) Human population in these villages; and (d) Availability of water in the villages situated within a radius of 1-2 km.

2. **Setting up of an Industrial Estate in the Gurgaon District:**

The parameters relevant to this topic may be as follows: (a) Wasteland available in different parts of the district; (b) Availability of water in these locations; (c) Distance of these locations from the major sources of raw materials; (d) Distance of these locations from the major marketing centres for the products; and (e) Estimated cost of developing the wasteland for making it suitable for industrial use.

The database should identify locations on the basis of the above-mentioned tentative parameters and thus aid in decision-making through decision-support systems using the computer.

The exciting situation today is that if good quality resolution is available in the NRDMs data, very good soil maps and mineral maps of districts can be prepared--as indeed is the case today. The potential is vast--with 20 metres or 10 metres resolution, when there is no confusion to interpret the resource data and no mixing with the intermittent clouds.

If one adds judiciously the above data to the aerial photography data (which is age-old in India), one can have the most effective planning blue-prints. Districts like Gurgaon, Khera and Sultanpur are already showing the way. Before long the experiment should include other districts, especially in the Himalayan and the North Eastern region--to achieve micro-planning of districts so dear to our Prime Minister's heart.

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY FOR DISTRICTS (MICRO PLANNING)

The current thinking of the Government of India is to lay emphasis on micro-level planning, treating districts as a planning unit. Indeed, in successive Collector's conferences attended by the Prime Minister himself at five different locations in the country this point has been brought out by him unambiguously.

As the district is the basic administrative unit in the country, consistent with the decentralised planning concept of the Government of India, the primary objectives of the planning process can be broadly indicated as follows: (1) Increasing production; (2) Reducing unemployment; and (3) Alleviation of poverty.

All the data for planning and decision-making flows from the districts. The data are currently made available to Central Govern-

ment Departments especially to the Planning Commission, after their consolidation first at the district level and then at the state level. This process has inherent delays. Experience shows that data are rarely available when required for decision-making. Moreover, drawbacks with respect to completeness and accuracy of data is another fact as acknowledged by the decision-makers. These problems can be overcome by capturing data at the source itself. Establishment of the district computer centres (DCC) is the only alternative for capturing the transactions at the point of origin, i.e., in the district itself.

Recent advances in distributed data processing techniques and the availability of relatively powerful computer systems in the form of PC/AT compatible systems at affordable prices have made it possible to plan the DCCs. The Government of India have, therefore, decided to launch the district information system of the National Informatics Centre (DISNIC). NIC has been entrusted with the responsibility of implementing DISNIC in the shortest possible timeframe. The urgency of making the DCCs operational is obvious from the fact that the Planning Commission wanted the village-level data base to be fully developed and implemented by the DCCs by the end of the financial year 1988-89.

Objectives and Structure

DISNIC has the following objectives: (1) to develop the necessary information system and data bases in various sectors of the economy for planning and decision-making at the district administration; (2) to promote informatics culture at the district administration; (3) to improve the analysis capacity and the presentation of the statistics utilised for national, regional and district planning; and (4) to develop modelling and forecasting techniques that are required for decision-making for economic development.

Over the years, the number of departments, agencies and programmes as well as the technical content of the programmes have significantly increased at the district levels. Effective monitoring is required to ensure that the resources and machinery are utilised properly to implement development programmes at the district level. At present, the district administration, and line and functional departments send about 700 reports (monthly, quarterly, half yearly, yearly) to various State and Central Government departments providing implementation details on financial and physical achievement in respect of plan schemes and non-plan schemes and sectoral administrative reports, etc., These reports are quite complex in nature and are not totally error-free.

DISNIC is expected to fill the long-felt information gap for the

planning agencies and facilitate decision-making at various levels of the government. With the progressive establishment of NICNET. It should fulfil its objective of providing decision support information for economic and social development, programme implementation and project monitoring throughout the country. DISNIC will facilitate development of information systems in the following disciplines at the district level:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Agriculture, | 15. Panchayat, |
| 2. Animal husbandary, | 16. Power, |
| 3. Buildings and Works, | 17. Public instruction, |
| 4. Civil Supplies, | 18. Roads and bridges, |
| 5. District Collectorate, | 19. Rural development, |
| 6. Collegiate education, | 20. Scheduled Castes development |
| 7. District planning, | 21. Social forestry, |
| 8. Employment, | 22. Social welfare, |
| 9. Fisheries, | 23. Scheduled Tribes development |
| 10. Ground water, | 24. Town planning, |
| 11. Health, | 25. Transport, |
| 12. Industry, | 26. Water authority, and |
| 13. Irrigation, | 27. District treasury. |
| 14. Labour, | |

All reports due for the state government departments and central government departments will get information disciplined and standardised. The information flow will also get rationalised both upwards and downwards. DISNIC should, thus, pave the way for easy collection, compilation and dissemination and on-line accessibility of information on several sectors of the economy at State level with the availability of qualitative information at all possible levels like: (i) district, (ii) taluk, (iii) block, (iv) Panchayat, and (v) Village. The developmental status of a State can easily be derived from block-level developmental indicators as well as village-level developmental indicators. DISNIC will also facilitate the building up of data-bases of national importance through active collaboration of the state governments.

Socio-Economic Indicators of Development

Planning Commission has recently addressed to all the States to create a village data-base in a common prescribed format and store it on the DCCs. The statistical indicators give an idea of the absolute development of districts. In order to assess the comparative development of various districts in general, Planning Commission has formulated general guidelines in the form of "Indicators of Development"

as follows:

1. Demographic Indicators

- (a) Percentage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes population to total population;
- (b) Percentage of agricultural workers to total workers;
- (c) Percentage of workers in manufacturing other than household industry to total workers;
- (d) Percentage of literacy;
- (e) Percentage of urban population to total population;
- (f) Dependency ratio calculated as

$$DR = \frac{\text{Population 5 to 14} + \text{Population above 60}}{\text{Population between 15 to 59}}; \text{ and}$$

- (g) Percentage of small farmers below poverty line.

2. Agro-Economic Indicators:

- (a) Gross value of agricultural production per hectare;
- (b) Percentage of area under commercial crops to total cultivated area;
- (c) Working cattle per sq km;
- (d) Percentage of milch cattle to total bovine;
- (e) Fertiliser (in kg) used per hectare of gross cultivated area;
- (f) Value of agriculture produce per agricultural worker in rupees;
- (g) Percentage of gross irrigated area to gross sown area;
- (h) Percentage of net sown area to total geographical area;
- (i) Number of agricultural pumpsets energised per lakh hectare of net cultivated area; and
- (j) Percentage of irrigated area under wells to total area.

3. Infrastructure Indicators

- (a) Percentage of electrified villages;
- (b) Number of cooperative societies per lakh of population;
- (c) Percentage of villages having primary schools;
- (c) Percentage of villages having medical facilities;
- (e) Per capita consumption of electricity;
- (f) Percentage of consumption of electricity by the industrial sector;
- (g) Number of banks per lakh rural population in rural area;
- (h) Percentage of villages having drinking water facility;

- (i) Value of industrial output per employee;
- (j) Percentage of villages connected by bus service;
- (k) Value added for industrial worker;
- (l) Length of pucca roads per 1000 sq. kms.; and
- (m) Length of pucca roads per one lakh population.

The data on these indicators will also be included in the SDB. It is clear from the above that DISNIC would contain vital information on district development, administration and also necessary data for the planning bodies at the State and Central government levels.

Training

NIC has planned to have fully trained officers and staff in the DCCs. To begin with, each DCC will have three persons. This group will form the nucleus for all the data processing activities in the district. All the districts in a given State will be supported by a core group of technical professionals in the State capital. The data-bases will be designed and software developed at NIC headquarters in Delhi by a central team in collaboration with the State units of NIC. Part of this standard software for some of the applications has already been designed. The State unit team will take care of the local modifications, if any, to customise it for the districts in the State.

It is obvious that the large volumes of data which are planned for DISNIC cannot be handled by the NIC district staff of three only. The active participation of the district administration and other agencies, which are capturing the data, is absolutely essential. The field staff of these organisations will need to be trained in modern techniques of data capture, data entry, data reconciliation, querying data-bases and in the use of information analysis techniques. NIC will undertake suitable training programmes, in the district and state capitals, to train the officers/staff in various district offices. For the senior district officers, NIC will arrange computer appreciation courses in its regional/state centres.

Rural Development

A project for introduction of computerised information system at district levels has been taken up for implementation in the current plan to help improve planning, monitoring and evaluation of various rural development programmes.

Initially, the computerised rural information systems project (CRISP) is being introduced on a pilot basis in different regions as a Central sector scheme with full Central financing. The districts taken up are: Chittoor in Andhra Pradesh; Hazaribagh in Bihar; Quilon

in Kerala; Betul in Madhya Pradesh; Thane in Maharashtra; Cuttack in Orissa; Patiala in Punjab; Udaipur in Rajasthan; Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh; and 24-Parganas in West Bengal.

The pilot project is already operational. After a detailed review of its functioning early next year, it is proposed to be extended to other districts with District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA). The total outlay for CRISP in the current Plan is Rs. ten crore. A sum of Rs. 52 lakh has been spent on purchase of hardware and development of software, and Rs. one crore is budgeted in the current year for financing the posts to be created at the district and Central levels and training of personnel.

The Department of Electronics (DOE) has been designated as the nodal agency for implementation of the pilot project. DOE, besides purchasing hardware and developing software, will help in the installation of the hardware in selected districts. CRISP, which will be implemented in phases, will enable easy handling of the massive data and information of rural development projects.

For training of personnel, three courses are being organised. In the first phase, collectors and project directors will be imparted training in basic computer appreciation, setting up of manual information systems, standardisation of proforma and computer-aided planning and management systems. The second phase will be for project directors, extension officers and staff recruited at the district level. They will be trained in the use of data captured on standardised formats, and running of software packages prepared by DOE.

State Initiative

Most of the State Governments in India are moving towards computerisation for monitoring various economic and social activities in their planning and developmental activities. Government of Andhra Pradesh, for instance, has initiated and installed Computers at Visakhapatnam, Chittoor and Rangareddi Districts, as a pilot project as early as 1985.

Two software packages developed and implemented in Andhra Pradesh are: (a) **District information system:** A data base of all the villages in the Visakhapatnam district useful for micro-level planning; and (b) **Data-base for the district rural agency:** For monitoring and reviewing the progress of beneficiary-oriented programmes in the Visakhapatnam district.

The district administration in the present day context is fully involved in the process of planning and execution of development schemes and fully responsible for the overall economic growth of the district. In order to achieve this objective effectively, it is necessary that the district administration should be equipped with

complete data on the present levels of economic and social status at village level; the additional inputs that are pumped into the economy year after year; and the resultant outputs in terms of additional assets, production and employment.

Considering the voluminous data involved in analysing and formulation of schemes, systematic assortment in preserving the data is imperative which is possible only through computerisation. Before any item of the work in the district could be decided for computerisation, it is very essential to consider the points mentioned below:

1. Precise design of the different types of information should be done, based on which the input format could be decided;
2. Any item of work pertaining to the State government officers involves usually voluminous data entry. Hence, it is a must to follow a very systematic procedure for data entry;
3. Data-entry operators should take special care while entering the codes assigned to different items. Any error while entering the codes will result in unpredictable errors and thereby putting the software personnel in trouble. To the maximum possible extent, facilities should be created to display error messages for the wrong data entry codes by the software personnel;
4. Data should be properly scrutinised before the commencement of data entry, failing which one will get misleading results; and
5. Systematic procedure should be formulated for updation of the data.

STATE MANPOWER TRAINING FOR COMPUTERISATION.

India has made strident progress in introducing computers in a wide variety of fields. A concerted plan is required to orchestrate all the efforts in such a manner that obvious pitfalls (like wasteful experiments, duplicate efforts, inadequate manpower, etc.) can be methodically avoided well in advance.

In a federal structure, the State administration has a large say in the country's progress. It is imperative that plans for computerisation take their aspirations into account and let growth come in a planned way avoiding two hazards of centralised planning: cooperation is not withheld from the States and rejection of a top-down approach does not take place.

The most significant plan for computerisation has come from the National Informatics Centre (NIC), which already possesses a large Cyber computer 1700/730 obtained with UNDP support. The NIC has enviable experience in working for around 60 Central Government

ministries, departments, organisations and establishments where intelligent terminals operate today with locally available computing power and with support facility available from the main computer at Delhi. Based on this experience, a network structure is under evolution. The computer network, to be called NICNET, is poised to have four NEC--1000 computers at Delhi, Bhubaneshwar, Pune and Hyderabad in the first phase. The NICNET is being connected to the 25 State capitals in the second phase with a large computer in the capital connected to NICNET through a satellite. In the third phase, NICNET is reaching out to all the 440 districts in India. It is an ambitious and exciting programme where the Centre-State linkage of NICNET has been earmarked to cover sectors like agriculture, health, education, etc., which are important national subjects and for which sharing of information will be to everyone's advantage. NIC has already been assisting the States of Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, in developing their governmental information systems.

The policy-frame recognises the need for introducing computers at all levels of administration up to the district headquarters. The need for local capability for maintenance of computer systems and developing application software has been emphasised. Apart from carrying out studies on possible areas and potential users in government departments, some State Governments have started using computer facilities available outside government for specific purposes.

Computer Manpower for States

It is quite clear that availability of computer manpower is going to pose a problem in State computerisation schemes. The current scene of computer manpower available is as follows: (a) IITs: B Techs and M Techs in computer science; (b) Regional Engineering Colleges: BEs in computer Science; (c) Select Indian Universities: Master of Computer Application (MCA) and Diploma in Computer Applications (DCA) comprising three-year and one-year/eighteen courses respectively at post-graduate level.

In the Seventh Plan, around Rs. 3000 crore have been visualised as the level of investment in computer hardware in the country over the Plan period. Computer manpower of around one lakh would be required to service and utilise the computer systems. The requirement can be divided into the following categories:

- (a) **Computer Science Professionals:** 15 per cent--comprising computer hardware engineers and system software engineers to provide technical support;
- (b) **System Analysts and Programmers (including small systems**

- managers): 70 per cent--comprising the manpower providing application development and maintenance support for all computer usages; and
- (c) **Computer Maintenance:** 15 per cent--providing hardware maintenance support.

It will be evident that unless schemes for local employment opportunities are created for the employable young people living in each district, it will not be possible to operate comprehensive computerisation schemes. This is because young people who are over-qualified at graduate and post-graduate levels are expected to have high aspirations and are unlikely to stay at district towns. The chances of providing them employment opportunity at State capitals are also limited and a severe turnover problem is bound to arise.

As regards computer maintenance, it is important to realise that graduate maintenance engineers are not required to maintain highly compact and rugged systems of today. Polytechnic-level technicians are enough to carry out such maintenance.

Data preparation is an important part of any computerisation scheme and there is a dearth of such personnel on a geographically widely distributed basis. Training of such personnel is not available on a sufficiently decentralised basis where they can do justice to data entry systems made locally available. In order to provide inputs to the above levels, there has to be a general awareness among senior school students about computerisation. In spite of the computer-aided literacy and studies in schools (CLASS) Projects, which is being carried on a limited scale, such wide-spread school-level computer literacy is almost totally absent in the States.

State Plan

Each State should appoint a Committee to estimate realistically the manpower needs at the programmer, systems analysts and computer centre manager levels, over the five-year plan period. Vocational institutes should then be planned in adequate numbers to provide this manpower.

Computer Science Professionals: The existing schemes of the Department of Education, Government of India, and the University Grants Commission are adequate to cater for technical support needed on a selective basis.

Systems Analysts and Programmers: Vocational education should be seriously contemplated to meet the needs for these personnel. Those students, who have completed their Senior School Certificate examination at (10+2) level and have come through science streams with high marks in mathematics, are ideal material for this purpose. Vocational

training institutes should be set up to have the following education programmes after the (10+2) level: (1) 1-year Certificate Course: for computer programming; (2) 2-year Diploma Courses: for systems analysts; and (3) 3-year Diploma Course: for Information Centre Management.

These courses should be at the under-graduate level and can be made 'modular' so that each course can lead to the next higher course on a three-tier basis. Entry can also be permitted for in these courses to graduate students. The candidates should come through an aptitude test specifically designed for the course.

Computer Maintenance Technicians: The State polytechnics should be geared up to graft computer maintenance courses in their existing teaching schedules. The number of years for such courses should be determined as continuation of the general-basis course provided at the polytechnics.

Data-entry Operations: The vocational institutes can be utilised to run data-entry courses during week-ends. Data-entry operators training should be for 3-4 weeks.

Senior School Students: School students up to class 10 should have exposure to computer literacy for a far greater number than is being attempted through the CLASS Project, which in any case has met with limited success. Vocational institutes are the ideal place to bring school children from the neighbourhood and give them the required exposure over week-ends and during vacation periods. No separate computer equipment is visualised at schools, which is a very difficult matter in terms of both computer resources and availability of computer-trained teachers. Vocational institutes should serve as the focal point for providing computer literacy to schools in the neighbourhood.

User Officers and Staff: There should be a computer appreciation and sensitisation programme for State officials on a mandatory basis. This can be done at two levels: 2-3 days at the senior most level for computer appreciation and 12-15 days at the middle level for computer applications. At lower levels, there should be 10-15 days' exposure to the preparation of input data and quality control of the output reports. The psychological involvement of bureaucrats in the computerisation plan is an extremely important factor and should not be lost sight of.

Educational Curriculum: It can be planned as follows:

1. **Certificate Course:** Computer programming should have elements of actual exposure to computer hardware (especially microcomputers and their terminals) and common programming language

- like BASIC and COBOL.
2. **Diploma Programme for Systems Analysts:** It should start from, (i) and introduce elements of data processing, file management and several hands-on examples of actual software design development and implementation. Management subjects can be offered as electives so that partial specialisation can be achieved.
 3. **Diploma Programme for Computer Centre Management:** It should again start from (ii) and add elements of computer centre-planning, evaluation of performance, manning and job setting, cost management and relationship with users.

As regards education curriculum for computer maintenance at the polytechnics, this should be decided by competent experts having knowledge of both polytechnic curriculum and computer maintenance subjects. Practical demonstration and hands-on experience should be built into the curriculum.

Data-entry requirements are fairly standardised. Vendors and manufacturers of data-entry systems can offer considerable help in this training and instructors can be initially trained by them, who can then take on data entry training on a distributed basis.

Teachers' training is a serious matter owing to the prevailing lack of qualified teachers. If vocational institutes have to be adequately manned, the only way to do it would be to draw science teachers from senior schools and junior colleges, and organise 3-month to 6-month crash programmes for them in computer programming and systems analysis. The curriculum for such crash programmes should be carefully designed by subject area specialists.

As regards Computer centre management, the help of actual managers should be drawn to impart realistic support in training teachers.

It will be a good idea if courses offered by various organisations in the country can be studied so that some standard modules for curricula can be developed for all the above education programmes. It is also important that the various private organisations which are running low-quality courses as "teaching shops" with scant regard to curriculum content, teaching qualification and actual exposure to computers, should be brought under serious review and some State certification should be adopted by a Committee of subject-area specialists. The Tamil Nadu experience is worth noting in this content.

Detailed Action-Plan

The financial resources for organising such a comprehensive scheme

there can be a committee, preferably under the State Electronics Development Corporation, which can look into the scope for mobilising financial resources from various private and public sector organisations in the State who can provide assistance, in view of the fact that they would be gaining from the computer manpower coming out of the above scheme. The committee can also look into the feasibility of obtaining computer hardware at reasonable price from the manufacturer and vendors for this purpose.

The State government needs approval of the entire plan as well as its financial commitment (after taking into account the financial contribution to be generated from user enterprises) at the highest level. Once the scheme is properly worked out as above and approved, the action plan can be implemented as follows:

The Committees on manpower needs, curriculum design and financial resource mobilisation should be set up to operate simultaneously and to furnish their recommendations within one month;

Thereafter, the crash programme on teachers' training should be initiated over six months at centres where computer resources are available. Simultaneously, the administrative action to set up vocational institutes should begin to identify sites, locate buildings, procure computer hardware, arrange furnitures and fixtures, and position the supporting staff. The idea is that by the time the trained teachers are available to the vocational institutes, their administrative infrastructure should be ready. For polytechnics, the existing teachers should also undergo a crash programme while the administrative support like computer equipment, etc., is put into position.

To summarise, there is an imperative need that the States get ready on a self-help basis to draw appropriate plans for computerisation. The above is an attempt to provide a conceptual framework which is both practical and relevant to such a plan. Central help can be drawn to the extent needed but a certain amount of self-reliance is essential to make such a widespread effort a success at the grassroot level of districts.

No specific suggestions have been made on the nature of actual applications. This is an area where the knowledge of the administrators as 'users' should be utilised to the maximum extent. It is up to them to create a demand-side situation, whereas the above scheme is from the viewpoint of the supply-side situation in terms of computer education and manpower. It is only to be hoped that we are alive to

the situation and take action urgently to fulfill the needs of the new area.

DISTRICT MANPOWER TRAINING FOR COMPUTERISATION

It should be amply evident from the country's plan for computerisation that the civil services have to play a lead role. If the non-technical services are taken along side the civil service, their number can become very high. In Uttar Pradesh alone, it is estimated that some 14000 members of the civil services and non-technical services should be initiated into the mystique of computerisation--to make the information revolution a success in public administration.

There can be hardly any doubt that no single training centre can perform this gigantic task. As things stand, only about half of the 25 States have their own civil service training institutes, such as, the Administrative Training Institute, Nainital; the Institute of Management in Government (IMG), Trivandrum; the Rajasthan Institute of Management in Public Administration, (RIMPA), Jaipur, and so on. Out of them, ATI and IMG are among the fortunate few to whom the Ministry of Personnel and Training has allocated large funds for computerisation so that they can undertake, in turn, massive training for public servants in information technology. Even then, only the surface can be scratched.

It is, therefore, suggested that district manpower training for computerisation should be planned in a systematic fashion in the following manner: (a) Institutionalised training; (b) Training through distance learning; and (c) Training through self-learning. An outline of such a scheme is indicated in the succeeding paragraphs.

Institutionalised Training

A specially designed institutionalised training programme can be used for heads and senior advisers, and officers of the district administration. At present, few of the programmes for the use of computers concentrate on the application areas which are of interest to district administration. Under the guidance and leadership of the Prime Minister who has shown a desire to interact directly with district administration, the trend towards fully organised and comprehensive information systems will be unavoidable. Since the government has indicated a keen interest in developing administrative information systems with intensive computerisation, some of which are being implemented currently, it would be necessary to pave the way for smooth implementation through the use of specific training programmes.

The salient points of such programme, termed computer-aided management for district administration (CAM-DA), can be as follows at all the State civil service training institutes:

1. The participants should, on completion of the programmes, be able to effectively organise for the use of computers for the development and monitoring of the various district applications such as IRDP, NREP, NLREGP and also for various routine applications;
2. Participants can be heads of district administration or senior officers (DCs, DMs, etc.) who are in a position to implement various computer applications. The programme can be of six-day duration and can comprise the following modules:
 - (a) **Decision Support Systems for Public Administration:** Presented herein can be software and methodology developed by Administrative Training Institute at Nainital. This software and methodology can be made comprehensive and field-tested with the senior IAS officers for integration into the programme.
 - (b) **IRDP Module:** An effective monitoring and control approach can be developed using computerised project management for projects under IRDP. Some efforts in this direction have already been made by the Department of Rural Development, Government of India.
 - (c) **Practical Sessions:** The Effective use of the personal computer (PC) software and skills can be imparted through hands-on sessions. One PC per participant is visualised to provide training on a one-to-one basis and approximately 50 per cent of the course duration can be devoted to this aspect.
 - (d) **Problems and Prospects of Computerisation in Public Administration:** An approach to identification and solving of problems in the area of public administration specifically linked with computerisation can be made with a social balance sheet on assets and liabilities. This module can be designed through interaction in depth with the State governments of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, etc. A similar module has already been successfully used in the programme for the senior IAS officers, (including some Chief Secretaries of States) at CMC and NIC.
3. The number of participants can be restricted to 18 per batch. However, the ideal group would be between 13 to 15 officers;

4. The same programme can be extended, in successive batches, to senior-level district administration officers below the rank of district collector.

Training Through Distance Learning

All India Management Association (AIMA) and National Informatic Centre (NIC) have been able to formulate some ideas of a project for a post-graduate programme in management and informatics to meet the requirements of users of informatics through distance learning. Such a project can have a major thrust on informatics modules with a modicum of management knowledge considered useful for managers of informatics. The blended programme can be divided into three parts, with each part completed in a one-year period. The main emphasis of the programme can be kept at taking the knowledge of informatics to locations of user managers who will enroll as students to this programme. The advantage of this approach of learning by distance education is that knowledge can be transported to the job locations of such self-motivated persons who somehow missed to join formal courses of instructions at the universities but who wish to make up for this deficiency by self-learning. Such a project can visualise that while the main academic work and the two-way communications with the student can be carried out by the organisers, the participating centres will provide local coordination like conduct of examination, providing computers facilities without straining their resources very much. Of course, the participating centres will have to provide the dynamic leadership in their respective States in overseeing the success of the entire programme. The unique benefit of this project can be to create a nucleus of competent and trained users of informatics with supportive knowledge of management, who will become assets in their respective locations in both consolidating and spreading the revolution of information technology surging through these locations.

The salient features of such a project can be visualised as follows:

1. Practising public administrators with 25 years of age, with a graduate degree, with 2-3 years administrative or executive experience plus current or potential users of information technology (preferably with some exposure to computers) should undertake such a programme;
2. The project can be initially for a period of three years;
3. Candidates meeting eligibility criteria should be screened and sponsored by the State governments. The candidates sponsored for the programme should complete the prescribed application

form for registration in the programme;

4. The programme can consist of three parts, each part to be completed in one year. The depth and level of coverage can be moderate providing adequate appreciation with sufficient practical orientation. Subject covered can be as under:

PART I (Year 1)--Introduction to Informatics; Programming concepts and data structure; Mathematics and statistics for informatics; Introduction to personal computers; Processes of management; Managerial economics; and Organisational structure and process.

PART II (Year 2)--Operations research; Introduction to system analysis and design; Management information system and decision support system; Data communication and computer networks; Data base management; Research methodology; and Human resource management.

PART III (Year 3)--Corporate strategy for informatics; Systems software; Application software; Software engineering; Basics of CAD, CAM and CBL; Project work; Electives (any one): Artificial Intelligence and Expert systems, Office Automation; and Special Application Areas: Agriculture, Transportation, Finance, District Administration, etc.

5. The programme can be conducted through a distance learning package comprising both mailing system and two-way communication between the organisers and the enlisted students. This can cover the the following: Text books; Programmed lesson-notes and activities; Periodic assignments to students and their evaluation with feedback; Postal tuition, including response to individual queries; Some student bulletin to students for academic guidance and providing quizzes and objectives tests; Some classroom teaching programmes at a central location in the participating countries for short duration of one to three weeks spread over judiciously in the year; and Examination and evaluation.
6. Every six months examinations can be conducted at appropriate centres with the cooperation and collaboration of States. The answer sheets can be evaluated and the results informed to the students as well as to the State and district coordinators.

Training Through Self-Learning

It is quite possible today to visualise taking computers to the door-steps of the members of civil services and non-technical services--by providing Personal Computers (PCs) on an appropriate dis-

tribution basis. The idea can be to have a self-learning arrangement that can be called "PCs for Public Administrators".

Depending on the levels of public administrators and the nature of usage, separate software packages can be developed centrally and distributed at different locations covering the following aspects:

1. **Spread-sheet:** to cover tabular calculations and their manipulations;
2. **Word-Processing:** to cover secretarial handling of texts, their storage and retrieval; and
3. **Data-base management:** to cover the raising of queries and retrieval of responses.

Such software packages can be kept extremely friendly to the users and can be made available on an interactive basis between the user and the computer. The user administrator only need to be familiar with the basic commands which should be practiced at his leisure. Such practice should be followed by exercises based on real-life situations in districts. The advantage is that the exercise can be furnished with solution-sets stored in the computer, for cross-checking purposes by the public administrator. Exercises can also be structured at the beginners level, advanced level and specialised level.

Such software packages can be accompanied by self-learning manuals, to provide a step-by-step approach. Such a work-book should be entirely user-oriented starting with basic commands, followed by handling of sub-routine (like sort, merge, etc.), file creation and live exercises. Administrative Training Institute at Nainital has been attempting to develop such packages accompanied by work-books. Their estimation is that the self-learning training could require approximately one week for the basic commands as follows: (1) One day for spread-sheet commands; (2) Half-day for word-processing commands; (3) Two days for data-based management; and (4) One-and-a-half day for introduction to micro-computing and disk-based operating system (DOS) commands.

It is important to emphasise that work at home or in a home-like atmosphere with a PC can enable the public administrator to gain familiarity, practice and confidence. Conscious efforts will be needed to go from the beginners level to advanced level, following the step-by-step approach.

SUMMING UP

To summarise, institutionalised training, training through dist-

ance learning and training through self-learning are all basically complimentary processes which can be judiciously used to achieve meaningful results. Concerted thinking is necessary to decide on the hierarchies of personnel, types of usages and the end-objectives so that the best possible value for money can be achieved by combining these three forms of training in public administration. A very important aspect of training for computerisation is the role of organisation vis-a-vis information technology. First of all, organisations do fear dislocation of manual activities by the introduction of computerisation. Care has to be taken that such dislocations are avoided and emphasis is kept for increase in efficiency and not clerical labour-saving. Secondly, the factor of organisational learning (as distinct from individual learning) should not be minimised. The organisation as a whole should learn to make best use of the information technology which should not be left merely to the few trained administrators. Otherwise, with the transfer of the trained administrators elsewhere, the entire benefit of computerisation would rapidly get lost.

Thirdly, a lot of emphasis is today shifting from the computer (or EDP) departments with large computers to administrators operating as end-users with individual terminals or PCs. In consequence, the earlier dependence on computer professionals for delivering the goods is getting replaced quite fast by "executive computing" where the user-administrator has a large say. This responsibility is to be clearly understood in the organisational thinking process. Fourthly, quite often the middle-level perception for computer usage has turned out to be fairly different from the top-level perception. The learning process should ensure that too much hope should not be aroused at the top level which cannot be sustained by the hard labour of the middle level. Finally, introduction of computers in any organisation has always proved to be far easier than the institutionalisation of computers. Sadly, high hopes have been quickly dashed to ground, replaced by frustration, because initial expectations after buying a computer could not be sustained by the results delivered. There is always a long and hard learning process in getting the best mileage out of computerisation. The earlier the public administrators realise this basic point, the better is it for the organisation, in order to nurture realistic expectations from computerisation.

Training of Civil Servants in India for Financial Administration

K.L. HANDA

ADMINISTRATION IS a process for achieving certain desired results through organisations. Each organisation possesses some administrative capacity for achieving its objectives or the desired results it has aimed at. The strength of this administrative capacity is dependent upon a variety of factors including: (i) recruitment policies of the organisation; (ii) experience gained by its personnel; (iii) structure of organisation; (iv) improvement in the operating procedures of administration, including delegation of powers, and (v) its training programmes.

Training of personnel functioning at different levels of the hierarchy of organisation is a significant contributing factor to the administrative capacity an organisation would possess. This is particularly so when government is expanding its functions by entering into more and more areas for socio-economic development of the Country, which has resulted into shortage of trained manpower. To cite United Nations publications:

In a period marked by the rapid expansion of the functions of government into new economic and social fields, often demanding the services of skilled professionals and technicians, all governments encounter, in differing degrees, shortages of trained manpower.¹

The need for training of civil servants in a developing country, like India can, therefore, hardly be overemphasised.

Finance function is a part of the total process of administration* and is governed by the same concepts, principles, and considerations as the system of administration as a whole. Training of civil

*The terms 'Administration' and 'Management' have been used interchangeably in this article.

servants in financial management should, therefore, focus on organising programmes which would impart knowledge of finance functions to them, enable them to acquire the relevant financial management skills, and also involve them in Group work, like discussion of case studies, work in syndicates, practical exercises, etc., which would create desired impact on their attitudes towards the discharge of their functions.

The Perspective

Traditionally, finance function in Government of India had been managed for limited tasks of general administration with a focus to ensure legality and regularity of expenditure in terms of observance of rules and regulations. The management of finance function to serve the interests of economic development was limited to a few activities only, such as construction of roads, maintenance of communications, which were required to protect and promote trade interests of a colonial regime. The system of financial control adopted was highly centralised and budget was used as an instrument of such a control. It was required that before a departmental proposal for expenditure could be incorporated in the Demand for Grant for submission to the Legislature, the proposal had to be scrutinised by the Ministry of Finance to ensure its consistency with the policies of government, and also to examine whether it conformed to the norms of efficiency and economy. It was only after the proposal was approved by the Ministry of Finance at pre-budget scrutiny stage that it could be included in the relevant Demand for Grant for submission to Parliament for approval.

A second stage of control was also introduced. According to this, even after the departmental expenditure proposal had been accepted by the Ministry of Finance at pre-budget scrutiny stage and the necessary provision made in the Demand for Grant, the Department concerned did not have any powers to spend money against the approved budget provisions till it had approached the Ministry of Finance a second time and obtained its expenditure sanction for incurring expenditure against the budget provisions already passed by Parliament. This second stage of obtaining approval of the Ministry of Finance before actually incurring expenditure provided the Ministry of Finance with another opportunity to examine the proposed expenditure again to ensure its economy, efficiency, and consistency with government policies. If something escaped its scrutiny at the earlier stage, the Ministry of Finance could raise such issues at this second stage to satisfy itself regarding various aspects of the proposal before it accorded its approval. Also, the approach to scrutiny of expenditure proposals was based more on precedents, experienced

hunches of the scrutinising agency, and the argumentative capacity of the proposing departments rather than on scientifically evolved norms, standards, yardsticks, units of measurement, etc. During the process of incurring sanctioned expenditure, the emphasis was laid on legality and regularity of expenditure in terms of observance of rules and regulations rather than on relating expenditure to physical accomplishments or targets to be achieved of the programmes, activities, schemes, projects, etc.

Therefore, training needs of civil servants, in the past, were limited to acquiring knowledge of the financial system as it obtained and of statutes, manuals, rules, regulations, and procedures, framed by the Ministry of Finance and other competent authorities. They were imparted such knowledge on induction into service and also they acquired it while working on the job. The financial system did not change much overtime and the knowledge of it once acquired continued to be adequate for a long time to come. The civil servant only needed to update himself if any addition or modification was introduced in the then obtaining rules and regulations.

The perspective has, however, considerably changed with the launching of Five Year Plans and undertaking by various departments and agencies implementation of developmental programmes, schemes, and projects. Under successive Five Year Plans formulated by the Planning Commission most of our organisations are now spending massive amounts of money on programmes, schemes, and projects of socio-economic development nature. The need to implement these according to a time bound plan has impelled the government to liberalise the traditional system of highly centralised financial control by delegating financial powers from the Ministry of Finance to the administrative authorities and executing agencies.

Some powers were delegated by the Ministry of Finance to the administrative ministries/departments in 1953, 1954, and again in 1955. A major break-through, however, came in August 1958 when the Ministry of Finance introduced a scheme of budgeting and financial control delegating a good amount of powers to the administrative ministries/departments. These delegations were enhanced and further liberalised by the schemes of delegation of powers introduced by the Ministry of Finance in June 1962, October 1968, and April 1975. A scheme of Integrated Financial Adviser was also introduced by the Government of India in October 1975 whereby Financial Adviser was made part and parcel of the administrative ministry and placed under the control of the administrative secretary who could even overrule him in the matter of exercise of powers delegated to the administrative ministry.

Alongwith enhanced delegation of powers, a number of functions

have become responsibility of the administrative ministries/departments and executing agencies. These organisations are now more concerned and intimately involved in the functions of project formulation and appraisal, programming, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and review of performance, etc. The finance function to be performed by them runs through all these functions of management and plays an integrating role among them. The civil servants working in these ministries/departments and executing agencies as also those working in the Ministry of Finance and other organisations are now in need of acquiring the necessary expertise for a successful discharge of the various functions of planning, programming, budgeting, implementing, monitoring and review of performance, which are encompassed by the broad area of modern financial management.

In this changed perspective, the training needs of civil servants for financial management have assumed new dimensions. Apart from providing them knowledge about the existing financial system, rules, regulations, and procedures, they need to be oriented to the modern management concepts and techniques for effectively and efficiently running financial management. Therefore, training of civil servants for financial management should lay greater emphasis on imparting knowledge and skills about the modern financial management concepts, techniques, and practices, suitable for a successful implementation of programmes, schemes, and projects, and also to meet the challenges of development administration.

DESIGN OF TRAINING PROGRAMME

A programme for training of civil servants in financial management should be designed keeping the changed perspective, as mentioned above, in view. The design should aim at providing opportunity to the trainees to gain greater effectiveness in the performance of their functions of planning, programming, budgeting, implementing, monitoring, and review of performance. This can be achieved by including in the course design such subjects which would impart necessary knowledge to them, techniques which are important for their acquiring the required skills, and group work to create the desired impact on their attitudes. Proper emphasis needs to be laid in the course design on individual and group participation in the learning process because self-discovered learning sticks to the mind and carries a better impact on the behaviour of the trainee.

Financial management can be divided into two main components: (1) Fiscal and Monetary Policy; and (2) Budgeting and Financial Control. Therefore, the subjects included in a training course on financial management should cover these two broad areas. The course design

should focus the attention of the trainees to reflect upon the adequacy of the existing financial system to cope up with the ever increasing developmental responsibilities of government, and the reforms necessary to bring about the required improvements.

Apart from an evaluation of the existing practices in the field of financial management, an endeavour should be made as part of the training course to locate problem areas so that discussions could be held to find out possible solutions. The awareness of modern techniques of management alongwith developing the necessary capabilities for their application in the relevant situations are expected to enable the civil servants to develop new approaches and strategies to meet the managerial problems. The objectives of the course design should be to expose the civil servants to the latest developments in the field of financial management, and to enable them to acquire the necessary skills for application of modern management techniques in their respective situations.

The use of relevant case studies should also be included in the course design in order to reinforce the thinking of the civil servants to the utility of modern concepts and practices. Inclusion in the course design of discussion of case studies, work in syndicates, and practical exercises, is further calculated to create the desired impact to reorient the thinking of the civil servants to the utility of modern financial management concepts and practices.

The design of the training course should highlight the suitability of modern financial management to the needs of speedy, efficient, and economical implementation of developmental programmes, schemes, and projects. It should also emphasise the service function of financial management which runs through most other functions of management playing an integrating role among them. Further, the design of the training course should lay greater emphasis on management oriented control and subjects related thereto. The focus of such a control is on relating expenditure to its purpose in terms of implementation of programme, scheme, project, operation, task, etc., and to the targets to be achieved. The exposure of civil servants to such a management oriented control system would also necessitate imparting them the requisite knowledge and skill to design information system for comparing actual achievement with the projected plan of action. Such a system of monitoring and review of performance would facilitate management decision-making for taking remedial measures if things are not moving on course.

Contents of the Course

The design of the training programme in financial management as outlined above should include a variety of subjects to achieve its

objectives. These subjects can be classified into three categories, i.e., (1) subjects dealing with existing financial system and practices--their origin, rationale, and relevance to the present day situation. These may also focus on inadequacies of the traditional system of financial control and the reforms called for therein. The second category of subjects may deal with modern financial management concepts and practices, their utility in proper planning and efficient and economical implementation of programmes, schemes, and projects. This part of the training course should also adequately explain application of modern financial management techniques in decision-making process. In addition to the teacher using relevant examples to illustrate these techniques, the trainees should also be involved in individual and group practical exercises.

The use of case studies should be included in both the above mentioned categories of subjects. This would involve the trainees in discussion of various issues and highlight the importance of the subjects covered in the course. This would also contribute significantly to achieve the objectives of the training programme.

The third category of subjects should be selected with a view to involving the trainees in group work in syndicates, and for practical exercises. These groups may be required to produce reports on their work, which should be discussed among all the trainees attending the programme in sessions specifically allotted for the purpose. These reports of various groups on subjects of topical interest when discussed among all the trainees would further reorient the thinking of the civil servants to reflect on issues and problems of current importance in order to search for solutions.

Existing Financial System and Practices

The participants of the training programme in financial management should be made aware of the existing system of financial control and budget management. This part of the thinking course may include subjects, such as the budgetary process, formulation of budget estimates and their scrutiny, presentation of budget to Parliament in the form of Demands for Grants and Finance Bill, the various stages for approval of the budget in Parliament, planning and budgeting, parliamentary financial control and financial committees of Parliament, audit control, delegation of financial powers, role of financial adviser, government accounting, etc.

The system of Accounts and Audit needs to be explained because it is combined in the case of states and conducted by the same agency of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, whereas accounting function has been departmentalised in the case of Union Government. A description of the historical background of the system of financial

control should also bring out how some of the features, like applying lump sum cuts while carrying out scrutiny of budget estimates, reconciliation of accounts, etc., got incorporated in the system.

In India, the budget year followed is from April to March. This year was adopted in 1866 in conformity with the financial year obtaining in the United Kingdom. There has been a long standing debate on its suitability for the conditions prevailing in India. A session devoted to this topic would put the subject in perspective. The discussion of the topic may include examination of the rationale of the existing financial year, criteria to be followed for selecting a suitable budget year, and pros and cons of changing the present financial year. The other topics for inclusion in this part of the course may be Centre-state financial relations, monetary policy, tax policy and administration, revenue forecasting and estimation, etc.

There had been a Standing Finance Committee of Parliament, which was abolished in 1952 when a Departmental Finance Committee was created, whose name was later changed to Expenditure Finance Committee on August 10, 1956. Another body called Public Investment Board was created in 1972. These committees were constituted to assist the Ministry of Finance and the Cabinet in taking investment decisions involving amounts above certain limits. It may be useful to devote some time to explain the composition, role and functions of these bodies in taking investment decisions.

MODERN FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT CONCEPTS AND TECHNIQUES

This part of the course content should include subjects related to modern management concepts and techniques, such as discounted cash flow and other capital budgeting techniques, financial analysis, social cost-benefit analysis, cost effectiveness analysis, zero base budgeting, performance budgeting, network analysis and performance budgeting, costing and cost analysis, management accounting, analysis of financial statements, financial control over public undertakings, evaluation of performance of public enterprises, monitoring and review of performance, etc. The coverage of the subject of discounted cash flow technique for taking investment decisions is relevant because it is now being insisted by the various concerned agencies that formulation and appraisal of projects be done after taking into account time value of money. The various criteria which employ discounted cash flow technique to work out performance indicator of a project, i.e.; net present value, benefit cost ratio, internal rate of return, should also be adequately explained to cover properly the subject of investment decisions.

The traditional approach in assessing feasibility of a project has

focused on its financial viability. In the modern times, when the country is engaged in implementing, under Five Year Plans, a large number of projects involving huge investments, for socio-economic development of the country, many projects necessary for creating the required infrastructure may not be financially viable though socially highly desirable. Their financial viability in certain cases may even be affected because of administered prices they have to charge or subsidised procurement prices they have to pay. Investment in these projects has to be analysed on social cost-benefit considerations by working out economic internal rate of Return to assess economic feasibility of the project. Therefore, a proper explanation of indirect benefits and indirect costs of a project and use of shadow prices would be relevant in dealing with the subject of economic analysis of projects. The group of topics to be included in the course content to cover the subject of project formulation and appraisal may also included risk and uncertainty analysis, and sensitivity analysis.

The subject of Cost-Effectiveness Analysis is also important to be included in the course content to explain appraisal of projects in situations where benefits to be achieved are quantifiable but not translatable into money terms. In such cases, the least cost alternative or cost-effective alternative could be selected for achieving the pre-determined quantified objective.

The modern budgeting systems, such as, zero base budgeting, planning-programming-budgeting system, performance budgeting, and other budgeting techniques, should be provided adequate coverage in the course content. Zero base budgeting requires sharpening of objectives, finding out the best alternative by the application of evaluative techniques for achieving the objectives, structuring of decision units, formulation and development of decision packages, prioritisation and switching of resources from lower priority to higher priority programmes and activities/schemes/projects, and elimination of those expenditures which are found to be redundant to facilitate a more purposeful allocation of resources. Zero base budgeting also focuses on rationalisation of expenditure by removing duplication or multiplication which would occur when the same activity is performed by a number of agencies. Further the application of the concept of zero base budgeting would require searching a better alternative way for achieving the objectives of the expenditure.

As a result of such a review, if the expenditure is found necessary to be made, it should be incurred with efficiency and economy to achieve productivity. This feature of zero base budgeting establishes its inter-face with performance budgeting. Because it is by the application of performance budgeting that expenditure can be optimis-

ed by relating it to the targets of a programme, scheme, or project, to be achieved. Such a relationship is sought to be established by the use of scientific and realistic norms, standards, yardsticks, units of measurement, etc. A scheme of performance budgeting would also require structuring of budget classification in terms of programmes, schemes, projects, activities and operations, to be implemented by the organisation for achieving its objectives. Therefore, providing adequate coverage to the various ramifications of a system of performance budgeting would be an important part of the course content for financial management.

Zero base budgeting review, and application of performance budgeting, would need to be conducted in the context of the objectives of the organisation. These objectives, therefore, are required to be stated in clear, specific, and well-defined terms for various levels of management in the organisation hierarchy. Clarity of objectives has to be ensured for a proper review and evaluation of expenditure related to its purpose. The significance of framing proper objectives as an important component of zero base budgeting and performance budgeting can therefore, hardly be overemphasised. It would be relevant to include the topic of 'Management by Objectives' in the course content to reinforce the perspective for a thorough discussion of the concepts of zero base budgeting and performance budgeting.

For application of performance budgeting to capital projects, it would be necessary to first prepare a network graph by charting out in their sequential order the various activities required to be accomplished for completing a project. It is on the basis of network analysis that bar charts giving calendar dates to the various activities or work packages (groups of related activities) are drawn out, costing of activities/work packages for specific periods done, and a performance budget prepared. It is, therefore, necessary to include in the course content the subject of network analysis, including programme evaluation and review technique and critical path method. Preparation of performance budget for a capital project based on network analysis would be another important topic for inclusion in the course content.

The crux of the whole scheme of performance budgeting is use of measurement norms, standards, yardsticks, unit cost, etc., for establishing correlation between expenditure and the corresponding physical accomplishment. Therefore, lecture-discussion devoted to the subject of measurement norms would be an important inclusion in the course content. Costing will also be a relevant subject in this context.

Management accounting is generating and supplying information to various management levels in the organisation hierarchy, which could

be of use to them in the successful discharge of their functions and in their decision-making needs. It would require application of relevant management techniques for analysis of the historical and projected economic data of the enterprise to produce the required information. Financial information may also be required to be produced for supply to external agencies, like administrative and nodal ministries, audit authority, legislature, Planning Commission, and regulatory and tax authorities. It may not be possible to create all the information required by manual operations. The handling and processing of data which would be of a large magnitude and complex in nature in the case of governmental and public organisations would require the aid of electronic devices, like computers. Therefore, the subject of computer application in financial management would also be necessary to be included in the course content. The use of relevant information in the decision-making processes of today is imperative in dealing with matters which are large and complex. Such information would need to be generated with speed, frequency, and in the form as required. This would be possible only by using the aid of computer, which would make the subject of computer application important for inclusion in a training course for civil servants on financial management.

Performance budget, which is a plan of action for the ensuing year would require monitoring and review of performance as the budget is operated upon. The actual achievement has to be compared with the planned one as projected in the performance budget. The difference between the actual and the planned needs to be analysed to find out the reasons or factors responsible for the same so that the necessary corrective action could be taken to remedy the situation. The subject of "Monitoring and Review of Performance" assumes importance in this context and, therefore, should be included in the course content.

A lot of investment (around Rs. 60,000 crore) has been made in public sector undertakings of the Union Government. Therefore, subjects like financial control over public undertakings, and evaluation of performance of public enterprises, should also be included in the course content. To evaluate performance of public enterprises, in addition to assessing it by various other indicators, the trainees should be educated to analyse financial statements of the enterprise, including balance sheet and profit and loss account. They should also be trained to interrelate items in the balance sheet and profit and loss account to work out ratios which would indicate liquidity or solvency, efficiency, and profitability of the enterprise. Therefore, analysis of financial statements should be included as an important subject in the course content. There are other subjects of importance also to be included in the course content, such as working capital

management, materials management and inventory control, inflation accounting, etc.

Group Work

Group work by participants on subjects of topical interest would bring about interaction among them and secure their intimate involvement in the training programme. It would provide them with opportunity to share their knowledge and experience with other members of the group. The process of knowledge and experience sharing would be repeated with other members of the training programme when the group reports are discussed among all the participants of the programme.

These groups called syndicates can be allotted chosen subjects for their work, which would help focus their attention on identifying problems and issues in their respective area of research to find out solutions. Such an exercise would also be conducive to creating the desired impact on their attitudes, and to reorient their thinking to finding new ways of solving the problems and tackling the issues. These syndicates may be allotted subjects, such as delegation of financial powers, role of financial adviser, application of zero base budgeting, preparation of performance budget, review of a performance budget and its operation, project appraisal, etc.

The type of course content to be covered in this third category may also include practical exercises to be done by the trainees in working groups. The subjects for such exercises may include topics, such as application of discounted cash flow technique, economic analysis of a project by the application of shadow prices, etc.

The group work carried out by the trainees would help develop better understanding and comprehension in them of the problems and issues studied, and is calculated to promote further the learning process aimed at by the training programme. This is also conducive to enhancing their capabilities for tackling the issues and finding solutions to the problems they face, and to meet the challenges of development administration.

TRAINING METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed for training of civil servants in financial management should be such as would motivate and instill enthusiasm in them for acquiring knowledge and skills of the subjects and techniques as mentioned in the earlier paragraphs. Lecture-discussion sessions through traditional method of imparting education and training continue to hold good for communicating basic knowledge on a variety of subjects in the field of financial management. However, these lectures should be designed and discussions conducted thereon

by the teacher in a way that these sessions attract the attention of the trainees and sustain their interest throughout the sessions. To quote from United Nations Publications:

Although it is the target of much criticism, the lecture method is still widely used, especially in the degree programmes of schools and institutes of public administration, and even in in-service training courses for active civil servants. The lecture method is undoubtedly the predominant method of instruction at the present time.... It is safe to say that there would be less opposition to the use of lectures in training courses, if they could be made lively and interesting. It has been observed that this is a rare skill, and that lecturers who can attract and hold the attention of their audience are rarely to be found on the staff of training projects. This may be granted, but anybody who can lecture at all can improve his techniques and make his lectures more effective as a means of instruction. One common attempt to improve the lecture is to invite questions at the end, but this has little effect upon the technique of presentation. It is better for the lecturer to tell his students that he does not mind interrupted for questions, and it may prove to be a method of testing the comprehension as the lecture proceeds.²

Training methodology, in addition to lecture-discussion and use of black board may also include audio-visual aids, use of graphs, charts, diagrams, slides, and relevant films.

Whereas lecture-discussion method is alright for communicating knowledge, in the case of imparting instructions in management techniques it is necessary to supplement it with practical exercises to be done by the teacher in the class as well as by the trainees. Group work by the civil servants in syndicates and in other working groups is an important method to be employed in the training course to create a desirable impact on the behaviour pattern of the trainees. This would, however, need to be supported by proper career planning for these personnel so that the training undergone by them remains relevant to their work situation. To quote Prof. Ishwar Dayal:

Classroom learning will result in a relatively permanent change if the individual's work, after training, provides reinforcement of the ideas used in training.³

Case studies should be used for involving the trainees into discussion of some actual situations and the decision-making process

followed for dealing with the problems and issues reflected in the case study. It is, however, important that the case studies prepared should be illustrative of a situation relevant to the course content and be based on judiciously collected and reliable material. As stated in the United Nations Publications:

The distinctive features of case study are to be found, not in the method, but in the materials used for instruction. There is general agreement that case study is one of the most effective methods known to teach decision-making and problem solving in the field of public administration. Case study would no doubt be more widely used than it is in schools and institutes of public administration and in training courses for civil servants, if suitable materials were readily available.⁴

It is, therefore, imperative that rigorous efforts should be made to collect the relevant material for preparing a case study. It is particularly so because such material would not so much be available in books and published documents as it would be in the files and records of the various organisations and, therefore, has to be culled out very skilfully. The search for material and facts pertaining to the case study would also need to be supplemented by interviews by the case writer with the concerned persons who had a role and played their part in the case.

The methodology for training would need to be suited to the duration of a training programme in financial management for civil servants. In a short duration programme, a few of the above mentioned methods may be employed. However, in a training course of long duration, in addition to the above cited methods, a few more additions can be made, such as book reviews, term papers, etc.

Towards the end of the training programme, or periodically if the programme is of a longer duration, evaluation of the programme based on feedback information provided by the trainees should be conducted. The civil servants being the important participants in the training programme, they should be encouraged to express themselves freely and frankly on various aspects of the training programme. The evaluation of the course, thus, conducted would provide highly useful information for carrying out improvements in the training programmes on financial management to be conducted subsequently.

CONCLUSION

The training needs of civil servants for financial management can hardly be overemphasised in the present day situation when they have

to deal with big and complex matters having financial bearing. The advancements that have taken place in financial management concepts and practices have necessitated reorienting the thinking of civil servants to adopting new methods and ways of decision-making to tackle the problems and issues they face in their day-to-day functioning. Training programme designed on the lines suggested above would provide the civil servants with the right perspective, and expose them to the recent developments in the field of financial management. This would fulfill a felt need to equip the civil servants better to deal with the tasks of development administration. It would also increase their effectiveness in the discharge of their functions thereby adding to the administrative capacity possessed by the organisation in which they function.

Therefore, investment in training of civil servants for financial management has important pay off in improving their performance. It would certainly yield a highly favourable cost-benefit relationship if expenditure on such a training is considerably increased to adequately meet the training needs of civil servants for financial management. Finance function being a service function, which runs through most other functions of management and plays an integrating role among them, improvement in its performance by the civil servants would have multiplier effect resulting in achievement of efficiency, economy, and productivity of operations. The knowledge of relevant subjects imparted to the civil servants in these training programmes, skills of financial management techniques acquired by them, and their involvement and interaction in group work, are calculated to bring about much needed improvements in their performance to execute the tasks of socio-economic development of the country, and to meet the challenges of development administration.

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Training of Senior Police Officers : Some Basic Issues

P.D. MALAVIYA

POLICE TRAINING has received considerable attention since the Gore Committee was set up by the Government of India in 1971. In the last few years particularly, the number of police training institutions has increased, the infrastructural facilities have improved, the curriculae have been updated and more police officers than ever before are attending refresher programmes and seminars. Yet, there are no signs of improvement in police performance or police behaviour, nor is there any improvement in the police image. So, it is necessary to try and understand why the past training efforts have not made much impact and what are the inherent limitations of training.

Is Training Relevant?

Training is, by definition, related to job performance. If there is a right way of doing a job and a wrong way of doing it, then the person required to do it can be trained to do the job in the right way and to avoid doing it the wrong way. But, if a person is trained to do his job in one way and then expected to do it in quite another way, then his training becomes irrelevant and cannot, obviously, effect his job performance. Therefore, in the absence of any impact of training on job performance, the first question which arises is whether training is relevant to the job as it is expected to be.

To find an answer to the question of relevance, one might examine whether the officers, who are nominated to attend the training programmes, are the same for whom these programmes are designed. One of the most prestigious training institutions in the country organises seminars on policy, planning and management for top level Police officers. And who is nominated to attend these seminars? The Directors General of Police (Ds.G.P.), the prospective Ds.G.P., and their key aides like Inspector General Administration? An examination shows that two such seminars were attended by 39 officers, but not even a third of them belonged to the above mentioned categories. Another

prestigious institution runs programmes on police-public relations. And who are nominated to attend these programmes? The Superintendents of Police and the bright young Additional Superintendents of Police (Adl..Ss.P.), who are dealing with the public every day? Definitely not! In point of fact, most of the participants in these programmes are also officers who have been side-lined and who have no immediate prospect of holding charge in a district.

If we examine the same question from a different angle, we would find that the Assistant Inspectors General, Deputy Inspectors General, Inspectors General holding charge of specialist functions, like finance, personnel, planning, etc., are seldom selected from amongst those who have attended relevant training programmes. In fact, a look at the files of any police department would show that the training programmes attended are hardly ever taken into consideration when deciding posting of an officer. What about postings to the training institutions themselves? Who is posted to a training institution? An officer who has worked honestly and diligently to achieve success and who can be expected to train others as to how to do the job correctly? Or, the high-flyer, who might share his experiences with the young aspirants? Or, the one who has proved to be a misfit in all other branches? Or, the one who has incurred the wrath of the powers that be and who has therefore to be shunted aside? The answer is only too-well known. Therefore, the conclusion is inescapable that the training programmes are mostly irrelevant to jobs as they are currently expected to be performed and that the governments and the heads of police forces implicitly recognise it though, true to the norms of the prismatic society, they continue to stress the importance of training.

Making Training Relevant

How do we make training relevant? Surely, we cannot train policemen in extracting confessions under torture, and the like, even if such practices are becoming common. Therefore, the first thing should be to identify the current police practices which are acceptable and to strengthen training related to them. Simultaneously, the controversial police practices should be identified, changes discussed, and then it should be seen as to what training can contribute to the change effort. To elucidate, let us consider training in the area of detection of crime. Clearly, the first and the foremost issue here is of the use of third-degree methods. The human-rights aspect is clear, but what is perhaps not so clearly recognised is that the third-degree is also the anchor for so much of corruption in the police (how many people would submit to their demands if they did not fear being locked up and thrashed by the police?). But the moral aspect

apart, there is also a functional aspect to this question. Can the police control the criminals without the use of third-degree methods? In how many cases do we really find material evidence on the scene of crime which could be analysed scientifically and lead to the criminal? How many suspects can really be broken down by interrogation, without resorting to third-degree methods? The matter has to be decided outside the training campuses. However, training institutions can play an important part in deciding the issue because if we cannot train our officers in more effective scene-of-crime work, if we cannot keep them informed about the advances made in the field of scientific detection, and if we cannot train our investigating officers in the art of interrogation, then the use of third-degree methods will continue. Similarly, in maintenance of law and order, the basic issue is whether police shall generally maintain law and order through public cooperation and resolve the situations of stress by mobilising public opinion or whether they would continue to depend only on physical force to maintain law and order. The moral question apart, the question is whether the police officers can acquire through training, the social skills needed to build up that kind of rapport with the public; if they cannot, then the dependence on physical force must continue.

Limitations of Training

At this point, it may be appropriate to stress the limitations of training also. If a Town Inspector is transferred for executing a warrant of arrest issued by a court against the son of an influential MLA, it may not be correct to assume that the D.G.P. had not attended the seminar on policy, planning and management. For that matter, it is absolutely futile to expect that all senior officers, who attend such programmes, would be willing to protect their right-doing subordinates at the cost of incurring displeasure of influential persons. It would be equally wrong to assume that a senior officer, who issues wrong orders at the behest of the powers that be, does so only because he does not realise that if it is right for the Station House Officer (SHO) to do something (at his command) then how could it be wrong for the SHO to do the same thing at the behest of the local leader or, for that matter, at the request of the wrong-doer himself (who is the beneficiary in any case). Again, if senior officers do not have, individually or collectively, the will to enforce the code of conduct among their subordinates, it would be futile to put them through training course. Training cannot compensate for lack of intellectual integrity or the lack of will. What the training institutions can do, at best, is to bring out through interactive sessions the total impact of such decisions and the real

cost to the organisation of supporting the careeristic ambitions of such officers. The training institutions can also perhaps initiate discussions as to what is the impact of promoting officers of doubtful integrity on the efficiency and the credibility of the organisation. They can start hard-nosed discussions as to why police credibility has sunk so low and how this impairs police effectiveness; whether credibility can really be improved through better public relations and image-building exercises. They could also involve behavioural experts in discussions with senior police officers whether the hurt caused to the psyche of the policemen who are forced to carry out illegal and improper commands can be cured through welfare measures; whether a subordinate can be expected to spurn bribes, remain immune to the pleadings of his kinsmen and take personal risks to safeguard the rights of the citizens when his superiors are unwilling to risk their careers for the self-same organisational goals. But beyond creating awareness and stimulating thinking, training institutions cannot do much.

Training as Instrument of Change

Can training be an instrument of change? We have already discussed that training can make police officers more aware of all the implication of various kinds of decisions and that it can stimulate thinking and discussions on the need for change. We have also discussed how training institutions can help to decide what alternatives are feasible and what are not feasible. But, training cannot carry the burden of change. Consider change in police behaviour, for instance. Suppose, it is decided that police behaviour towards the public should be less authoritarian, then what steps would have to be taken? We know that a change in the pattern of behaviour of such large groups as the police is possible only if two conditions are met: (1) the present pattern of behaviour should become untenable, and (2) an alternative pattern of behaviour, with greater psychological reward, should be available. To make the present mode untenable, the enforcement function would have to be strengthened; senior officers would have to take the complaints against their subordinates more seriously and be more ruthless in dealing with cases of proven misbehaviour. But how to cope with the emotional turmoil that such a change would create among subordinates? Here, training would have a role: firstly, if policemen are expected to be less authoritarian, then it would be clearly inappropriate to socialise the new recruits into an authoritarian mode at the training institution through a military type of training and a military type of regulation of the whole life-style: a de-militarisation of training could go a long way to make the policemen less authoritarian. Then, training could show the subordinates

how they could achieve greater personal effectiveness while giving up their authoritarian attitudes and, finally, training could inculcate counselling skills in the superior officers so that they could become a source of comfort and strength to their subordinates in times of emotional stress. But this would not be enough. To make the desired behavioural pattern psychologically more rewarding to the subordinates, the reward system would also have to be revamped. The present reward system of police organisations is such that the goodwill of the public is not rewardable while the ill-will of someone influential can bring instant punishment: this will have to be particularly changed so that the new behaviour pattern can be sustained. So, while training could certainly facilitate the change, an integration of training with the entire systemic effort would be necessary for change effort to succeed.

Keeping Touch with Reality

To keep training on the rails, it is also necessary that the trainers should keep in live touch with the realities of their forces and be fully aware of developments elsewhere. To elucidate, let us consider prevention of crimes through beat-patrolling, something highly acceptable to the urban public. We know that the beat system is breaking down because the manpower required for effective beat-patrolling as per existing norms is not available. But experiments carried out elsewhere, particularly in the UK, would indicate that it might be possible to provide very effective cover with a such smaller manpower. It should be for the training institutions to bring this to the notice of their forces, to discuss the feasibility of adapting the new techniques to the peculiar needs of our towns and cities and if the adaptation is found acceptable, to train the officers and men in the new techniques. Again, the public expects that the senior police officers would control their subordinates through their supervisory functions and ensure that investigations, for instance, are carried out properly and the criminals are kept under check. However, in practice, the supervisory control has become very tenuous. One would think that the training institutions would examine the problem in their interactive sessions with experienced officers and suggest how the supervisory officers could cope with their internal problems and meet the public expectations; may be through more effective enquiries into a proportion of complaints of each type and from each area, maybe through more surprise checks, or maybe through closer scrutiny of a few cases taken up at random.

Consultancy Services

Some of the better equipped institutions could perhaps go a step

further and offer management consultancy, in collaboration with outside experts. To do so, the institution would have to identify the problems in consultation with the head of the police organisation, decide which of them would be amenable to managerial solutions, secure the services of a suitable management consultant from the field, interpret the problems to him and explain the constraints of police when considering alternatives. Once the consultant has made his recommendations and the organisation has decided to implement them, the training institution can help in monitoring the results and, finally, transfer the insights gained to the training programmes conducted by it. Such consultancy could be taken up easily in areas, such as selection of recruits, framing or reviewing promotion rules, and performance appraisals (all based on job-analysis); review of reward and punishment systems and review of information systems of the organisation.

CONCLUSION

The training efforts of the past have not made much impact on the performance or behaviour of police, chiefly because the training programmes have not been very relevant. It is absolutely necessary to make the programmes relevant. It is also necessary that trainers maintain live contacts with the realities of their forces, and suggest improvements in acceptable police practices by bringing developments made elsewhere to the notice of their forces and suggesting adaptations. Where a change in current practices appears to be indicated, training institutions can help to generate awareness about the problem and possibly initiate hard-nosed discussions of all the various facets of the problem and indicate the alternatives available and the feasibility of adopting any of them. When a change-programme is decided upon, the training effort should be fully integrated with the total systemic effort. Some training institutions can play a larger role by offering consultancy services to the police forces, in collaboration with established management consultants.

Training for Judicial Officers : Emerging Perspectives *

K.S. SHUKLA

EDUCATION AND Training are on-going processes in human life. Education provides world vision and training equips an individual professionally. Education and training are both composite and separate mechanisms. While education aims at broad-based accumulation of knowledge, development of vision and strengthening of critical faculties, training aspires and equips an individual with focused, specialised and professionally relevant knowledge. Education and training may proceed in an overlapping fashion or concurrently or distinctly. Which of the two aspects would be prominent depends on how the learner manages them. One learns from each experience and at every moment. With minor variations, each facet has its own unique role and significance in the development of personality. Broadly, the methodologies and modes of attaining information in education and training are same, except that in case of the latter practical demonstrations are given greater emphasis.

Since they deal with human affairs, the roles and responsibilities of judicial officers in any society are so intricate and complex as well as diverse that the importance of education and training assumes political significance. In developing professional skills of judges, there ought to be equal emphasis on education and training, because no other functionary in a civilised society has equally been empowered or authorised to give a verdict/censor/deprive/punish another member of the society. Krishna Iyer quotes Felix Frankfurter, "a judge, should be compounded of the faculties that are demanded of the historian, the philosopher and the prophets".¹ A judge has to reach conclusion on the basis of the evidence presented before him. Any

*Revised version of the paper written for the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the U.P. Public Service Commission, Allahabad. I am indebted to B.B. Pande, Upendra Baxi, N.R. Madhav Menon and Ved Kumari for critical comments on the earlier draft of this paper.

mistake in assessment, or evaluation, or wrong judgement is likely to have serious repercussions and implications for the targeted persons, because, as a result of a court judgement, one may even be temporarily deprived of his liberty, civil rights, property rights, etc.

CONTEXT

Task of a Judge

In reaching a conclusion, a judge has to mostly depend on depositions of an accused, witnesses, prosecution, defence-counsel and material evidence presented in the Court. There are various ways of achieving these tasks. The prominent responsibilities may include:

1. Dispute settlement;
2. Legitimising executive/individual actions;
3. Formulation of values or determining the boundaries of values;
4. Settling boundaries for future conflicts; and
5. Social education.

Training need to aim at filling the gap between legal education and nature of responsibilities which a judge is expected to perform. In addition, it should aim to strengthen a judge's skills to determine the innocence and guilt. Although the Natural Law School emphasises the importance of training, yet, even here, it does not lay adequate emphasis on the judges' political role (legitimising executive power or social education role) which a judge has to perform in deciding election petition cases, offences under social legislations, etc. Judges need to be consciously made aware of these realities so that they are able to play their role as change-agents. While devising training programmes for judges, special emphasis need be placed regarding the new tasks which a judge is expected to undertake in greater frequency and quantum in the future. In every case, there are two sets of facts, one on which one party relies and another on which opposite party relies.² Each of these aspects are so organised and designed that if not observed and studied carefully, these may lead to perceptual inconsistencies. Khanna, in this regard, feels that a "judicial finding of fact is some time entirely divorced from realities of the matter. Both--the plaintiff and the defendant present their arguments meticulously and in a fool-proof manner".³ In such cases, for a common man or a person with optimum intellectual acumen, genius apart, it may be difficult to reach the truth. A judge has to face such situations frequently. "To get at the fact is no easy process because each party is interested in twisting facts in its own

favour and evidence which is adduced is usually full of exaggeration, distortion and even falsehood".⁴ The modes of operation of judicial officers vary from one judge to another. Hidayatullah observes, "how the judge reacts to the facts and the law applicable to them, is not uniform from one judge to another judge. One has to decide about the guilt or innocence in the background of forceful arguments and counter-arguments".⁵ In reaching truth, a judge may have to sift the grains of truth from the chaff of lies. "Sometimes the truth is so cleverly and inextricably mixed up with lies that a judge finds it very difficult to say with certainty which way the truth lies".⁶

Simultaneously, an intimate knowledge and understanding of values, culture, traditions, customs, practices, conduct norms, laws, rationale for laws, etc., alongwith other culture specific situations, may be an immensely useful and helpful instrument in the basket of a judge. If a judge is exposed to these realities and has been attuned to understand and analyse human behaviour, comprehend human reflexes and responses in a given cultural setting, scrutinise variety of human mechanisms in accordance with the situational demands, etc., a judge is equipping himself professionally.

Human perceptions, motivations, expressions, etc., operate in a queer fashion hence the understanding of the attributes and variables of human mind is desirable in handling human situations. Moreover, a critical understanding of the procedural and substantive laws, alongwith their modifications as well as the case-law may be useful weapons in the armoury of a judge. The expectations from a judge are varied and complex and a judge, being a human specie, has distinct personal predilections. This aspect of judges role has been aptly described by Hidayatullah as follows: "Sometimes he is influenced by the philosophy of law, sometimes he looks at the mores of society, sometimes by the local conditions, sometimes at the state of law as till than fixed by the legislature or determined by other judges and having weighed the matter from one or more of these angles, he approaches the facts and decides what solution of the controversy before him should be".⁷

These and variety of other factors weigh in the mind of a judge when he is deciding a case. A sizable section of judges may be drawn from this category, possessing optimum human potentialities and weaknesses. We, therefore, need to devise mechanism to equip judge with the required inputs to reduce objective possibilities of miscarriage of justice. The issue assumes significance in the background of our avowed concept and cherished ideal of equity and social justice in our jurisprudential philosophy.

Once a judge sits in a Court of Law and arguments start, there are many crucial phases:

1. Assuring, through questions and responses, regarding impartiality of the judge;
2. Examination of witnesses;
3. Seeking clarifications from the accused;
4. Appreciation of evidence ...(Human Circumstantial and Documentary);
5. Overseeing:
 - (a) Maintenance of decorum in the Court,
 - (b) Recording of evidence in proper form,
 - (c) Skillfully running administration,
 - (d) Record keeping,
 - (e) Management of Information, and
 - (f) Vigilance over subordinates;
6. Use of modern equipment in the administration of justice; and
7. Award of sentence.

A judge not only has to assure everyone that justice would be done in the Court but every effort would be directed to achieve this objective. He has to oversee that the atmosphere does not become favourable to a party. These objectives could be achieved through the conduct and performance of a judge. These, therefore, would involve a considerable homework and mental agility from a presiding officer.

Major Roles of a Judge

A judge has not to be engaged in determining the guilt or innocence of a person but has to perform a cardinal role in dispute settlement, resolving conflicts, maintenance and introduction of modifications in the existing value patterns and above all perform the role of a social educator. He is expected to play the role of a model of human specie in regard to code of conduct, integrity, character, reflexes responses, etc. Even in performing the role of a dispute settler, his role could be different at following six levels:

1. Distinguishing between the relevant and irrelevant facts and permitting them as relevant facts;
2. Appreciation of relevant facts and drawing inferences;
3. Matching the inferences with the existing case-law and ruling;
4. Recording conviction/acquittal;
5. Appreciation of facts relating to award of sentence;

6. Handing down sentence; and
7. Follow-up action, if any.

Broadly, a judge has two major roles to perform: (a) determination of guilt, and (b) award of sentence to the guilty. In regard to the performance of first role, more often than not, it may be easy to reach very close to conclusion that a particular person appears to be guilty but a ray of doubt may continue to persist in the mind of a judge, as to whether 'X' or 'Y' is totally guilty. There are minute gaps in each case. Therefore, the actual task of determination of guilt turns out to be a complex issue. In spite of subconscious doubts and other facts, a judge has to reach a conclusion due to the societal expectations from him. With the introduction of modern gadgets in social use, the process of determination of guilt is going to get further complicated. Exposure to the ideas relating to traditional modes of human behaviour and understanding the contemporary trends in human responses, as well as modes of handling the traditional and modern gadgets alongwith their expanse and limitation, may prove to be useful tools to the presiding officers in administration of justice.

After the guilt of a person has been established, another significant facet of roles is the sphere of award of sentence. The process and determination of appropriate quantum of sentence for a particular type of offence is a complex and intricate decision. In contrast to the process of determination of guilt, where a judge is assisted by the investigation report, witnesses, expert and other forms of evidence--lawyers and other supportive instruments--a judge has very few agencies, except the probation officer, to assist him in the award of sentence. Although the revised Criminal Procedure Code (1973) and the prescription of the minimum and maximum quantum of punishment in the laws do come to the aid of a judge, yet even these modalities do not reduce the scope for discretion. The possibility of the biases, prejudices, notions, past experience, etc., playing a dominant role in the process of award of sentence could not be ruled out. Judges need to be made conscious of this reality through various modes and mechanisms, and methods need be evolved to reduce the possibility of the use of discretion in favour of or against the guilty.

Perceptions Regarding a Judge

Judge is looked upon as an embodiment of justice. Even in the contemporary era, where image of a professional group in social systems, by and large, appears to be attenuating, a judge continues to enjoy credibility, prestige and status in the minds of a large section of people. A judge is perceived as a custodian and symbol of

fairness and justice. Even those who appear to be the critics of the system, look to the court of law for justice during crisis in their professional career. A judge is a judge, irrespective of his placement in any court. (A common man does not distinguish between various categories--judicial magistrate, munisif, chief/metropolitan magistrate, sub-judge, additional judge. All judicial officers of these categories, including judge of superior courts, is a judge in his estimation. Even a Tribunal Chairman/Presiding Officer may be known as a judge).

The heritage, the historical conditions and the judgements of the judges of the contemporary era may be factors in the continuance of this image. Nevertheless, if we are keen to perpetuate the positive image of a judge, then we will have to equip this functionary appropriately to continue his relevance and efficacy for society. He need to be armed and equipped, like a modern man, and be encouraged to have equal access to information and knowledge. Barring those, gifted with specialised inherent qualities and talents, others need to be equipped with these inputs through a strategy and organised effort of the society.

Variations in Judicial Methods

Judges are not inanimate objects, hence they tend to get influenced and conditioned by the reality obtaining around. Hidayatullah observed that one may have a rooted antipathy to certain crimes, another may chafe at the controls imposed on an individual, the third may have great regard for law and its observance and so it goes on from individual to individual.⁸ The tendencies of judges are as varied as the colours of a painting. These ideas may persist on the subconscious level. "Every judge has a distinct personal approach or a philosophy of his own which influences his judgement".⁹ Therefore, invariably, judges ought to respond to a case in accordance with their socialisation and in conformity with the prevailing value systems. On an overall plane, a judge punishes a person for the violation of societal norms--the norms to which he subscribes and reposes a considerable trust. Therefore, every judge may unconsciously show an inclination towards a particular point in his judgement--be it the legal provisions, or the case-law, or the norms or the ethical values, or the influence of impact of a particular action/judgement on the progeny, or its impact on the environment, etc. All these aspects weigh in the mind of judge while deciding a case. In the background of these realities and as per the personal predilections of a judge, he may either pay greater credence to the human or material evidence. Over a period of time, this inclination may get widely known, particularly to the Bar, and the concerned persons may

start presenting their case in this background in accordance with the understanding of the functioning of a particular court on the basis of the judgements of a particular judge. Judges could broadly be divided into two classes--conservative and liberal.¹⁰ Modes and mechanisms need to be evolved to reduce these sharp variations in judgements.

RESPONSES

The earlier description highlights the functional areas, roles and responsibilities, the image of a judge in public perception and the methods adopted by different judges. These crucial features need to be kept in view and mechanisms have to be evolved while devising the training strategy for judicial officers.

All available accounts indicate that the infrastructural opportunities for legal education in the existing institutions are not taken to be satisfactory and it is felt that this reality may persist for quite sometime. Law Commission of India in its 14th Report,¹¹ Baxi,¹² Sharma,¹³ and others have drawn our attention towards this reality. Steps are being taken to overcome this handicap and to reach a satisfactory level, it may take time (for details see the 14th and 177 Report of the Law Commission of India). On the one hand, the reality relating to the education continues to be so, while on the other, the Indian society is registering of developments in the spheres of technology, production, information, communication, etc. In case, effective steps are not taken in foreseeable future, there is a likelihood of a greater lag between the society and the judiciary. With a view to overcome this handicap, the need for the training of judicial officers is being increasingly realised at various levels of our society. The ardent votaries and supporters of this aspect are the senior members of the judiciary. Over the years, nearly a consensus has been evolved on this issue.¹⁴ Partial progress has been made to overcome this shortcoming and there are institutions that are conducting and organising training programmes for the judicial officers in India.¹⁵

Training, Workshops and Conferences

The training of the judiciary could be broadly divided into two phases: (1) Pre-service Training; and (2) In-service Training.

Pre-service Training

The schedule of in-service training programme should have almost equal emphasis on class-room tutorials as well as on field visits. Lecture method could be given importance over other methodologies of

training. The field visits may cover the place where human beings are exposed to critical experiences and manifest human tendencies in a nascent manner. The person to person experience during field visits would provide an ample opportunity to trainee officers to witness a variety of human interactions and provide chances for forming their own impressions. These programmes should aim at providing general information as well as strengthening of specialised skills.

In-Service Training

The training schedule should be devised in accordance with the tasks of a judge in a changing social milieu. Periodical modifications in the content and framework of training should be introduced to incorporate newer professional inputs. The induction, refresher and orientation programmes should vary in regard to orientation, content, duration and schedule. In induction training programmes, there ought to be equal emphasis on classroom instructions and external exposure--practical or otherwise. The orientation courses should direct more attention on the classroom instructions/discussions, and partial exposure to external realities with a view to strengthening technical skills of the participants. The refresher courses, on the other hand, should aim at exchange of information, critical evaluation of a variety of experiences and evolving strategies for meeting challenges and handling contingencies. It should be attempted to enhance the conceptual skills of the participants in orientation and refresher courses.

Over the years, a judicial officer matures in service, his area of operation expands and has to share a part of administrative responsibility. A judicial officer, therefore, needs to undergo a course(s) on personnel management which may cover the areas of office management, man-management, record keeping, information systems, project management, etc.

Attempts should also be made to explore the possibility of utilisation of knowledge and information from other disciplines of management with a view to assess and evaluate the utility of that information in judicial work. It is expected that greater the inputs, higher the possibility of their utilisation in judicial work.

In addition, the possibility of organising short-term (one week) programmes for Senior Judicial Officers (District Judges) who will preside over the Special Courts--handling cases relating to political, social, and economic aspects of social life, like taxation, labour, customs and excise--family courts, environmental protection courts, etc., should be thought of. The experience in the judiciary would come to the aid of these presiding officers but the inputs from the specialists regarding a particular area of human activity would

equip a judge to handle and interpret information connected with the case with greater confidence and expertise.

Workshops

Short-term workshops for the high court judges could also be planned and organised periodically. The themes for the workshop could be the issues relating to a particular type of Special Court, or the workshop could discuss policy issues relating to the judicial administration, problems relating to office and residential accommodation for Judicial Officers, modes of handling intra and interdepartmental conflict situations, infrastructural facilities for judicial officers, disposal of cases, or other issues that may emanate from time to time in regard to the judicial work. The areas that will be taken for discussion could have both the national as well as regional implications and ramifications.

Conferences

There should also be a provision for an Annual or Biennial Conference of the Chief Justices of High Courts as well as the Judges of the Supreme Court of India. The conference could discuss major intra and inter-organisational issues as also the problems relating to the judicial work in the country.

Nature of Emphasis in the Training

The Law Commission of India in their 117th Report have given an extensive charter in regard to the scheme of training, syllabus, faculty and constitution of the Academy at the national and regional levels as well as touched upon other relevant issues relating to this scheme.¹⁶ While scrutinising the recommendations, two aspects need to be meticulously and carefully handled while implementing the plan. These are: (1) Coverage of Syllabus, and (2) Choice of Faculty.

In drafting the syllabus, the roles and responsibilities of a particular category of judge; the expectations of the public from a judge; the nature, texture and contours of social fabric; emerging realities at various levels--technology, information, communication, etc.--and the existing infrastructural realities of courts; and other such relevant issues need to be kept in view. The syllabus should have a bias in accordance with the level of officers and the nature of pre- or in-service training. In the pre-service courses, there ought to be emphasis on law whereas in the in-service courses the philosophy, spirit and rationale of law should be emphasised.

With a view to enabling a judge to be in tune with the social

expectations, the following steps could be undertaken:

1. Exposing him to the tools and techniques that help him in particular understanding human mind and human behaviour. (Explicitly, the human reflexes and responses may appear to be complex but they may broadly conform to a pattern).
2. Social system and its compulsive and permissive influence on the conduct of the members of a given social order.
3. Formal and informal modes obtaining in a system and their consequent influence on response patterns of the members of a given group.
4. Complexities and contours of motivations, desires and habits of the perpetrators and the victims. Changing modes of human behaviour and role of a situation in determining human responses. Complexities and motivations of witnesses in deposing before a court. Changing phases and dimensions of human evidence and varying motivations of witnesses.
5. Modes and methodologies adopted by the lawyers during the hearing of a case. Role of immediate and long-term motivations of the lawyers in continuance or conclusion of a case.

Most of the serving judges have an intimate knowledge of the provisions of substantive and procedural laws. In case, there are modifications, the modifications could be made available to the judges. It is not the direct meaning or statutes that needs to be highlighted in an in-service course but the inherent spirit of law and its interpretation in accordance with the contemporary needs required to be emphasised. In addition, there ought to be an extensive discussion on the irritants--between judge and legislature, judge and police, judge and society, etc. Discussion in regard to the appreciation of evidence, handling of witnesses, managing the Bar, etc., may also prove useful.

The methodology in pre-service courses could be lecture-cum-discussion while in the in-service training programmes discussion, seminar, symposium, and group discussion should be emphasised. Every lecture should be followed by extensive discussions. Case studies could also be taken up for discussion.

Keeping these two important ingredients in view, the syllabus need to be devised befitting each level of judiciary and the methodology for tackling each subject could also be chalked out. Broad framework of syllabi may be drawn which may be discussed in workshops attended by eminent scholars from various disciplines and judges as well as experts in management techniques, etc. In the training of judicial officers, both at the Academy and the Regional Centres, the following

aspects need to be looked into:

1. Syllabus for each level be devised separately. In drafting the syllabus, the roles and responsibilities of that level be kept in view. The methodology of handling a subject could be broadly indicated in the syllabus. There ought to be a lecture/discussion on a particular subject followed by a practical demonstration.
2. The faculty should be so drafted that 50 per cent of them are drawn from other disciplines, other than those having background in legal education.
3. The Advisory Body of the Academy and Regional Centres should also have eminent persons drawn from different sectors--academics, administration, police, prosecution, jail services, politics, etc. They should have adequate representation on the body.

The Case Law as an Aid

Case Law as an aid to judicial work is already well recognised through the classical common law doctrine of precedent which involves a very detailed and technical application. Nevertheless, the availability of the upto-date Case Law in far flung areas may be difficult. Therefore, there is a need to evolve a mechanism to make its availability easier. The available Case Law in no way would interfere with the concept of judicial discretion and autonomy. It would only act as a reckoner or a guide in deciding a case.

The available Case Law would be of immense use to judges in many ways. The modes of circulating useful information relating to Case Law could be of various types. With a view to enhancing its utility and to contain misreporting, Hidayatullah¹⁷ feels, "the law reporting should be controlled centrally so that law declared by different high courts might become uniform and an unreported case should only be taken to decide a single controversy and not generally stating the law application to all cases". Case Law would be a very good source of information and knowledge, a useful guide, a source material in writing judgements, a ready reckoner in clearing doubts, etc. Therefore, there is need to prepare documents where synthesis of judgements regarding a particular type of cases is available for reference to the judicial officers. These synthesised documents may give a summary of judgement from different high courts regarding a particular type of case. After summary, a synthetic analysis of the cases and broad guidelines may be suggested at the end. Such documents, it is felt, could be prepared by knowledgeable people in the area of Case Law who could be commissioned by a National Agency (may be the

Law Commission of India) to do this exercise for larger social benefit.

In order to ensure that the initiation of the training of judicial officers does not take a wrong course, or does not become counter-productive, or does not turn out to be a self-defeating exercise, adequate care need to be taken that the planning reflects vision and ensures perspective planning.

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Training for Urban Management

MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

URBAN MANAGEMENT involves complex, multi-organisational activities which are intended to produce planned results. The agenda of training in urban management are to be deduced from the tasks set for urban management. In the Calcutta Metropolitan area, the urban management tasks are scattered over a variety of organisations presided over by the CMDA--a special purpose body which was created with a specific mandate to plan and coordinate the developmental activities within its physical jurisdiction. The complexity of the management tasks called for innovative action and orchestrated efforts by a network of organisations. The imperatives of the training function stemmed from the unchartered nature of the management tasks and the need for all-round management development across the organisations involved in the metropolitan area.

The actual experiences of the three training organisations, reported here, reveal the varying institutional perceptions about urban management tasks. The training activities are accordingly tailored to 'perceived' organisational needs. As the story of training unfolds itself, one detects areas of opportunities as well as of despair. The general conclusion seems to point to the need for more rigour and imagination in training and for better inter-organisational understanding to facilitate concerted action in metropolitan management. Training in urban management will undoubtedly be tailored to the needs of specific urban locations. Yet the experiences in the Calcutta metropolitan area shed interesting sidelights on the general tenor of urban management training.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In India, the training function in urban management is of recent origin. The institutions for training in this field were first seriously discussed by the committee known as the Nur-Uddin Committee on the Training of Municipal Employees in 1963. As the title

suggests, this committee went into the question of institutional arrangement for training of municipal employees. The second committee known as the Committee on Rural-Urban Relationship discussed inter alia the problem of training in municipal administration, but it was not primarily a committee on training. The committee submitted its report in 1966.

The first committee emphasised the need for imparting systematic training to the municipal personnel in different types of municipal bodies. Professionalisation of municipal administration was considered necessary in view of the increasing complexities of urban administration. Accordingly, the committee recommended establishment of a training institute with adequate funds and faculty at the central level. Conceptually, the central institute was envisaged as an advanced training centre which would organise higher-level, imaginative training programmes; coordinate the training activities throughout the country and promote necessary uniformity in the programmes of different state level institutes. As the committee observed: "it would be one of the central institute's major responsibilities to prescribe the standard of training and research and it should serve as a model in this respect". Research in municipal administration for municipal problem solving was also to be undertaken by the central institute. The committee did not rule out the need for setting up State institutes. It was, however, felt that lack of adequate resources, equipment and faculty might stand in the way of simultaneous development of a number of State institutes in different parts of the country.

It needs to be emphasised that the Nur-Uddin Committee was interested only in training of municipal employees, and the larger concern for training in the field of urban management was missing. This may, of course, be explained by the fact that institutional development in the field of urban management took a turn for diversification much later. Hence the committee had only the municipal institutions in mind.

The second Committee (RURC) reinforced the ideas of the first and laid emphasis on the urgency of setting up training and research institutions in the field of municipal administration. As a sequel to these recommendations, training centres were set up at the central level and a number of regional levels. The central institution was attached to the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. The regional centres were set up at Lucknow, Hyderabad, Bombay and Calcutta. The institutional linkages of these centres differ from place to place. For example, the Lucknow and Hyderabad centres were located within the departments of public administration of the local universities. Later, the Hyderabad centre came out of the University

department of public administration but retained its existence under the overall University umbrella. The Bombay regional centre was set up as a wing of the All-India Institute of Local Self-Government, while the Calcutta Regional Centre was located within the Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management. Of these regional centres, the Calcutta unit has since been wound up.

This brief description of institutional development* in the field of training clearly shows the bias in favour of one specific type of urban institution, viz., the municipalities. In the later period, urban institutions proliferated both in terms of quantity and type. Besides the municipal institutions, urban India currently has the following types of urban institutions:

1. Urban development authorities;
2. Improvement trusts;
3. Water supply and sewerage (sanitation) authorities;
4. Slum clearance boards; and
5. Housing boards.

These institutions are located in the urban areas and are a mix of single-purpose and multi-purpose organisations. For instance, the housing board or the slum clearance board could be considered as single-purpose authorities, whereas the development authorities fall in the category of multi-purpose bodies.

Two important state-level organisations need to be specially mentioned in this connection, although these do not operate on any specific urban space. Their operational jurisdiction is statewide. These are: the Urban Development Finance Corporation set up by the Government of Kerala and the Central Valuation Board set up by the Government of West Bengal. It may also be mentioned that the Housing Board, wherever it has been set up has similar state-wide jurisdiction. But primarily it operates in the urban areas.

By now, it should be clear that the training activities in the field of urban management in India has not expanded much. Its attention has almost exclusively been focused on municipal training and only marginally on some of the urban institutions, like the housing board or the slum clearance board. Extending the institutional coverage is thus a basic issue in organising urban management

*Another central institution set up by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development, Government of India, is the National Institute of Urban Affairs. IIPA's training centre later came to be known as Centre for Urban Studies.

training in future.

Preconditions of Training

Training is a much abused word for a variety of reasons. Historically, the culture of training has been missing in government as a whole. Training in the field of urban management is a late starter and cynics are many who question the value of training in this new field. A number of assumptions generally underlie organisation of programmes of training. First, training pre-supposes a forward looking management which is result-oriented and has a futuristic view of things. Second, training is part of a larger package of organisational development programme. This means that the organisations concerned are determined to move constantly forward and there is a continuous process of organisational renewal. Third, training pre-supposes a well thoughtout personnel policy subsuming a policy of career management of the employees. In other words, effective manpower utilisation is the governing philosophy that lends meaning to training. Last but not the least, training requires attachment to institutional values. Unless in the larger society the institution itself has a valued position, training hardly gets legitimised as an essential organisational activity.

An allied point is the relative strength of the institution vis-a-vis other institutions in an organisational set. In a situation of multiplicity of interacting organisations, all the organisations have to accept training as a joint venture. It is not enough that one organisation alone embarks upon training programmes. All the component organisations are to design and plan programmes in close collaboration with each other. Unfortunately, in the Indian urban scene, the municipalities do not enjoy the strength and reputation which other special purpose bodies have been having because of differential State patronage.

The numerous special purpose bodies have proliferated in our urban areas not so much by any deliberate organisational planning but perhaps by sheer adhocism. In terms of resources, manpower and activities, these urban institutions have tended to overshadow the traditional municipal institutions. In spite of their proliferation and current importance in urban management, there is not much by way of training programmes for these institutions. Obviously this is a gap in the institutional coverage of training programmes currently being organised by most of the training institutions.

THE CALCUTTA SCENARIO

State policy toward institutional growth and decentralised plan-

ning and development sets the parameters of training. Specific nature of developmental tasks has been influencing decisions about the institutionalisation of training and the kinds of training programmes needed to support the institutional tasks. In the last decade, massive investments have been made for developing urban services within the Calcutta Metropolitan District (CMD) [Presently, it is being called the Calcutta Metropolitan Area (CMA)] through the IDA-assisted multi-sectoral development programme of the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA). The programme will continue in future years and a third IDA credit proposal has been approved to assist the programme during the period 1983-84 to 1988-89.

The CMD covers 36 urban local bodies of the State of West Bengal. There are 75 other municipal towns of varying size within the State. Besides, there are a few more towns waiting for municipalisation. In order to achieve a balanced urban growth all over the State, the State Government has, in recent years, been following a policy to step up the volume of development expenditure in these towns, so that they may become fit to absorb future urban growth in the State.

Apart from channelising plan funds for creating new infrastructural facilities, the present urban policy also lays stress on maintenance of existing urban services. Besides, the need for maintaining assets already created out of development programmes undertaken in the last decade, especially within the CMD, has assumed critical importance.

The institutions for the management of these activities are the 111 odd urban local bodies all over the State and some urban development authorities. Traditionally, the development activities in the urban field have been conducted in this State through the statutorily constituted bodies. Thus, the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) has been responsible for most urban renewal projects in Calcutta. From the seventies, the CMDA has been the prime mover in urban development activities within the CMD.

A shift is now taking place which is likely to continue in the coming years. The urban local bodies are expected to shoulder a major load of the development activities. The load will be felt most keenly by the 36 urban local bodies within the CMD. Included within them are the giant Municipal Corporations of Calcutta and Howrah at one end, and the tiny municipal bodies and notified areas, like Baruipur or Gayespur at the other. All these municipal bodies will be called upon to shoulder the responsibility of implementing substantial portion of the programme package under the third-phase of IDA assisted Calcutta Urban Development Project 1983-84--1988-89. Besides, as a result of larger investment already made in the last decade through the CMDA's development programme, substantial res-

responsibility for maintenance of assets will devolve on these local bodies.

All this places a heavy demand upon the management capacity of the various urban local bodies of the state, especially those located within the CMD. The local bodies are by nature labour-intensive. The nature of the tasks performed by them as also the technology adopted for performance of such tasks jointly contribute towards the employment of large manpower in the local bodies. Table 1 shows the manpower now under the employ of the municipal bodies in the State.

Table 1 MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL (ESTIMATED)

Municipal Bodies	Number of Employees by Category				
	Super- visory	Skilled manual	Unskilled manual	Clerical & Others	Total
1. Calcutta Corporation	2,500	5,800	19,250	5,500	33,050
2. Howrah	150	1,800	2,800	550	5,300
3. Other CMD	703	1,277	7,457	3,363	12,800
Total CMD	3,353	8,877	29,507	9,413	51,150
4. Non-CMD	170	1,154	7,000	3,500	11,824
Grand Total	3,523	10,031	36,507	12,913	62,974

The CMDA will have to shoulder the entire responsibility of planning and administration of planning legislation within the CMD. Additionally, substantial load of work in implementing major urban renewal projects, development projects and trans-municipal projects have to be borne by the CMDA. Other special purpose bodies, like CIT, HIT, CMW & SA, etc., will be required to implement and maintain certain trans-municipal projects as also big urban renewal projects. Such tasks will require high-level expertise in various professional disciplines and 'management'. The number of people employed by some of the major urban development authorities (UA) of the State is considerable, as will be evident from Table 2.

Training in urban field assumes crucial importance in this context. Until recently, no institutional facilities had been in existence to take care of training activities for these organisations.

The CMDA started its inhouse training Centre in 1979. The Calcutta Corporation started its training Centre in 1981 (effectively 1982). Other Municipal bodies of the State as also the various other development authorities are being covered by the ILGUS.

Table 2 NUMBER OF TRAINING STAFF OF DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES

Development Authorities	Number of Employees*
Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority	3,000
Calcutta Improvement Trust	633
Howrah Improvement Trust	385
Calcutta Metropolitan Water and Sanitation Authority	400

*Excluding group IV employees.

The ILGUS

The establishment of the Institute of Local Government and Urban Studies marks a turning point in the history of urban local government in West Bengal. The ILGUS is a State-level Institute. It was created by the Department of Local Government and Urban Development of the West Bengal Government in terms of the Government order No. 1116/C-3/LSG-2E-145/81 dated May 6, 1982. The primary objectives of the Institute are:

1. To create an awareness among the Municipal bodies of the State about the role of training as an intervention measure for improving their managerial competence;
2. To provide training facilities primarily for the Municipal bodies and also for the urban development authorities of the State;
3. To provide consultancy services to the municipal bodies on their organisational problem;
4. To build up a data bank and to conduct research studies in order to aid the training and the consultancy activities and also to help the policy-making apparatus of the Local Government and Urban Development Department of the State Government, the municipal bodies and the urban development authorities.

The specific functions deduced from these objectives have been

identified as follows:

1. To assess the training needs of client organisations;
2. To design and conduct or to assist such organisations to design and conduct training courses, workshops, seminars, symposia, conferences, etc.;
3. To evaluate the effectiveness of the training programmes;
4. To run training courses, both foundational and professional, and/or to hold examinations for the award of certificates or diploma, etc., in municipal administration and to conduct departmental examinations for the employees of the urban local bodies which may count towards their confirmation, promotion, etc.;
5. To undertake consultancy assignments on organisational problems of the municipal bodies;
6. To build up a Data Bank in order to aid the training and consultancy activities of the Institute and to provide the State Government, the municipal bodies and the urban development agencies with timely access to information necessary for taking policy or strategic decisions;
7. To conduct action research on urban problems in general and municipal problems in particular in order to aid the training activities of the Institute and to provide the State Government with the knowledge required for taking policy decisions. Also, problem-solving studies are expected to tune up urban administration considerably;
8. To publish research monographs, books, case studies and periodical bulletins and journals; and
9. To maintain a library, a documentation centre and a reading room;

Others to be benefitted from the Institute's training programmes, Data Bank and Research activities, publication and library services are the various urban development organisations. They are:

1. Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA);
2. Calcutta Metropolitan Water and Sanitation Authority (CMW & SA);
3. Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT);
4. Howrah Improvement Trust (HIT); and
5. Central Valuation Board (CVB).

The primary task of the Institute is to organise systematic training for urban local bodies and also for other urban authorities. In

concrete terms, this task finds expression in following kinds of activities:

1. Assessment of training needs;
2. Organising Training courses;
3. Workshops;
4. Seminar/Symposium; and
5. Extension lectures.

With the launching of CUDP III in the Calcutta metropolitan area, ILGUS geared up its activities primarily to tone up management of municipal bodies within the CMD. With a view to transforming the municipalities into productive and result oriented organisations, initial few months were spent to identify their key management problems. Prolonged discussions with the political leaders of the municipal bodies coupled with the findings of the West Bengal Municipal Finance Commission, facilitated the identification process. Training programmes were deliberately made very specific and short. The target group was chosen in such a way that the message of training could be conveyed into the organisation almost instantly. It was 'action' that became the focus of training attention.

The urban local bodies were naturally given priority in view of the massive investments contemplated in CUDP III. Other non-CMD municipal bodies could be covered very marginally. This imbalance is now being sought to be corrected by planning a number of regional training programmes. The idea is to take the ILGUS to the municipalities and not to invite them to Calcutta. It is more cost-effective. Also, as our experience shows, the training programmes become much more realistic and useful when these are organised very near to the location of problems.

ILGUS has, accordingly, taken up a number of need-based, organisation-specific training programmes. Short seminars have been found useful, especially when a government report, a new legislation, a new government policy are sought to be publicised and examined in some detail. Colloquium is a device more for brainstorming discussions and stirring up of ideas than for any cut-and-dried solutions to problems. Our experience reveals that a half-a-day colloquium with about a dozen hand-picked experts and practitioners can work wonder by way of generation of innovative ideas. In urban management, such brainstorming sessions have great potentialities for grappling with many complicated issues, such as land-use planning, pollution control, urban traffic and transportation, etc.

Still another device innovated by ILGUS is to have one-day meeting in the municipalities round the year. The initiative comes from the

municipalities who would be assembling the municipal councillors and selected citizens from different constituencies on the appointed day to discuss the various development projects underway in the respective towns. This device has been found very useful in informing the citizens and eliciting their cooperation. The elected councillors get to know more about the detailed programmes and projects that are being planned or implemented as part of CUEP III.

CALCUTTA CORPORATION'S TRAINING CENTRE

As earlier pointed out, in-house training facilities were created by the Calcutta Corporation in 1981-82. The Training Centre was formally inaugurated in January 1982. The Corporation has a large-scale organisation with a large operating budget and a total staff component of nearly 33,000 out of which 10 to 12 thousand would fall in the skilled, clerical and supervisory categories. The target group to be brought under training on a regular basis being very large and the organisation and tasks being different and unique in many instances, there was sufficient justification for establishment of a separate training institute for the corporation. A new management structure, second-tier decentralised borough system, elaborate staffing arrangement, a novel straight-line method of property tax assessment, and both general and functional budgeting are some of the major highlights of the newly created Calcutta Corporation Act of 1980. This new legislation has necessitated a degree of organisational overhaul and launching of orientation programmes to familiarise the middle level staff of the corporation with the general philosophy and specific provisions of the Act governing particular functions, such as taxation, budgeting, borough-headquarter relationship, etc.

The Training Centre of the Corporation is expected to subserve the following objectives:

1. To bring about a change in the organisational culture and environment and also to arouse a sense of belonging to the organisation among the employees;
2. To make the organisation more effective by developing and modifying its manpower through on-the-job training, training in advanced technology and professionalisation courses;
3. To let know all the new employees the organisation as a whole and its task with specific stress on their respective assignment;
4. To suggest ways and means for necessary changes in the existing system of procedure of work, more coordination--both inter-departmental and intra-departmental--to make the organi-

sation more effective ; and

5. To develop information system as a resource for planning and development.

In the light of these objectives, the tasks of the Training Institute have been identified as follows:

1. Development of the organisation through change programmes-- Development of manpower according to future manpower needs; Procedural change; Framing of rules of business; Designing of manuals of operation, etc.
2. Training of officers and employees at all levels.
3. Training of internal trainers.
4. Development of Information System, Data Bank and Research Unit.
5. To organise seminars and workshops.

Training has been sought to be diversified, keeping in mind the peculiarities of jobs, the different organisational levels, the need for professionalisation and the creation of a group of internal trainers. The courses, as planned, fall in six broad categories:

1. **On-the-job training:** The objective is to develop skill in the performance of the personnel on the job assigned to them and also to discover and implement new procedures to increase efficiency. Such courses for each functional department should be suited to the work-content of the department and to the persons engaged in the specific areas of activities.
2. **Supervisory training:** The training on basic supervisory skill shall be offered to the middle-level officers to make them acquainted with supervisory functions and skills in human relations, communications and leadership.
3. **Orientation training:** This course is offered to new entrants and probationers.
4. **Courses for Top Management:** Such courses will include themes like Urban Economic Base, Urban Tax Base; Land Zoning and Planning Technique; Financial Management Policy; Management Information System for Urban Planning; Municipal Organisation, Municipal Administration, Financial Planning and Administration; Decision-making Processes, Organisational Behaviour, Human Resources Development; Coordination.
5. **Courses for Middle-level Management** on such themes as Industrial Engineering; Maintenance Management; Inventory Control Techniques; Assessment Principles; Manpower planning;

Personnel Management & Industrial Relations; and Purchasing Techniques.

6. **Training of Internal Trainers** covering themes like Role of Internal Trainers, Designing of Manuals, Designing of Professionalisation Courses and change programmes, Designing of skill formation courses, Designing of operation manuals and rules of Business, and Methodology of Training.

The Training Centre called Institute of Urban Management, as can be seen from the programmes mentioned above, has been engaged in activities focused on municipal administrative improvement.

CMDA'S TRAINING CENTRE

Born in 1970 amidst a situation of near collapse of Calcutta's urban administration, the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority was originally conceived as a planning, funding and coordinating body. It had to shoulder the responsibility of pushing through a multi-sectoral urban development programme to quickly rehabilitate the almost disintegrated urban habitat in and around Calcutta. Initially, the CMDA started operating through a vast number of implementing agencies, such as the State Government's Engineering Departments, the improvement trusts, and the urban local bodies. As the operations increased tremendously, the CMDA had gradually to change its role from monitoring and coordination to actual execution.

With the assumption of the executing role, the CMDA's organisational size and structure changed radically. From a few hundreds on its roll in 1972, the staff strength has swelled to nearly 4000. As the former chief of the Authority has observed:

The authority's internal structure has been changed to provide for sectoral wings, such as for water supply, sewerage and drainage, roads, slum improvements and area developments. The planning, finance, materials and personnel units at the headquarters provide common services to the sectoral task groups. It cannot be said that the problems of coordination have disappeared, but initially it seemed less strenuous to solve them than in a multi-agency situation.*

In addition, the CMDA has over the years been burdened with the

*K.C. Sivaramakrishnan, *Indian Urban Scene*, Shimla, Advanced Academy, p. 118, 1979.

operation and maintenance of new facilities. To activate, finance and guide the urban local bodies within the CMD is also its responsibility.

It is in this context of CMDA's nodal role in the planning and development of the CMD that one has to consider the nature and load of its training responsibility. Currently, the developmental role of the CMDA revolves round the Rs. 322 crore third Calcutta Urban Development Project (CUDP III). This massive investment pinpoints functional responsibilities of a number of organisations within the CMD. The functional components and the organisational roles can be understood from Table 3.

Table 3 CUDP III : FUNCTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

Programmes	Functions	Implementing Organisations
1. Municipal Development Programme (MDP)	Civic services and infrastructure, i.e., water supply, drainage, sanitation, etc.	Municipal Corporations and Municipalities
2. Transmunicipal Infrastructure Project (TRIP)	Water supply, drainage and sanitation, transportation infrastructure, solid waste management	Calcutta Metropolitan Water Supply and Sanitation Authority and CMDA
3. Calcutta-Howrah Investment Programme (CHIP)	Same as in No. 2 above plus urban renewal and bus terminal	CMDA, CIT, HIT.
4. CMD-Wide Complementary Programme (CMDCP)	Shelter, health, support to small scale entrepreneurs. Archal (Rural) development, technical assistance and training.	CMDA (Training components will be the responsibility of CMDA, ILGUS and the CC Training Centre)

Clearly, CMDA is the pivot around which the large-scale development operations within the CMD revolve. The training activities of the CMD are to be deduced from this pivotal role. At one end, it has to gear up its own organisation for successful completion of time-bound programmes and projects, while at the other it has to be a

'teacher' and a 'leader' organisation goading and guiding the cluster of organisations that share with it some of the developmental responsibilities. Since its inception in 1970, it has developed a rare technical pool of urban development expertise which needs to be properly harnessed and put to use both for its domestic responsibilities as well as for the satellite organisations, such as CMWSA, CIT, HIT and the municipal bodies. Especially, the current experiment in decentralised development through the MDP calls for innovative 'consortium' approach to urban development under the captaincy of CMDA.

Looking back, one discovers the training consciousness in CMDA as early as in 1969. Initially, training programmes were started for better skill formation among lower level technical personnel, such as the technical assistants and assistant engineers. The decision to have a full-fledged staff training centre was taken in the middle of 1979.

This was preceded by a survey of training needs done by the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta. While inaugurating the training institute, the then Vice-Chairman of CMDA underlined the objectives of the institute in the following words:

If the training institute has to integrate itself with the mainstream of the organisation without allowing itself to turn into an appendix, it has to contribute its mite in diagnosing and solving organisational problems.

The Vice-Chairman's call was a tall order. Problem-solving is rightly addressed; but whose problems? What kinds of research back-up would be necessary to play the role of a problem-solver? As a sequel to the IIMC survey, the training centre identified the following kinds of activities:

1. Training courses for different target groups and levels in CMDA organisations.
2. Special courses on specific themes, such as "Highway Engineering".
3. Thematic seminars on issues where innovation in thinking is needed.
4. Special programmes for improving organisational effectiveness, i.e., decision-making, communication, etc.
5. Special lecture programmes.

The training programmes run by the Training Centre are intended to improve CMDA's own organisational capacity. Some of the programmes for the technical assistants seemed to have produced good results.

The training effort gathered momentum up to a period when a small library was built up and a fairly large volume of teaching materials was produced to support the courses. But by and large, the activities did not spread out much to include the higher echelons of CMDA's organisation. Nor was there any attempt to radiate developmental expertise outside the domestic sphere of the Authority. CMDA's own training load was pretty heavy, no doubt. But its zone of influence has always been much wider. The innovative ideas and practices were locked up within itself; the satellite organisation, could not be invited to training forums to share in CMDA's rich technical experience.

TRAINING ISSUES

Training Outlook

At this stage, an attempt can be made to distill out of the experiences, a number of general issues in the field of training for urban management. A common tendency in the training organisations is what can be called "statistics mania". A large number of programmes is usually listed out as an annual programme to prove that quantity is the heart and soul of training. This is sought to be legitimised by a survey of training needs which is often farmed out to some consulting organisations. Identification of training needs is the first job of the training organisation itself. The delegation of this responsibility to an outside organisation is of doubtful utility. It is the absence of qualified expert trainers within the organisation that seems to dictate the policy of farming out the job of survey to outsiders. In consequence, when the consultants are paid off, either there is another contract with them to run the programmes, or the training activities are undertaken without reference to the consultant's report.

Area and Organisation

Urban management training, to be effective, has to be organisation specific, and area specific. A particular urban area would be generally having location specific problems. The urban development problems of the Calcutta Metropolitan District with its peculiar terrain, hinterland, morphology, landuse structure and institutional network may not be comparable with the problems of some other urban or metropolitan area. Thorough understanding of area specific issues is necessary for mounting training programme tailored to area needs. Similarly, a number of disparate organisations need not be clubbed together for training purposes. Urban organisations vary in scale, complexity and basic character. For instance, the Calcutta Corpora-

tion cannot be equated with the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority. Elected municipal bodies form a separate species altogether with a distinct style of operation and an openness to pressures from the local body politic. The tasks of a municipal body and those of a development authority are not strictly comparable; hence to bring them together in a common training programme may not be a fruitful exercise. If the objective is to promote inter-organisational understanding, the best way is to hold seminars on common issues that cut across organisational boundaries.

Understanding of Tasks

Training is either problem-solving or useless. Training programmes are very often of dubious value because of lack of understanding of the problems of the organisation for whom the training is organised. For a trainer, the first requisite is to soak himself in the organisational problems. This requires constant visits, examination of the task system, frequent discussions with organisational members at different levels and the gradual development of a 'clinical' eye. The trainer's own acceptability in the organisation is essential for training to gain in legitimacy. Many a time, a young training officer, lower down in organisational hierarchy, has been found to drift in the organisation.

Organisational Demand

This raises the question of genuine organisational demand for training. Goaded by external agencies, or to keep up with the Joneses, a training wing would be set up more like a status symbol. Our experience shows that training can be successful only when the impulse for it is endogenous. Since most organisations are authority-oriented, top management's interest in training makes training an important activity. It is a common experience that with the entry of a particular organisational chief, training gets suddenly boosted up. With his exit, the whole training edifice nearly collapses. Under these circumstances, the training activity can hardly become legitimised and hangs tenuously in the organisation.

Urban Lobby

Sustained training activity is as much a technical problem as a 'Political' one. Continuity of training programmes and the 'autonomy' of the training function cannot be assumed merely by the professional excellence of the trainers. Especially in the urban management field, where competitive organisations and interests coexist, training has to be politically acceptable. This might necessitate lobbying with urban organisations, constant briefing of the top boss and the de-

partmental heads, and even involving the state level political leadership. An association of urban organisations may perform this lobbying function as a legitimate part of its various other activities.

Training Areas

Urban management tasks are multifaceted. Two broad streams of activities that can be indentified are: (a) planning and development function, and (b) maintenance function. Micro-level area planning, functional planning (e.g., roads planning, water supply planning etc.), projects planning for specific roads, overhead reservoir, garbage disposal, etc., fall in the first category. Supportive activities would be financial planning, manpower planning, and other input planning. Planning decisions are next to be executed and a series of construction activities follow as a natural corollary. Planning in the sense of spatial land-use planning is usually taught as a regular institutional course in schools or departments of planning and architecture. But specific area-based planning, such as slums improvement in a particular locality, or particular kind of functional planning, such as low-income housing or local shopping or market centre complex, would generally be left to the imagination of the engineers/planners posted in the organisation. Lack of innovative engineering within the urban development organisations is exemplified by the fact that even the technology of pour-flush latrine has to be propagated by the UNDP or some Government of India organisation. Construction techniques in the spheres of housing, drainage, water supply and so on are constantly being updated and improved upon. Training of the technical staff in area planning and functional and project planning seems urgently called for. Economic appraisal of projects and project management can be an important training area, especially in the context of large and metropolitan cities.

The other broad group of activities can be labelled as maintenance management. In urban development, our experience shows that many a time assets are created with utmost zeal, but their regular upkeep is forgotten soon after the construction would be over. Thus, newly built roads would be in utter disrepair, deep tubewells for water supply would soon go out of use, the fleet of vehicles for transportation of garbage would in no time be off the road. Investment in capital assets without any plan of maintenance management turn out to be bad investment. It is maintenance management that is sadly lacking in most urban local authorities. Training must be addressed to the real-life problems and issues in this vital area of actual operations and maintenance.

Another major aspect of urban management relates to the staff

functions in urban organisations. Budgeting, accounting and financial management, personnel management, tax management (where specific taxed like property tax, octroi or profession tax are levied), and inventory control are some of the important sub-areas where training has great potentialities for improving organisational efficiency. Especially when large scale investment programmes are underway, as in the case of the CMDA and the CMD Municipal bodies, budgeting format has to be changed from commentional revenue budgeting to capital budgeting. To some extent, commercial accounting system would have to be introduced wherever enterprise-like activities are taken up in course of development. Similarly, a multi-sectoral development programme has to have a matching materials procurement and inventory control plan. Without this, the works in progress may come to a grinding halt midway because of shortage or non-availability of critical inputs, such as cement, steel or bitumen. Personnel management in most organisations is intrepreted in terms of establishment work. So, overwhelming importance is attached to salary payment, over-time allowance, leave rules, etc. Manpower planning and phased recruitment policy, identification of job problems of men at work, meaningful performance appraisal and career management as a whole are generally neglected. Indiscriminate employment, irregular postings, stagnation, misutilisation of talent are common features in many of the urban organisations. Default in personnel management leads to employee frustration and grievances, and wastage of valuable technical expertise. Pay related aggressive trade-unionism is thus spawned by the very method of dealing with the employees. This is a field that cries out for imaginative research and training.

Still another area, where training may have a quick pay off, is general office management. Mundane things, like filing arrangement, diarising of incoming letters and documents, keeping minutes of meetings and conferences, standardisation of forms in use in the office, systematisation of books, ledgers and registers and simplification of work procedure need to be urgently looked into to streamline the urban organisations and improve their 'productivity'.

Conditions of Training

In a metropolitan context, training programmes need to be directed to both intra- and inter-organisational issues. The institutional picture of a metropolitan area is a network of interdependent organisations. In practice, however, the organisations are often found to work at cross purposes and tend to reduce the impact of their disparate efforts on events. Production of expected results depends, in many cases, on joint and collaborative efforts. Imaginative training programmes are to be mounted to bring the cognate organisations as

close as possible and inculcate a culture of togetherness. Training must indicate areas and modalities of joint action.

Since the subjects or themes for training are many, a common confusion in urban management, raining surrounds the choice of themes for a particular training programme. There can be bona fide confusion in the mind of a trainer. But there are bonafide criminals too who confuse the issues. If the training-in-charge is a junior officer, the programme contents are subject to the approval of his boss, positional authority has been found to have played havoc with programme contents. The other distortion takes place due to a common tendency to distribute patronage or to curry favour. The objective of a training programme is deliberately subverted to accommodate a galaxy of "guest speakers" who would be handsomely paid and naturally appear every now and then irrespective of the theme chosen for training.

Urban management training, as already stated is a problem-solving mechanism. Hence, the theme chosen must be a 'problem'. It is fashionable now a days to have sensitivity training for the urban managers that has been bodily lifted from the curriculum of management education in the Institutes of management. Surely every training affects behaviour. But behavioural change, especially in an adult, is a long-drawn-out and complicated affair. The effect of a short-duration training programme in behavioural change is very very uncertain. Even conceding its importance, one has to think of priorities in training. Every trainer worth the salt has to have a hardlook at his own priorities. The questions that one has to ask oneself is: where do I put my finger to have a clear result?

In answering this question, a choice has to be made between a broad, multi-spectrum training programme and a specific problem-centres programme. To illustrate, a programme on "urban management" or "municipal management" may be too spread out and indefinite in scope. It may be a good theme for a university certificate course, but a bad one for a training organisation. From local experiences, a confident ascertain would be that a narrow, pointed, clear focused, specific problem-oriented programme is likely to be more successful than a broadbased educational programme. A training course on "property tax collection methods" has been found to have almost instant repercussion. The participant organisations, once convinced about the effectiveness of the new methods, switched over to the suggested procedures and even propagated them among other organisations. The opposite is also true. A programme on "Municipal Management", which contained a large number of items ranging from personnel management to O & M, proved to be a very rich dish no doubt, but produced little result.

An allied problem is that of duration of a programme. For participants to stay on in a programme for more than a week is not easy. A long programme lasting for a fortnight or so tends to be repetitive and loose; its impact on the participants is usually much less than what can be achieved in a short programme. The trainees learn more by way of interactions among themselves than through class-room discussions. In arranging a training programme, a trainer has to be very meticulous about small details, such as sitting arrangement in the class room, timing of programme (budget session to be avoided), sequencing of the discussions, use of different methods of communication (visual aids, visits, syndicate groups, etc.), length of particular sessions, gaps between sessions, serving of tea or food at particular intervals, positioning of a black-board or a podium and so on and so forth. The trainers has to carefully create conditions for learning and internalisation of ideas.

Course Development

Although most training programmes tend to be repetitive after some period, a particular programme has to be carefully developed each time before presentation. A trainer in urban management has to have constant and close interactions with two poles--the knowledge of his subject and the evolving reality in the field. Without constant touch with the reality of management in the urban organisations, knowledge itself tends to be stagnant and unrealistic.

The choice of theme and selection of the target group are the first pre-requisites of a training programme. In developing a particular programme, the step-by-step approach is as follows:

1. Pre-course discussions with the select group of potential participants in a proposed programme;
2. Clear identification of objectives or output of the programme;
3. Choice of a specific theme;
4. Breaking it down into sub-themes for arranging particular sessions;
5. Proper sequencing of the sub-themes in a logical manner and their ordering under a series of inter-connected modules;
6. Determination of appropriate pedagogic tools to be used in each sub-theme (film show, lecture, case-method, etc.);
7. Preparation of course material parallel to each session-theme;
8. Issuing of specific instructions to the participants before joining the programmes and after classroom assembly; (participants may be asked to bring some material from their organisations, or they may be asked to read a 'case' before a

- particular case, session);
9. Making relevant books/documents available for guided reading (a mini library can be arranged for a particular course);
 10. Keeping the training aids in readiness (e.g., classroom, rooms for syndicate discussions, blackboard, overhead projector, film-screening facilities, typing/duplicating arrangement, etc.);
 11. Proper spacing of mid-term evaluation;
 12. Structuring of course evaluation (open or questionnaire); and
 13. Issuing of certificates of attendance.

Some more items can be added to this check list. For instance, in a residential programme hostel and recreational facilities are important.

The course contents form the core of a training programme. There has to be a close match between the contents and the participants. Organisations have a general tendency to nominate participants on extraneous considerations (the boss favours the subordinate with an outing programme). Similarly, the participants often manoeuvre locally to get a berth in a training programme, irrespective of its utility for him. These tendencies need to be firmly curbed.

A course can be tightly scheduled, alternatively it can be made deliberately loose at certain points. A flexible programme has certain advantages over a relatively tight one and contingency planning is possible in the former case; for instance, a guest speaker fails to turn up, some rescheduling, therefore, becomes necessary. Again, in case of a provision of mid-term evaluation, course restructuring may have to be done in the light of the comments made by the participants.

Course for Civic Leaders

The role of the elected leadership in urban management is of crucial importance. At the local level, the municipal councillors are not mere legislators, they are deeply involved in administration as committee members, chairman and other official positions. If the term of a municipal body is for a period of four to five years, the councillors can be inducted into training programmes by batches immediately on assumption of office. The councillors' understanding of municipal administration makes them better managers of local affairs. Their relationship with the municipal officers becomes much more functional and purposive. Also, they can appreciate their individual roles and the institution's objectives and its relationship with other interacting organisations, such as the State Government or special purpose bodies.

Short seminars on specific themes may be a useful device for influencing the councillors. Short course on law, rules and regulations, meetings, organisational structure and committee system can be organised for the newly elected municipal councillors. Imaginative and responsible political leadership is an essential ingredient of urban management. Seminars and short courses can turn a raw councillor into a responsible one, and an experienced councillor into a wiser one.

Our experience of involving the municipal councillors in seminars and courses shows that structural and procedural changes in the organisation can be effected very quickly when the councillors can be convinced about the need for them. Professional management by the municipal bureaucracy is greatly facilitated by the quality of political management by the elected councillors.

Support System

Urban management training is grounded in practice. To make the training programmes meaningful and productive, the training institutions have to do lot of home work. Training material for each type of programme has to be collected from the field situation. Each time a course is planned; the trainers have to go to the target organisations and gather relevant information, data, forms that could be fed into the course.

Case method is very popular in management training. But there is a tendency among trainers to use burnt-out or unsuccessful cases and case materials from secondary sources, like books and journals. For the effective use of cases, the trainer has to build up his own casefile by regularly visiting the target organisations. Home-grown cases have much better impact than foreign or unfamiliar cases. Unsuccessful stories may help caution the managers, but cases built around successful management facilitates quicker adoption of improved managerial practices.

Similarly, suitable films on different aspect of urban management (e.g., construction programme, slum improvement) can easily catch the imagination of the trainers. A film library has to be a part of the general library of any training institution.

There are much more sophisticated gadgets (e.g., short circuit television) available now for making training more and more effective. Still, cases and films will ever remain very powerful and inexpensive devices. Action research on specific problems is also necessary to lend support to training.

The Trainer

As every experienced trainer would admit, it is much easier to

construct building and arrange for equipment and machinery for a training centre than to find out able trainers who can really deliver the goods. In building a training centre, most energy would be spent on creating the infrastructural facilities and least on engaging really good trainers. Training institutions in urban management are usually full of supportive administrative staff. The training faculty is either totally missing or is very meagre. Naturally, guest speakers abound and the training institute becomes a kind of pension-disbursing agency.

One of the genuine reasons for paucity of trainers in the urban management field is the virtual absence of any institutionalised curriculum in the Universities on urban management or any aspect of it (e.g., urban finances, urban law). International agencies, like the EDI or overseas institutes, like the Institute of Local Government studies at Birmingham (England) offer occasional courses for practising administrations. But there is hardly any arrangements for developing trainers in urban management.

Course Evaluation

General discussions on the evaluation of training courses can be found in any text book on training. Our experience shows that course evaluation is either a ritual at the end of a programme or it goes completely by default. In fact, the methodology of evaluation is very much unclear.

The method of evaluation has to flow from the objectives of a particular course. If a course is more like an educational programme and very wide-ranging, terminal evaluation in the class room may be sufficient. But, a rigorous training programme being a problem-solving device, its evaluation cannot be done in the class room. Two examples from our experience may serve to illuminate this point. A course on "construction management" for municipal engineering staff was organised to help them prepare engineering projects for speedy clearance by the CMDA's Directorate of Municipal Department. Also, the Directorate wanted the municipal engineering staff to know the methodology of project preparation to ensure quality of construction. There was no end-of-the course class room evaluation in this case. The feedback about the success of the course came from the CMDA Directorate. Reportedly, the projects submitted by the municipalities after the training course were qualitatively superior and the Directorate had little difficulty in communicating with the municipal engineering staff. Another programme was launched on "property tax collection". This was intended to introduce certain procedural changes to bring about substantial increases in revenue yield. In this case also the feedback came later from a survey done by ILGUS

which showed marked improvement in collection. A direct correlation may be methodologically questioned. But the participants certainly fared better than the non-participants. Another index of success was the fast spread of the methods to the non-participating municipalities who got the message of the training through the participant municipalities.

If the trainer keeps in close touch with the organisations wherefrom trainees come, and encourages regular communication between the trainees and the training institution, the feedback can be obtained fairly easily.

SUMMING UP

To sum up, training in urban management is much more complicated a business than what is commonly believed. This is turning out to a specialised field, with more and more investments in urban development, professionalisation of training is badly needed in this area. No single discipline can attend to the problems of urban management. Hence, training organisations have to develop their own identities and recruit specialist trainers accordingly. It is the trainer who is, however, an elusive character in urban management. Training means caring for the organisation which, in turn, means caring for the human beings in the organisation. It is never a one-shot job. Every organisation has to have a phased training plan and a perspective plan. And training should ideally be integral part of career management plan in an organisation. Otherwise there is a danger of training being the dumping ground of the disgruntled and the undesirable. Many of the ideas in this article were generated in course of discussion with my colleague, Shri Tapan Kumar Banerjee (Joint Director of ILGUS), for which I am thankful to him.

Training in Public Sector Undertakings : A Systematic Approach

O.P. MINOCHA

IN THE recent past, training has become a major activity in the public sector undertakings and is receiving widespread support and resources. The review of literature¹ reveals that training in public sector undertakings tends to be informal, superficial, sporadic, partial, subjective, holistic rather than being normal, penetrating, systematic, comprehensive, objective and particularistic. This article, therefore, purports to provide a systematic approach to training in public sector undertakings.

Training is systematic when: (a) trainees are selected on the basis of assessment of training needs; (b) training is imparted by those who have been taught how to instruct; (c) the job has been analysed into stages; (d) trainee's performance is measured, and he is told as to how he is progressing; and (e) record is kept on trainee's progress.

IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING IN PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

Training is a process that enables personnel to acquire factual knowledge and skill, and familiarity with normative system and analytical framework that is needed for efficient and effective performance. Having selected the type of personnel required, it is essential to familiarise them with the job and its environment before assigning them the responsibility of performing their duties. Proper training and induction of new recruits is, therefore, indispensable for effective utilisation of manpower in any public undertaking. Besides, it is also essential to train and develop serving employees so that they can progressively take up increased responsibility as and when promoted.

Training assumes an added importance in public undertakings as here both the exogenous and endogenous forces are operating. Expansion of the public undertakings--that too in the newer areas of technology--has raised unprecedented demand for skilled manpower.

This poses a gigantic task to provide initial training to a large number of engineers, operators, officers recruited for general management as well as to arrange for training and development of the existing employees. The rate of turnover in public sector undertakings being high, it requires that personnel with desired qualifications and experience, skill and aptitude are available as and when needed. Stress on planned training programmes have been laid by the Estimates Committee² and the Committee on Public Undertakings.³ It has been pointed that unless steps are taken well in time to face the situation there can be a manpower crisis.

The present state of organisation efficiency with low rate of return on the investment, low capacity utilisation, high rate of industrial unrest, and high rate of operational cost further reinforces the importance of training in the public sector undertakings.

Before examining issues related to the systematic training in public sector undertaking, it would be essential to highlight two major conceptual issues. Conceptual assessment or what is called identification of training needs and selection of appropriate methods for imparting training constitute vital aspects of systematic training.⁴

TRAINING NEED ASSESSMENT

Studies have revealed that assessment of training needs, which is an essential pre-requisite of a training programme, is normally not being conducted in public sector undertakings.⁵ This results in mismatch between training and expectation of trainees. It is, therefore, essential that the training needs, both at 'micro' and 'macro' levels--have to be assessed. A micro training needs to exist for just one person or for a very small population while macro training needs exist for a large group of employees--frequently the entire population with the same job classification.⁶ When an employee enters a public undertaking, there is an assumed macro training need about the philosophy of public sector, its role, government policies structure, and organisational goals. So, whenever there is a change in any of these aspects, macro training need is to be presumed. On the other hand, it may result in micro training need if new management techniques or technology is introduced in the organisation or in any unit of the organisation. Such a training need also arises when an individual reveals non-comprehension of facts of good managerial practices.

The source of information for macro training needs are: new plants, new products, new machinery or equipment, changes in standards, policy, etc.⁷ The sources of potential training needs, at the micro level, can be properly maintained in personnel system,

especially through job analysis, promotion, transfer, special assigned jobs, performance appraisal, grievances, etc.

A survey conducted in India indicated that views of line manager, performance appraisal, company and departmental plans, views of training manager, and analysis of difficult jobs (in rank order) are some of the methods of determining training needs.⁸

Based on author's own observations and discussion with the trainees, it was revealed that some of the methods generally used by the public sector undertakings are: administering of questionnaire to the employees' interview, written tests, discussion with trainees and their superiors, subordinates and peers, analysis of organisational plans, analysis of personnel data, and performance appraisal.

To make the training need assessment more realistic, Employee's Attitude Survey should be conducted. The same should be supplemented by Skill Inventory and "Functional Audit". The former assesses the individual's achievement, knowledge potentialities, behaviour, skill and performance,⁹ while latter focuses on result of activities which often work backward to the causes to assess training needs.

These methods are not exhaustive but are only suggestive of the range of approaches which can help in assessing training needs. These, however, do not completely substitute the assessment made either by personal observations or by training advisory committee.

This brings in the issue of jurisdiction and the autonomy of the training institutes in assessing training needs. The training institutes, on the one hand, are in a position to employ the best possible methods with all its objectivity in the procedure of assessing training needs. The clientele agencies, on the other hand, also believe that they are in best position to judge employee's performance and organisational requirements.¹⁰ As such, assessment of training needs ought to be the function of clientele agencies. Training is a management function and not only the training institutes or the clientele agencies should assume the exclusive responsibility of assessing training needs. The training institutes should get technical help from all possible sources. It should, however, reserve judgement on the needs of its trainees. Moreover, training being a matter of concern, both for the trainers and the trainees, it is essential that in the area of determining training as also in selecting training methods, there exists a cooperative relationship between the training institute and clientele agencies of public sector undertakings.¹¹

Studies have revealed that though training at the entry point as well as technical training has received adequate attention, but most of the executives have indicated some deficiency in the administrative and managerial capabilities to cope up with the new challenges. Such executives handling technical jobs are increasingly required to

be trained in the newer concepts of management and expose them to modern technology aiding management. It is also in the nature of their job that as they are rising up in their hierarchy the administrative/management components of the job increases. Moreover, they are required to be exposed to some of the modern behavioural techniques. Such training programmes may be in the nature of participative involvement of the participants in discussion, self-learning and development through case study technique, syndicate and project reports, seminars and workshops. Some of the identified programmes could be: corporate planning, increasing human effectiveness through motivation; managerial effectiveness; investment decision, zero base budgeting; quality control; marketing strategies; inventory control and management; management information system; management by objectives; computer application; project management and evaluation; project appraisal; and Human resource management.

TRAINING METHODS

Once the training needs have been assessed, it is essential to indicate the aims and objectives of the course design and then to identify the learning objectives. Thereafter, appropriate methods be selected to achieve those objectives. Some of the well-known methods being used in the public sector undertaking are: reading, lectures, demonstration, field visits, discussion (panel discussions and seminars), case studies, role-play, business games, group exercises, sensitivity training, etc.¹² As one proceeds from one method to another, as given above, these methods help in achieving the objectives of imparting knowledge, developing skill, and changing behaviour. Moreover, these methods indicate that contents are determined by the trainer, both by trainer and trainees, and by trainees alone. Taking into account the objectives and the level of the trainees, judicious choice of these methods can be made.

While selecting appropriate method, the trainer must take decision about the range, i.e., the extent of content to be covered; the time, i.e., the length of learning programme; and the depth, i.e., to what extent the content is to be treated. The relationship has been indicated in Fig. 1.

If training and development work is to have a real effect on behaviour, then the trainer needs to design learning that incorporates methods that lead to depth of learning rather than those which simply enable a wide range of content to be covered. Obviously, however, such decisions must be taken after considering the context of objectives of any particular piece of learning.

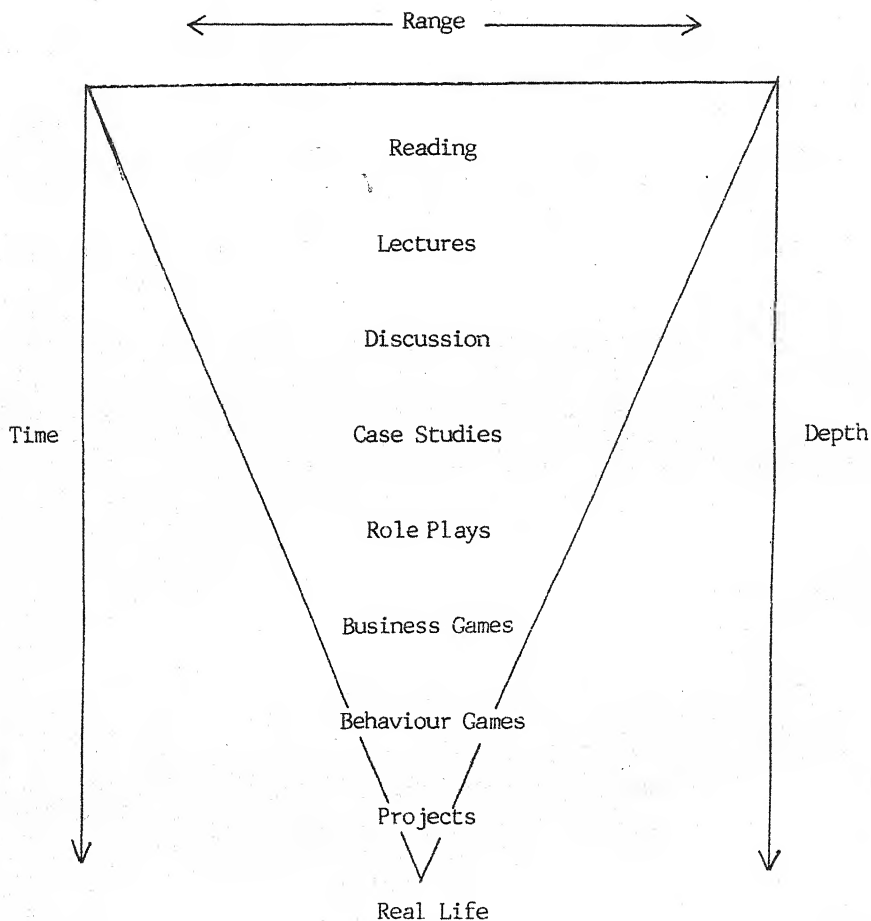


FIG. 1 Relationship of Training Methods

The relationship between learning objectives and methods of training is as indicated in Fig. 2.

The diagram not only indicates the relationship between learning objectives and the methods of training but also points out the level of feedback in different training methods.

There are a number of ways of looking at this question, but the best developed framework is that which has been devised by the Industrial Training Research Unit of UK under the acronym 'CRAMP', which stands for comprehension, reflex, attitude, memory and procedure. The CRAMP concept can be summarised in Fig. 3.

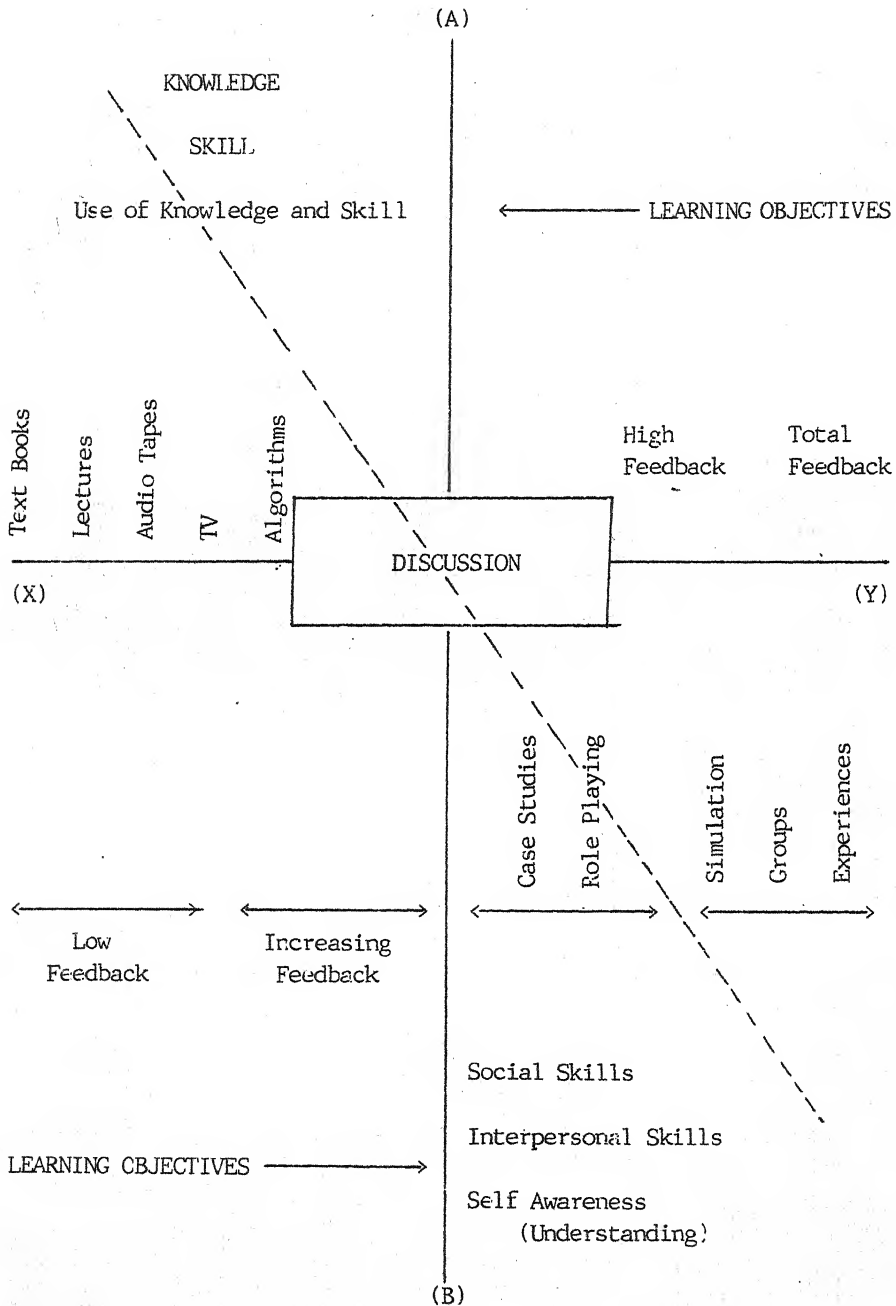







FIG. 2 Relationship Between Learning Objectives and Methods of Training and Feedback

WHAT IS THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE?

Is the objective to develop general understanding?	Is the objective to produce fast reliable patterns of response or manipulation?	Is the objective to change or develop new attitudes?	Is the objective to remember specific facts and figures?	Is the objective to acquaint with a wide range of procedures that are easy to follow but nevertheless important?
↓	↓	↓	↓	
If yes	If yes	If yes	If yes	If yes

WHAT TYPE OF LEARNING IS INVOLVED?

↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
				
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
COMPREHENSION	REFLEX DEVELOPMENT	ATTITUDES	MEMORY	PROCEDURAL LEARNING
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

IF SO,, WHAT ARE THE LEARNING METHODS AVAILABLE?

	Simulations	By Example		
Written material	Practical Demonstration	Case Studies	Mnemonics	Algorithms
Talks	Supervised practice	Group Exercises	Jingles	Check lists
Discovery Method	Stamina Development	Role Playing	Active use of the information to be remembered	Practical Demonstration
Discussions and argument				
Projects				

FIG. 3 Learning Objectives

From Fig. 3, it is clear that different learning objectives involve different types of methods. Each method is to be tailored according to learning objectives, ability of learners and trainers, and resources available. It is, therefore, essential to develop relevant training material to support various methods which may include training manuals, graphs, charts, diagrams, slides, films, case studies, and other audio visual aids.

INITIAL AND THE EXISTING TRAINING

In the absence of suitable training facilities at the initial stages, nearly the entire training programmes for different levels of employees were conducted by friendly countries as well as under aid programmes. Many others were trained as per contract with the collaborating agencies. This helped to a large extent in filling up the vacuum of skilled and trained personnel caused by the rapid expansion of public sector undertakings in India.¹³ However, even after 30 years of existence, many of the undertakings continue to depend on foreign countries for training its engineers as also the operators. According to the calculation made by the Committee on Public Undertakings, it has been estimated that the ratio of average expenditure incurred on training an employee in India and abroad is approximately 1:2.¹⁴ It is, therefore, essential that before imparting costlier foreign training, a judicious decision be made regarding the need of such training. It has also been reported that the training facilities were not fully availed of in foreign countries. The collaborating agencies felt that full value of foreign training could be obtained if the persons to be deputed were given some preliminary training in India.¹⁵

With the increase in the operational problems, greater stress is being laid on formal training. Most of the public sector undertakings are conducting training programmes for new entrants and existing personnel, both in technical and non-technical areas. Some of such programmes are for graduate engineers, operators, artisans, managers, junior officers, accountants, etc.

Most of these training programmes are not sufficiently job-oriented. Only if the job contents of each position are known, the training programme can be geared in such a way as to equip the employees to fill those positions effectively. The training is also not being related to 'promotion'. The Committee on Public Undertakings pointed out that the training was not coordinated with actual needs and was a clear wastage of time and money.¹⁶ The Committee impressed that proper assessment of requirement of trained personnel for various jobs be made before arranging for their training.¹⁷

Many of the trained employees are not being placed on the jobs for which they were trained. In some cases, due to the changing requirements of the undertakings, there may be justification for such placements. Even those, who were placed on the jobs of their choice, when found that the job provides lesser promotional opportunities or offers comparatively lesser incentives, started expressing their dissatisfaction. Through representations and petitions, they started asking for transfer to other departments and units. All this reduces the impact of training.

Further, there is no follow-up of training programmes. Once the trainees are placed on regular jobs, the trainers do not have contact with them. This deprives the trainers of evaluating the effectiveness of their training programmes. The situation can be rectified by arranging "follow up conferences" to identify additional training needs, to know as to how much of it have the trainees learnt from the training courses and to have a feedback about the practical utility of training programmes.

COLLABORATION WITH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES

From the perusal of various programmes being conducted by different public undertakings, it is revealed that considerable emphasis is being given on background training. Training of general nature, the objective of which is general development of the individual or remedying the defects in the knowledge received in the educational institutes, should ordinarily be not the concern of an undertaking.¹⁹ Both time and money can be saved if suitable arrangements are made by the public undertakings with nearest educational institutes for a 'sandwich' course.²⁰ In such a collaboration, along with the theoretical background, training in a particular field of activity can be imparted by educational institutes, while practical training be given by the undertaking itself. This would bridge the gap between the theoretical instructions given by educational institutes and practical needs of industries.²¹ Such arrangement will also motivate some of the students to take up jobs in the collaborating industries. The industries, on the other hand, would be able to obtain services of competent persons and save time and financial resources in training such personnel.

The success of any systematic training programme depends on the cooperation between the "line executives" and the training departments.²² Such a cooperation is desirable for assessing the training needs, sparing the trainees, designing training programmes, and conducting "on-the-job" training.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Most of the public undertakings have prescribed minimum educational qualifications and standards for promotion to various positions. The promotion of the employees otherwise eligible may be blocked for want of desired qualification. The employees of public undertakings, owing to location of plants/units are handicapped for want of facilities to improve their qualifications. It is, therefore, essential to formulate some programmes so as to enable the employees to add to their qualifications. The public undertakings must also encourage its non-executives to receive higher technical education so that the undertakings can maintain an efficient work force and the employees can aspire for promotion to executive levels. This can be done by starting morning/evening classes so that education, equivalent to various courses in school/colleges, may be imparted.²³ The programmes should be tailored to the needs of public sector undertakings. These qualifications should be recognised by the undertakings for promotion. Such a system would not only increase the educational standard of the employees but also inculcate in them a spirit of loyalty towards the organisation.

Apart from this, the public undertakings should impress upon the State education departments to establish, somewhere near their plants, technical training institutes to impart training to artisans and to conduct diploma courses in technology. The courses should be such as to serve the needs of public undertakings. Where such training institutes or colleges are already in existence, the plant authorities should make suitable arrangements so that 'general' training can be imparted in such institutes/colleges and 'practical' training or 'on-the-job' training is imparted in the undertaking. At the national level, the open universities should also reshape their curricula according to the needs of the public sector undertakings.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Executive Development and Management Development programmes require special attention in the public sector undertakings. It should aim at:

1. Planned procedure for locating talents in the public undertakings;
2. Development of those individuals who have demonstrated abilities for shouldering higher responsibilities;
3. Improvement among the existing personnel as regards their knowledge, skills and attitudes required for the jobs;

4. Provisions for 'back-up managers', so as to ensure availability of men of requisite ability and experience well in advance; and
5. Attraction for the capable persons to stay in the public undertakings.

To fulfil these objectives, it is essential to forecast the requirements of various categories of employees, both in terms of quality and quantity. Having done so, for successful implementation of the development schemes, following steps are needed in each undertaking:²⁴

1. Defining of the present objectives and goals of the undertaking and to spelling out clearly its future plans;
2. Preparation of a managerial guide giving therein responsibilities of each position;
3. Preparation of management inventory of various persons working in the organisation with their qualifications, background knowledge, actual skill, talent, capacity to learn and potentialities to adjust to the new environments;
4. Preparation of a chart indicating the personnel likely to leave the organisation, due to retirement, normal turnover, etc., for each managerial positions;
5. Assessment of the difference between the abilities required and those available in the organisation in order to know the deficiency in this regard about each employee;
6. Arrange for organising development programmes to remove the existing deficiencies of the employees through: (a) supplementing educational qualifications, (b) training in special techniques and procedure, (c) providing experience by 'job-rotation' through placing them on committees, etc., and (d) job instructions; and
7. Keeping the programmes up-to-date.

These steps, would ensure a regular flow of managerial personnel from within, by providing appropriate training, at the right time. With the policy of 'promotion from within', it would give incentive to the employees to join such a scheme which would promote loyalty and confidence of the employees in the organisation.²⁵

For top managerial personnel, arrangement may also be made for 'job-rotation' whereby they are enabled to occupy higher positions for short periods so that their outlook gets broadened. This would give chance to the manager concerned for development and an opportunity to the organisation to watch him working on the job for which he

is being tipped.²⁶ Top managerial personnel may also be invited to the Board's meeting as observers, so that they can understand the rationale of the objectives, policies and related issues of the undertaking.

Such a systematic approach to training in public sector undertakings would result in effective "management succession". It would also assure a regular flow of competent personnel at various positions in the undertakings.

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Training of Indian Administrative Service Personnel - An Institutional Experience

K. TRIVIKRAM

EVEN THE severest critics of the British and their Indian Administration admitted that they left behind their legacy of Indian Civil Service, a steel-frame structure, wise and capable of serving independent India with zeal, patriotism and dynamism. The Indian Civil Service, as the backbone of the bureaucratic apparatus functioned with administrative alacrity and efficiency in the initial formative period after independence. They won the acclaim and applause of even the staunch nationalists and freedom fighters in the country, who were not particularly favourably disposed towards the ICS, given its history as the main backbone of the British administration. The ICS did prove its flexibility in adapting itself to the changed conditions and the new dynamics of a free India and its ability to deal with the demands, sometimes reasonable and more often unreasonable, made on the administration by the expectant millions of the country, in an unobjectionable manner. "Stalwarts like Sardar Patel could speak in glowing terms about the loyalty, efficiency and dedication of the civil service which helped the government in dealing with the difficult problems that followed in the wake of the partition of the country and attendant to the task of the integration of the states. Sardar Patel could tell the parliament that in terms of patriotism the civil servants were second to none."¹

The Indian Administrative Service

The Indian Administrative Service (IAS), the successor to the Indian Civil Service (ICS), to which some of the best, if not the best, men and women of the nation are recruited amidst one of the stiffest competitions, have now to face situations totally different from those during the days of the Indian Civil Service. The State's changing priority from regulatory to developmental administration; the acceptance of the process of planned development and its impact on administration; the democratic set-up under which different

political parties with varying ideologies, some of them totally conflicting, come to power; the growing awareness, most often detrimental to the larger interest of the nation, that the civil service could not be independent but must be rather subservient; the growing proportion of the articulate and sometimes violent population; increasing awareness on the part of the population to fight for their social and economic rights not infrequently imaginary; the enlarging sway of the state over the economic activities in the country; the need to recognise the sociological variables and the present-day requirements of putting people first; their crucial role to act at all levels as the driving force in social and economic development; and so on have put additional strains on the prestigious IAS making them vulnerable to criticism, which is more often than not unjustifiable, from both the politicians and the population alike. Some consider that the present administrative service lacks sufficient inputs of skill formation and that their predecessor, Indian Civil Service, was far more effective, objective and trustworthy while others feel that organisational and structural changes, both in the administration as well as the services are necessary for transforming the bureaucratic machinery into a creative machinery, serving their political bosses with more tact than temper, fulfilling the aspirations of the people who complain of the slow pace of progress in their "desire-fulfilment" without antagonising them, avoiding equally both controversies and confrontation and taking forward the country on its goal of increasing standards of living. Unfortunately the empirical evidence and popular impressions alike have not been in favour of the present bureaucracy (IAS) and it has even been accused of being an ally of vested interests, not interested in supporting progressive policies and measures.

Historical Background for Training

Realising the new burdens placed on the bureaucracy on account of the sharpening conflict between the forces of status quo and those seeking change and recognising the need for training and orientation of Civil Servants on a continuing basis to face these tasks with understanding and commitment, successive Five Year Plans have emphasised the importance of trained manpower in government. While the Third Five Year Plan spoke of trained manpower, the Fourth stressed that training should aim at "developing creative ability of individuals, equipping them for effectively performing their tasks in life and motivating them to serve the best interest of society". The Fifth Plan commented on the antiquity of the structure incompatible with the fulfilment of tasks and the need to bring professionalism

through training and the Sixth for strengthening training programmes for those engaged in development activities.² The Seventh Plan stressed the importance of training and development of human resources for building up the capabilities as well as inculcating the desired results as investment in human resources directly contributing to economic development and growth.³ The nation couldn't afford any longer the cult of alleged amateurism and training had to be accepted as the instrument through which the civil servants could be equipped with competence and expertise for, "Training is widely recognised as a planned input leading to enhanced knowledge, proper skills and changed attitudes. It is believed that a new configuration of knowledge, skills and attitude will provide the needed stimulus, initiate impulses of change in the administrative apparatus generally, and administrators in particular"⁴. The need for training and its continuance throughout the career of the Civil servants has also been highlighted even in the sixties by Tyagi as follows:

In a welfare state, training is not only post-entry training to be given in the initial stages of career of a civil servant, if he is to be equipped adequately for the complexities of tasks which keep on increasing in these days of rapid changes. The exigencies of a developing dynamic administration are such that they require a continuous change and development in the ideas and temperament of the administrator. Hence the civil servants need a continuous dose of in-service training on orientation to be periodically administered in some formal or informal ways. It is vital for senior Civil servants to get together to exchange notes and to keep abreast of the latest thinking on various problems facing the administration. With the type of dynamic administration that we need and with all the variety of problems that our administrators have to face in their day-to-day activities, it is all the more necessary that civilians of adequate seniority and experience should come together for acquiring a fresh understanding of their problems.⁵

Such a training would succeed in securing a balance between the democratic process providing for accountability and management processes aiming at efficiency.

NEW TRAINING PLAN

It is against this background, and the evidence that the extension of State activities has thrown up a host of social, economic and

human problems among which the inadequacy of civil servants with required skills and attitude has been an exceptional and recurring dilemma for the administration--and convinced of the critical and sensitive role of the services and desiring a new administrative culture, the Prime Minister's main thrust has been in the direction of improving the quality of the services and making them results-oriented to ensure a better and more effective delivery system suited to the policies of the Government and the aspirations of the people. He, therefore, in his broadcast to the nation on January 5, 1985 called for restructuring of training of the civil servants of all categories to develop competence and commitment to the basic values of our society. Eight months later, on August 2, 1985 he directed that every IAS officer should be compulsorily made to attend a refresher course for one week and that this process should be completed by June, 1986. Following a further direction in the Parliamentary Consultative Committee meeting of the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions on November 4, 1985, these one-week courses have been designed to provide vertical participation, i.e., officers of the junior, middle and senior levels would attend the same course.

In pursuance of these, the Ministry of Personnel drew up an action plan with the following features.⁶

1. A one-week mandatory refresher course would be undergone by all IAS officers every year with vertical participation;
2. There would be training programmes of longer duration conducted in three stages, viz., 6-9 years service; 10-16 years service; and 17-20 years service;
3. The first turn around of training all IAS officers should be completed in the first three years so that there is no IAS officer who has not undergone any of the training programmes; and
4. After this complete turn around is over-the IAS officers should do the programmes according to the stage to which they belong.

Objectives

The one-week refresher course had the following objectives:

- (a) To provide a kind of sabbatical to the participants;
- (b) To break into the rigid hierarchical structure and enable vertical communication among the participants facilitating interaction between those who formulate policies and those who implement them; and
- (c) To provide for experiences sharing in policy planning and

programme implementation among the participants.

In regard to the longer duration courses, originally, it was intended to have them for an eight-week period but later on, its period was reduced to four weeks. Only eight programmes were conducted with eight weeks duration during the year 1985-86, in the State Institutes of Training at Mysore, Trivandrum, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Chandigarh, Jaipur, Nainital and Calcutta.

While the one-week programme was a general refresher course on management concepts and decision-making techniques, the four-week programme were on:

1. Development Administration for officers with 6-9 years service. The focus for this programme is to impart directions and guidelines for implementation of various development and social welfare programmes at the district and Sub-district level. They are to be oriented towards finding practical solutions and the right approach to the problems arising in the implementation of identified projects/programme.
2. Management concepts and decision-making techniques for officers of 10-16 years service. More specifically the objectives of this programme were:
 - (a) To sensitise the participant to the environment--economic, political and social--both at national and international levels,
 - (b) To apprise the participants of the emerging concepts and practices of management, and
 - (c) To equip them with the analytical aids for decision-making, provide opportunities for development, problem solving skills and effective contribution to organisational performance.
3. Policy planning and analysis for officers of 17-20 years service. Broad objectives of the course were:
 - (a) To familiarise participants to the issues involved in policy planning at the national level;
 - (b) To expose them to the debates surrounding the policies under study; and
 - (c) To equip them with basic skills for using quantitative and analytical tools with the help of computer.

With a view to identifying the training needs of the offices and

assessing the training efforts required training options were obtained from the IAS officers during the Seventh Five Year Plan. Officers were requested to indicate their options for training in about 44 areas (subjects) imparted in 30 training outfits in the country located in 12 centres.

The New Training Programme--A Novelty

The new approach and the novelty in the formulation and implementation of these training programmes by the Government of India was commented upon in an article Satish C. Seth. To quote him:

Who would have ever thought only a year or two ago, that even the Cabinet Secretary of India who is the top most civil servant could be compelled to go for training, even for a single day. Well, times are changing fast even in the steel-frame of India's bureaucracy. A few month's ago, the Cabinet Secretary was at Pune for full five days, an enforced period of training together with several other younger colleagues of the Indian Administrative Service. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has indeed forced 4000 of the most privileged Indian Civil Servants to re-expose themselves to the classroom. This was done in two parallel programmes--one of five days and the other of a month's duration in various institutions, universities and other management training institutes throughout India.⁷

It is reported that in about an year as many as 3480 IAS officers, accounting for about 95 percent of their strength have been trained.

Training Institutes

The Department of Personnel and Training selected 43 institutions in the country for imparting training to the civil servants. Of these, one was a central institution, 18 were national training institutions, 13 state training institutes, and 11 other institutes. Besides, only one University, viz., Delhi University was utilised for this training. While 20 institutes conducted only the one-week refresher courses, four institutes conducted the four-weeks programmes, 19 institutes, however, conducted both the one-week as well as the four-week training programmes. The details are furnished in Table 1.

THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

The Institute of Public Enterprise, is one such training outfit in which the IAS personnel underwent the one-week and four-week training

TABLE 1 DETAILS OF SHORT-TERM TRAINING PROGRAMMES AT
DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS

Type of Programmes (duration)	Category of Institutions				
	Central	National	States	Others	Total
One-week	-	10	1	9	20
Four-week	1	-	2	1	4
One- and Four-week (both)	-	8	10	1	19
	1	18	13	11	43

programmes. The Institute of Public Enterprise (IPE), located in the campus of Osmania University, Hyderabad is devoted to the cause of public enterprises (PE) through its research training and consultancy activities and is the premier centre for studies in the field of PEs. The Institute seeks professional excellence. The IPE faculty numbering over 30 are drawn from various basic disciplines and have diverse experience in teaching, reaserch, industry and government. A three year part time MBA (Public Enterprise) programme introduced in 1981 is specially designed to provide comprehensive training of the Masters level to senior and middle level executives working in public enterprises and government. A computer centre has been set up for the PE data management. The Centre also runs a one year post-graduate diploma course in computer systems. The training activity of the Institute is basically post-experience in character. The various types of management development programmes conducted by the Institute are designed for different levels of managers and executives of public enterprises and government. It ccollaborates with the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) of Government of India, Training Division of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, Government of India, in conducting training programmes. Osmania University and other universities have recognised IPE as a centre for Research for Ph.D. Besides the ICSSR fellowships, the institute offers fellowship for the Doctoral Programme. The Institute offers consultancy services in various areas of management of public enterprise and government. Research is one of the important activities of the Institute. The Institute's research programme involves inter-disciplinary team approach. The Institute has an excellent library with books on PEs and Management. It subscribes to a large number of journals,

periodicals and newspapers. It has a growing data bank which stores valuable reports on central and state PEs, Government Department economic data, abstract of articles and policy pronouncements on PEs. The IPE conducted in all 33 programmes, 29 of one-week duration and four of four weeks duration during the year 1985-87. The details of the programmes conducted may be seen in Table. 2.

Table 2 DETAILS OF PROGRAMMES CONDUCTED IPE DURING 1985-87

Programme	No. of courses	Duration	Particulars of Participants
Management Concepts and Decision-making	21	One-week	Allservice groups
Financial Management	2	One-week	"
Human Resource Development	2	One-week	"
Computers in Government	4	One-week	"
Management Concepts and Decision-Making	2	Four -week	with 10-16years service
Policy Planning and Analysis	2	Four-Week	with 17-20 years service

Statewise Participants

The IPE, in its 33 training programmes, trained 783 IAS officers including 49 lady officers. Of these, 14 per cent belonged to the AP Cadre and 31 per cent belonged to the cadres of South Indian States.

Length of the Service of the Participants

All the participants of the longer duration course belong to a homogeneous service group with a service of 10-16 years for the course on Management Concepts and Decision-Making techniques and 17-20 years for the course on policy planning and analysis.

Since the one-week course was intended for vertical participation, the participants naturally were heterogeneous with services varying from 0-5 years to over 22 years. However, even in this group, a large proportion forming as much as about 39 per cent belonged to the service group of 10-16 years; only a fourth of the participants had less than nine years of service.

The IPE's Experience

It was indeed for the first time that IPE had the privilege of conducting such a large number of training programmes and that too for the elitist class of civil servants. The Institute got as much benefit from these programmes as the participants, inasmuch as it gained immense experience in planning and executing an in-service programme for the civil servants (generalists) and today it is richer in its expertise for conducting such programmes for managers of both public and private enterprises in general and civil servants in particular. In the process of conducting these programmes, the Institute gathered multidimensional experiences which are broadly dealt with in this article.

Programme Design

At the outset, the Institute had to design the refresher course and select the course content. For this purpose, it had to determine the training needs. A broad indication of the training needs could be gathered from the objectives of the training programme in a general way. While these broadly indicated the areas to be covered, they had to be achieved alongside the general objectives of any in-service programme for the civil servants. An in-service training "is the process of aiding employees to gain effectiveness in their present or future work through the development of habits of thought and action, skills, knowledge and attitudes".⁸ The three accepted targets of in-service training are acquisition of knowledge, skill and development of attitudes. All three types of learning are needed to meet the total training needs, as skill without knowledge is as ineffective as knowledge without skill--especially for managerial tasks and neither is effective without the requisite attitudes. The training needs were assessed on the basis of an identification of the strategies and priorities of development programmes, diagnoses of prevailing administrative inadequacies; perception of the various agencies involved, the performance problems of various categories of personnel, etc.

The Institute had to design the programme and select the course content in such a way as to provide knowledge to the participants, at a level higher than they possessed before their training on management concepts and decision-making, policy planning and analysis, develop skills, like basic job operation skills, communication and administrative skills and human relations skills and develop attitudes like honesty, willingness to work, group spirit and desire to cooperate, feeling of a satisfaction and belonging, feeling of responsibility, sense of loyalty to agency and devotion to duty. It is with the last objective, that is development of the right atti-

tudes, that the one week's programme with vertical participation was formulated.

The Institute has some problems in designing the short duration course to fulfil the objectives outlined above. It was felt that it was not easy in a six days programme to undertake any exercise in specific skills. As a large number of topics were covered in six days, the programme appeared to attempt too much in too short a time. With a view to overcoming this, the course was organised in five modules which helped coverage of a large area in management within the limited time span of six days.

Course Content

In both the areas of designing the programme and the selection of course content, the Institute had the benefit of the experience of its Director, a very senior civil servant of the Andhra Pradesh Cadre, which enabled the Institute to pragmatically assess the training needs and the most suitable ways in which the training programme should be conducted. The course content was designed using the "Job analysis method" and the general method. Under the former, specific skills and knowledge required were identified and under the latter the content was selected from references to standard books, periodicals and reports.

The course content of the longer duration, i.e., four-week programme, was finalised basing on the facts of prevalence predominance of an administrative culture, bureaucratic in nature, or the inescapable domination of civil servants in public enterprises, and the imminent need for professionalising their management. The course content was, in short, selected with a view to changing the prevailing administrative culture to that of a managerial culture. The underlying intent in the selection of the course content was to stimulate the following changes in the trainees: from inactive to an active role; from subordinate stand to a person of superior stand; from a short-term perspective to a long-term one; from shallowness to depth of knowledge; from ability to do a few things to capability of doing many things; and from inescapable behaviour to assumption of responsibilities.⁹

Training Material

The training material was prepared on the basis of the course content selected and was basically intended to remedy the lack of knowledge and skill and bring about attitudinal changes. The training material was prepared by the institutes' faculty members under the guidance and supervision of the Director. The material circulated to the participants gave suggested readings also. The Institute was

aware of the view held at a conference of Directors of Research held at Abidjan in 1974 and the blunt suggestion that "institutions that failed to provide relevant teaching materials...should go out of the business".¹⁰ Therefore, great care was taken in the identification, collection and preparation of appropriate teaching materials which the Institute recognised as fundamental and a pre-requisite for training in order to encourage and create effective learning situations for the participants.

There was, however, a problem in reaching the reading material to the participants of the programmes. In fact, one of the grievances of the participants has been that the training material did not reach them in advance which would have enabled the participants to come better prepared for the course. The Institute, however, faced two difficulties in arranging advance despatch of the training material. The first was a result of constant changing of the material supplied, necessitated on the basis of the experience of the previous course. Thus, there was not adequate time to mail them with sufficient margin of time before commencement of programme. The second was more important. The list of participants could not be finalised and confirmed with the result that till the last day the Institute did not have a pucca and confirmed list of participants. However, both these shortcomings no longer exist since the Institute, after a series of experiments, has been able to standardise the teaching material and the Government of India also finalised the list of participants long, long before the actual date of training with hardly any change in the nominations.

Training Methodology

The Institute had to finalise the training technique, in other words decide on the choice of methods. Obviously, the choice had to take into consideration factors like the channel of learning, i.e., whether a change in the level of skill is required, or a change in the level of knowledge and perception is called for, or a change in attitudes leading to change in behaviour is desired, the level of trainees in their social, educational and personality background as well as the level of their organisational position, whether they belong to one level of a hierarchy or a mixed group, the desired learning situation, whether a participative, non-directive process is more suitable or a teacher active and directive situation is called for and the contextual factors, like the availability and quality of training resources, traditional approaches to learning, practicability of evaluation and follow-up.¹¹ The Institute felt that no one particular method would fulfil the multifarious needs and a combination of methods was called for. However, it had to rely mostly on

the five basic sets of methods, like class room instructions, the case method, exercises, management games and group methods.

The actual pedagogic methods used in all the training programmes were lectures by both internal and guest faculty, case studies, exercises, group discussions/conferences, management games and field visits. However, one additional method used in the four weeks programme was the syndicate and project work. It is common knowledge that most of the adult training is done in the classroom even in the face of such advances as computer-assisted instructions, closed circuit television, teaching machines and the instructional devices and the new learner controlled instructions. The classroom training continues to be of outstanding significance in India as elsewhere in all developing countries. The Institute, therefore, relied to a large extent on classroom instruction through lectures both by internal faculty as well as acknowledged and eminent guest faculty. However, in view of certain disadvantages, like lack of feedback to the lecturer, impossibility to ensure full absorption by everyone, the Institute reinforced formal lectures by audio-visual aids, particularly in the sessions for the introduction of computers. Other action oriented methodologies, like case studies, and syndicates, management games were resorted to, to make these programmes effective as well as interesting.

In organising training through lectures, the Institute had to rely on guest faculty also and in fact the guest faculty created a lasting impression on almost all the participants. Nevertheless, the Institute had a number of problems not only in identifying the right guest faculty but also securing their services. Very often, these guest faculty were extremely busy individuals and not infrequently the Institute had to be disappointed with a last minute rush for substitution. The choice of substitutes in a few cases turned out to be not right which could not be helped. In a few instances, while a few guest faculty were the acknowledged authorities in their areas and thoroughly knowledgeable, their communication skills and abilities to handle a group of professional civil servants with their usual "all knowing" attitude were found wanting and therefore resulted in a few "below the level of expectation" performances too. By and large, the Institute succeeded in its lecture method in getting across the message to the participants significantly, with the joint efforts of both the guest and the internal faculty.

The syndicate method adopted by the Institute in the four weeks programme was found extremely useful inasmuch as it is observed that the individual's potential was brought out in full in group situations, benefited the group as a whole and the staff members too as resource persons or observers. Occasionally, the inadequacies of

the resource persons were exposed which motivated further enrichment for the future programmes.

The case study method, which is described as "full and searching a study as possible of a given event, situation or administrative case"¹² was one of the most effective methods employed by the Institute in its training programmes. It was, however, realised that the case study techniques required great skill both in construction of studies and in their application. The problem that the Institute faced is the paucity of case studies appropriate to the situation, since lot of secrecy surrounds many cases and it is extremely difficult to have access to them. No doubt, the Institute was able to compile cases with the cooperation from the departments and enterprises concerned. The Institute preferred factual case studies rather than fictional situations. It was convinced of the high value of the case study methodology particularly in comparison to the more passive learning methods, such as lectures.

One of the most popular methods adopted was the management games. It has to be admitted that in all the programmes they were used only as one of the many other methods than as a central one. These games were popular with the participants as they could be operated without giving rise to a burden or a feeling by participants that they cannot apply their experience. The participants acknowledged that these games extended their capacity and techniques of analysis, enabled greater interaction of functions and decision-making in conditions of uncertainty and promoted working as a team. The Institute found that there was a sense of involvement, interest and excitement which characterised the management games session. By and large, it enabled the participants to identify the problem and the consequences of the decision. It also enabled them to defend their logic.

The Institute did organise field visits to complement what is learnt and absorbed through other methods. It was thought that direct observation of this nature was essential to civil servants of middle and senior levels. While the visit to the National Remote Sensing Agency was greatly appreciated because of the immediate relevance of the work to the participants, visits to other institutions did not make much of an impact and in fact the opulence and ambience of some of the scientific research laboratories led to adverse comments. The Institute felt that it would help if the government could make special efforts to nominate one or two senior spokesman on behalf of the government to participate at least for a day in these programmes to explain government views on industrial and technology policy. There was demand for visits to few successful and unsuccessful PEs. The introduction of this into the programme would add to the cost of training and involve a special grant towards travel expenditure to

the training institutions by the government. The Institute felt that these visits needed much more refinement with advance intimation to the participants, provision of check list of things to observe and take note of and time for discussions, questions and issues that may arise.

Since the major objectives of these training programmes were to provide knowledge and develop skills a combination of training methods was adopted by the Institute, syndicates, discussions and conferences, case study method, management games exercises, etc., were adopted towards the development of skills and the lecture method by the internal and guest faculty to provide knowledge.

Training Arrangement

The various methods of training were so arranged that on each day the focus was on a particular concept followed by a case study which was examined and discussed in depth by the participants. While the forenoon was devoted to introducing lectures and discussion on case studies, the afternoon was devoted to work on personal computers. Arrangements were made to ensure that each participant worked on the computers and got some understanding of its usage for decision-making in their organisation. In order to take full advantage of the presence of experienced officers in the group, each day ended with a conference of participants during which a few participants presented some of their experiences in tackling some issues which had a profound impact on them.

EVALUATION

Evaluation implies an assessment of the way the job was done by the trainees and those who were in charge of the training programme, and the impact the training had on the trainee. The aspect that have to be covered are, therefore, its organisation, its administration, the training process and its results. These are generally accomplished by measuring the participant's reaction to the course, extent to which learning has taken place, changes in behaviour and attitudes and final results. The institute undertook, as all training institutions do, evaluation of the programme through an assesment of the participants reaction to the course and an assesment of the quality of participants' participation as well as their abilities by the Institute.

The Government of India has prescribed two questionnaires, one for ascertaining the reactions of the participants to the course and another to obtain an assesment of the qualities of the participants as observed during their training by the head of the training insti-

tution. The first questionnaire sought to obtain the reactions of the participants on various aspects of the training programme, like relevance of the course to the participants, area of work/interest, the extent to which the course objectives were realised, the programme design, their views on effectiveness of faculty/quality and adequacy of the course material, training methodology, rating of topics covered, strength and weakness of the programme, facilities provided, namely, boarding and lodging, transport, library, seating arrangements, etc., and their overall assessment of the programme. The second questionnaire to be filled in and returned to the Government of India in respect of each participant related to the impressions of the head of the training institution regarding attendance, quality of participation, interaction, ability to apply concepts, and human leadership qualities of the participants.

Based on the views expressed by the participants, the Institute sends a report to the Government of India along with the filled in questionnaires. Besides, the Institute sends its reports on individual participant also. An attempt is being made here to indicate broadly the participant's reaction to the training programme. Therefore, only the majority view is recorded while the views of the minority are ignored. These reactions also reflect the position, by and large, in respect of all the programmes and are not confined to any one of the 33 programmes.

One of the aspects on which the participants reaction was invited in the prescribed questionnaire was to state their own objectives in attending these training programmes. Leaving the odd man out, the major objectives would appear to have been: (1) Upgrading their knowledge, (2) Acquisition of skills, (3) Inter-acting with other participants, and (4) Exposure to experts better informed.

The motives/objectives with which the participants attend such programmes are generally classified as rational and non-rational. It will indeed be gratifying to observe that all the motives expressed for attending the training programmes were 'rational'. Of course, a few but very insignificant minority did include non-rational motives also like reflecting away from their job, a sophisticated way of perhaps saying, getting away from office routine and there was a loner, who perhaps may be having a lighter view, or may be in earnestness expressed that he wanted to have a change, rest and recuperation. He had company with another who stated that he came for sightseeing. Yet another despaired that he had no choice. The Institute's experience was that there were a few, quite a small number of participants, who came in obedience to the command. It cannot be denied that the motives for nominating trainees can vary from preparing them for future responsibilities to simply getting rid

of them albeit temporarily. But this cannot be true of the present nominations.

With a view to ascertaining the effectiveness of the various pedagogic methods used in the training programmes, the participants were asked to offer their views on them. The views, varied from batch to batch as expected. The reasons could be that effectiveness of each pedagogic method would depend upon the topic/subject covered as well as the person handling that particular method. An attempt was, therefore, made to find out if there is some sort of consensus, generally on the various methods used, based on the view expressed by all the participants of the 33 batches. It was found that lecture method was considered by most of the participants in all the batches, as a very effective method, though they felt that the guest faculty was, by and large, more effective than the internal faculty. The reasons for their very high rating of the guest faculty are not far to seek. The institute selected the guest faculty on the basis of their proven reputation and their recognition as authorities in their area. Moreover, they were outstanding, more experienced and held positions commensurate with their abilities. Intuitively also, the IAS officers were drawn to them whereas the internal faculty obviously did not have some of these advantages though they were competent enough. The variables determining the effectiveness of the faculty is the lecturers/speakers felicity and the guest faculty had this in an abundant measure. The considered views of the participants justify the logic behind 95 per cent of adult training being done in the classrooms.

These programmes have well established the place of the conventional formal lectures as a training method though this alone is not sufficient when skills are to be developed and when practical ability is required. Since one of the objectives for training is the provision of knowledge, the lecture method will continue to play a critical role in any training programme.

Next in order of popularity was the case studies. The cases presented enabled meaningful discussion on actual situations and contributed to the development of the habit of logical thinking, searching for complete information and analysis and debating on crucial issues. The case studies, group discussion and conferences were more or less rated at the same level.

On the issue of administrative arrangements, the participants were satisfied excepting for the lack of hostel facilities. It has to be admitted that the IPE could not secure better accommodation in the hotel for participants in view of the cost constraints. The Institute had to not only select the hotels from the point of view of accommodation but also the areas in which they are situated. The recurring

nature of the complaints only highlights the urgency for institutions like IPE to provide its own hostel facilities for which the governments, both Central and state, may have to extend the required financial assistance for IPE could certainly not generate internal resources of the order required for providing this infrastructural facility.

Asked to state their views on the strengths and weaknesses of the training programme, the consensus on the programme strength was that the programme was excellently structured, the study material was good, faculty was cooperative, maturity in handling the various topics and opportunities for inter-action with other participants, etc. Lack of residential facilities in the institutes, failure to provide synopsis of talk in advance, advance supply of reading material were mentioned as weaknesses.

One of the complaints about these training programmes has rightly been that the results of the evaluation of the programme are not communicated to the interested parties, such as sponsors. But under the agreed arrangements, the Institute transmitted in original all the evaluation sheets filled in by the IAS officers along with the course directors's analytical reports on the impression of the participants. This should enable the Government of India to assess the effectiveness of the various training institutes commissioned for the programme and pick those whose effectiveness has been acknowledged by the participants for "training programmes can be no better than the person who plan and execute them. The time has passed when the training of civil servants could safely be left in the hands of amateurs."¹³ This way the Government of India, over a period of time could identify training institutes of excellent competence, grade them if necessary for future utilisation of their services and provide facilities to such of those institutes which deserve to become top class training outfits for the purpose for which training for civil servants is undertaken.

As for the trainees performance, it has to be admitted that it has not been done as systematically as it ought to have been. The institute perhaps felt that recording and passing on information about the trainees performance after they have received training is to shut the door after the horse has bolted. Further, if it has to be effective, the performance after the training of the individual has to be followed up. This is a grey area in almost all training programmes and enough attention is not being given to the need for follow-up after training. Such a follow-up would not only ensure better results for making the trainees perform better but also help the training institutions and the trainers to organise the programmes

better. This view is reinforced by Mukul Sanwal when he says:

Present evaluations of training seldom go beyond a questionnaire survey of trainee at the conclusion of the training, which essentially measures reactions. Evaluation after a period of six months to one year, can determine whether the training is achieving its objectives and whether they were the right objectives measuring the amount of change attributable to training and how these changes affect an organisation's performance have to be translated as training goals.¹⁴

While the evaluation of the programmes by the trainers and the trainees have to some extent helped a broad assessment of the whole programme, the following recommendations would be worth consideration. There should be both internal evaluation of the training institutes programmes in terms of its objectives and procedures, and external evaluation in collaboration with sponsoring agencies. The evaluation should be done on the following lines:

1. Setting and defining, with sufficient clarity, the precise objectives to be achieved by the programme;
2. Then evaluation by the trainee and the trainer during the training;
3. Evaluated by the trainee, the trainer, the trainees peer group and other external agents immediately after the conclusion of the training; and
4. A longer term post-programme evaluation at specified interval, (by the trainer, the trainee and his sponsoring or agency possibly through long individual studies).

The training methodology, the techniques, etc., as adopted by the Institute discussed in this article are not an end in itself but only a means to an end, that is to bring about a change in the level of knowledge, skills and attitudes in the participants. Did the programme succeed? Did it succeed in bringing about the desired change in the administrative culture that is alleged to be present among the participant? The institute has no answer for these and separate studies and follow-up work alone could state the extent to which the purpose has been achieved. But surely these training programmes have indeed secured to the institute's faculty, directly or indirectly connected with the organisation and implementation of the programme, change for the better, in the level of knowledge and skills in handling such training programmes and attitudes that are necessary for the successful conduct of these programmes. The

Institute did not undertake these programmes as self-servicing and self-perpetuating activity to provide increasing opportunities for enhancing the career prospects of its faculty or promote the growth of the Institute as usually alleged against the mushrooming of training institutions with perceptible commercial motives but wanted to contribute its mite to the efforts of the Government of India, from which its clientele is drawn, towards its social and economic goals.

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Training of Agricultural Administrators : Second Generation Challenges

V.R. GAIKWAD

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK for analysis of training of agricultural administrators requires an understanding of:

1. Scope of agriculture and its potential in the context of overall economic development;
2. Strategy for agricultural development as a part of the overall strategy for economic development; and
3. General ethos of training in public administration in the country, since agricultural administration is a sectoral aspect of public administration.

FACTORS INFLUENCING TRAINING

While analysing the interrelationships of these three components, factors mentioned in the following paras need to be kept in mind.

First, since independence in 1947, India has applied various strategies, for planned economic development. Agricultural development strategy, being one of these, cannot be considered in isolation, but needs to be understood in the context of overall planned efforts for economic development.

Second, during these 40 years, many subtle changes have come over the economic, political and administrative scene. Today, India is energetically pushing its way into age of computers, nuclear power and space travel. In its planning, it is progressively emphasising the managerial-technocratic approach. To suit new sets of realities, new priorities and new strategies are required in relation to agricultural development as well. And along with new strategies are required new sets of programmes, appropriate administrative organisations and new efforts in training of personnel. In the process, many ideological hang-ups would be pushed out of the way.

Third, planning by very nature is selective. During the last 40 years, under planned agricultural development, only a small portion

of the vast potential of agriculture could be tapped for economic development. Planning is a continuous exercise. As each phase of development covers only a small portion of the vast potential it follows that what is left untouched provides the challenge for the coming years.

Fourth, training can be both 'reactive' and 'proactive'. It is 'reactive' when it merely responds to the demands of immediate nature of a given strategy for development, and 'proactive' when it creates awareness of new opportunities and potentials and, consequently, helps in formulation of new policies and programmes. To be proactive it has to look into problems of development in the context of the past efforts and future challenges. The primary concern of 'reactive' type of training is generally improvement of day-to-day execution of programmes, and of 'proactive' type, development of forward looking orientation. The first is most essential for field and middle level administrators, and the second for top administrators at policy making levels.

Fifth, at each phase of development, the orientation of training institutions and trainers have to change in line with changing ethos of development. If in future there is going to be greater emphasis on science and technology and managerial and technocratic approach then training institutions would require appropriate changes in their personnel and other policies.

Thus, the training efforts have to be examined in terms of whether these could, (i) continuously generate among policy makers and top level administrator an awareness and understanding about the vast scope of agriculture and its potential for economic development, (ii) equip top administrators with skills in formulation of new strategies and programmes, and (iii) develop capabilities at all levels of administrators for effective and efficient management of science and technology oriented programmes.

For such an analysis, it is necessary to have a fairly good understanding of: (i) scope of agriculture and its potential in the context of economic development, (ii) salient features of agricultural development strategy followed so far, the coverage under this strategy in the context of scope of agriculture, and place and role of this strategy in the context of overall planned economic development, and (iii) training efforts, and the reactive and pro-active functions performed by these efforts. The framework that emerged from the interaction on the lines mentioned above has been followed in this article.

SCOPE OF AGRICULTURE

The Scope

Scope of agriculture is vast as it is concerned with practically entire bio-mass. This encompasses plants, animals, insects and micro-organisms, each covering millions of species and sub-species (see Fig. 1). This bio-mass, through various physical and chemical processes, could be further converted into numerous products through biological/industrial interventions. Thus, besides providing food, fibre, energy and other natural products, it provides numerous opportunities for commercial and industrial exploitation, which contribute to economic development.

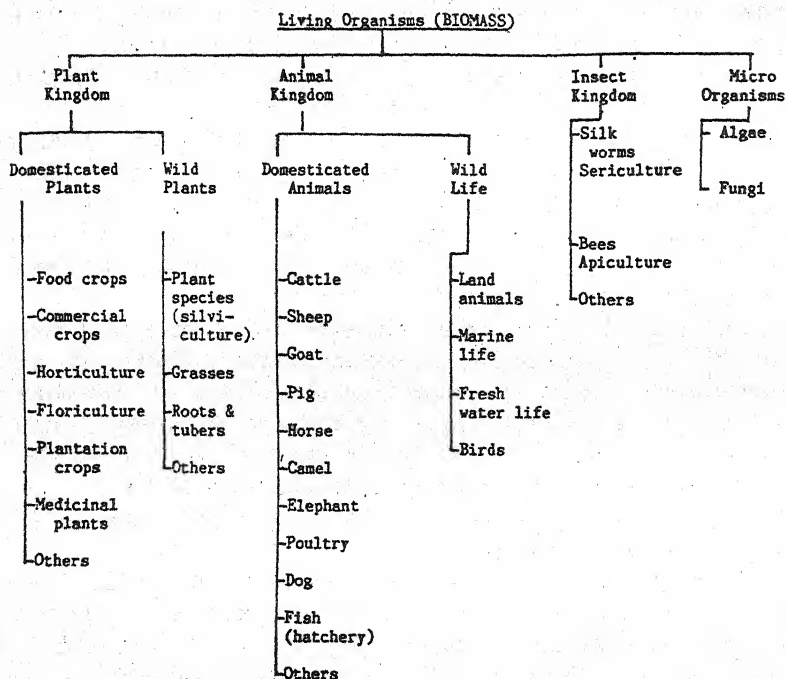


FIG. 1 Scope of Agro-Industries from Living Organisms

Indian sub-continent supports a vast variety of biomass. In the early stages of economic development, thinking about agriculture is bound to be limited to a few plant and animal species which provide food, fibre, energy, timber and some directly usable primary products. Needless to say, food production has to be a continuous, high-priority aspect of agricultural development at all phases of country's development. Nonetheless, as the country advances on eco-

commercial and industrial purposes becomes increasingly important. It is this aspect of agricultural development that generally gets low priority in early stages of economic development, and as such needs further elaboration.

Early Orientation

The scope of Indian agriculture, as seen by the British administration during the last century, is of relevance to India of today. Hundred years back, the British administration very systematically and meticulously collected detailed information about economic, commercial and industrial potential of practically entire flora and fauna of the Indian sub-continent. Every single cultivated and wild plant was systematically studied to find out utilisation of each of them.

The first systematic compilation of such information was done by Dr. George Watt who, between 1882-1896, brought out **A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India**, in six volumes.¹ According to Watt, his purpose was two-fold, viz., on the one hand to supply scientific information which may be useful to the administrative officers; and on the other, to meet the requirements of the reader in search of definite information regarding Indian economics. He hoped that his efforts would advance the material interests of India and bring the trade and capital of the West into more direct contact with the resources of the Empire.²

It is worth noting that in those days, Department of Revenue and Agriculture used to play very important role in such efforts. In his Preface to Watt's first volume, E.C. Buck, the then Secretary to Government, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, wrote, as follows:

The work upon which Dr. Watt has been thus engaged is one which it would have been in any case necessary for Agriculture Department to carry out independently of any call which was made upon it in connection with Exhibitions. Now that the work has reached the stage of compilation of existing facts and statistics up to date, it will become the further duty of the Department to make with the assistance of the Agricultural Departments of the Provinces, such investigations as may be necessary for obtaining the fuller information.³

Sir Watt's dictionary was updated during 1940-1976, not by Department of Agriculture, but by Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). As a direct descendent of Watt's classic dictionary, the CSIR brought out a series entitled **The Wealth of India: A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products**. Between

1940-1976, 11 volumes were brought out to cover "Raw Materials" (of plant, animal and mineral origin) in addition to nine volumes, covering "Industrial Products" and "Animal and Marine Products." 'The Raw Materials' and 'Animal and Marine Products' series provide detailed account of the raw materials (plant and animal based), their chemical compositions and various products that could be manufactured.

The 11-volume series on raw materials alone covered over 5000 plant species available in India.⁴

It could be seen from the above mentioned facts that over the years, and especially after independence, important role of agricultural department in relation to commercial and industrial use of agricultural commodities has been underplayed, and in fact partly taken over by other agencies like CSIR.

Agricultural administrators today are not aware of the scientific information about the local natural resources (flora and fauna) and their economic, commercial and industrial potential for local and national development. Current training programmes provide little or no opportunities for development of industrial orientation, and awareness and appreciation of local resource based industrial opportunities in rural areas.

Agriculture--Industry Linkages

Economic history of western countries show how application of science and technology for converting the biomass into numerous consumer and industrial products had a snowball effect on the process of industrialisation and economic development. Without sacrificing agriculture development, these countries transformed themselves from agrarian society/economy to an industrial society/economy using farm-industry linkages. Scientific information about agricultural raw materials and their commercial and industrial potential had led to development of processing technologies, machinery and plant designs and establishment of agro-processing enterprises. While on the one hand technologies, industrial plants and machinery were designed to suit the processing requirements of a particular raw material, on the other hand various changes were introduced to suit the requirements of post harvest, handling and processing technologies. Thus, there was a two-way link which helped both agriculture and industry.

India has now to take the fruits of science, technology and industrial development to the rural masses through policies, programmes and organisations for dynamic farm-industry linkages integrated with welfare activities.⁵

Potential for developing such linkages are vast. Every primary agricultural commodity and organic residue, animal by-products and waste, fishery and forest by-products has potential for developing a

series of industries, if primary commodity, its products and waste matter are scientifically processed.

The bio-product processing chain provides a variety of products even from common food crops. For example, paddy plant provides rice, bran, husk and straw. These four, when further processed, provide a variety of products, such as rice products, starch, wine from rice, rice-bran oil, de-oiled cake, cattle feed, wax and tar from rice bran, cement, coal briquettes, husk board, furfural oil, silica, etc., from husk; and straw board, straw paper, handicraft products from rice straw (see Fig. 2). Similarly, various products could be produced from other commodities, like sugarcane, groundnut, coconut, casava, maize, cotton, medical plants, horticulture crops, forest products, and animal and fish.⁶ Commercial enterprises could also be developed for cultivation/procurement of wild plants (especially medicinal plants), and rearing/procurement of wild animals (such as rabbit, snake, crocodile and butterfly). All this, in essence, falls within the scope of agriculture.

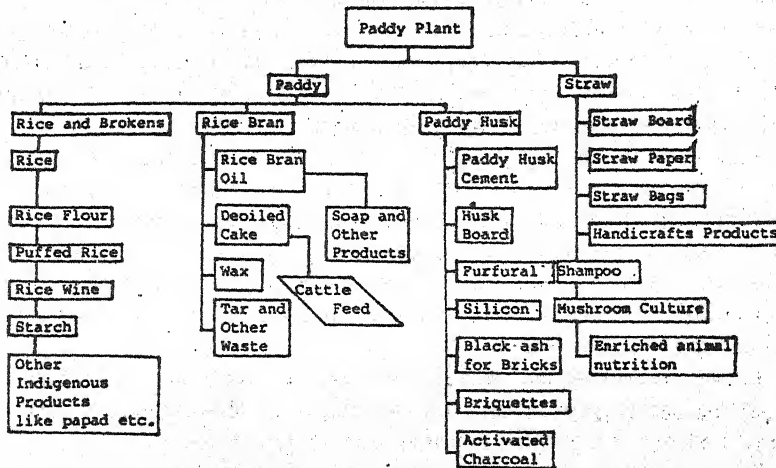


FIG. 2 Paddy By-Product System

In India, while the scientific information about agricultural raw materials was available all these years, its application so far was limited. However, today, India has reached a stage of development where it can seriously think of application of science and technology for processing of biomass. It has achieved considerable progress in terms of:

1. A sound agricultural base,
2. Sufficiently strong technological and industrial base,
3. Human resources in science, technology, administration and

management, and

4. Physical and institutional infrastructure.

On this foundation, and taking into account the vast scope provided by agriculture, the **second generation** economic activities could be developed with application of modern science and technology.

The process of agro-based industrialisation is already on in the country. It should be noted that there is already a shift from the earlier mechanical engineering based agro-industries to chemical engineering based industries.⁷

For example, in addition to traditional agro-industries (like rice mills, sugar mills, cotton ginning, spinning and weaving factories, jute factories, oil mills, etc.), in recent years, many new agro-industries have been established, such as solvent extraction plants (for groundnut, soyabean, rice bran, sal seeds and other oil seeds); modern dairy complexes producing bottled milk, butter, cheese, chocolates, etc.; furfural from rice husk; and factories producing varieties of paper from paddy straw, baggasse, banana stems; alcohol, acetone, acetic acid, and other chemicals from molasses and casava; starch, glucose and a variety of products from maize; medicines from medicinal plants, roots and tubers; fruit and vegetable products; fish and meat products; wines for export (such as Champagne in collaboration with a French company, and others with Italian collaboration); man-made fibre from forest plantations integrated with factory; and so on. Commercial and experimental farms for rearing of wild animals, such as rabbits, snakes, crocodiles and even butterflies are being established. Fresh water, coastal and deep sea fishing industry⁸ is getting increasing attention of state enterprises and private entrepreneurs.

It is clear that in near future agricultural administrators would be called up to pay increasing attention to the demands of this agro-based industrial revolution that is taking place.

Importance of agriculture-industry linkages has been realised by the government, and its policies supported strengthening and/or establishment of state and cooperative institutions, such as state agro-industries corporation, in every state, commodity-based agro-industrial cooperatives and Boards (for example, for sugar, milk, oilseeds, etc.), cooperative marketing federations in every state, farmers service societies all over the country, and so on. In the **management of state and cooperative organisations, agricultural administrators play an important role.** The policies also encouraged establishment of small, medium and large size modern agro-industrial and commercial enterprises in private sector, and in the formulation and implementation of these policies agricultural administrators play

crucial role. Recently, government has set up the Ministry of Food Processing to act as catalyst in transforming the structure of food processing industries. It is expected that the "Brown Revolution", as it is described, would render numerous benefits to the economy. It would be instrumental in generation of higher employment, injection of more income in the rural areas, and earning more foreign exchange through creation of surpluses for export. These objectives can be achieved only when we have appropriate policies, trained agricultural administrators and farmer oriented organisations.

AGRO-INDUSTRY AS ANCHOR FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In India agro-industry can be a two-edged sword, i.e., it can be a boon to primary producers (as in case of cooperative sugar factories and Amul type cooperative milk factories) or it can be an instrument for exploiting unorganised, small, primary producers by the private sector and multi-nationals.

Cooperative sugar factories and milk processing cooperatives have been highly successful and provided a variety of benefits to rural population, particularly producer farmers. Many sugar cooperatives have established by-product/waste processing plants, such as alcohol and other derivatives from molasses, liquor from alcohol and paper from bagasse. Such processing adds further value to the agricultural produce of the farmers and consequently: (a) adds to their net income, (b) supports further expansion of their activities, (c) generates further employment, (d) contributes to more sophisticated welfare activity, and (e) exposes ruralites to modern science and technologies, management systems and industrial culture, and teaches them new skills.

This experience indicated the importance of a **dynamic anchor activity** around which organisations for integrated agriculture/rural development can be evolved. Around this anchor activity can be developed backward linkages (credit, inputs, extension, support services, and procurement, etc.), forward linkages (marketing of produce and finished products), infrastructure (roads, electricity, irrigation, etc.), social welfare facilities (housing, medical, education, recreation), and supplementary economic activities. The command area of each such organisation would depend upon the magnitude and nature of the central anchor activity. The model that emerges from the discussions mentioned above has been presented in Fig. 3 and Fig. 4.

It is obvious that the country would need suitably trained agriculture/rural development administrators for identification, formulation and management of such integrated agriculture/rural development projects.

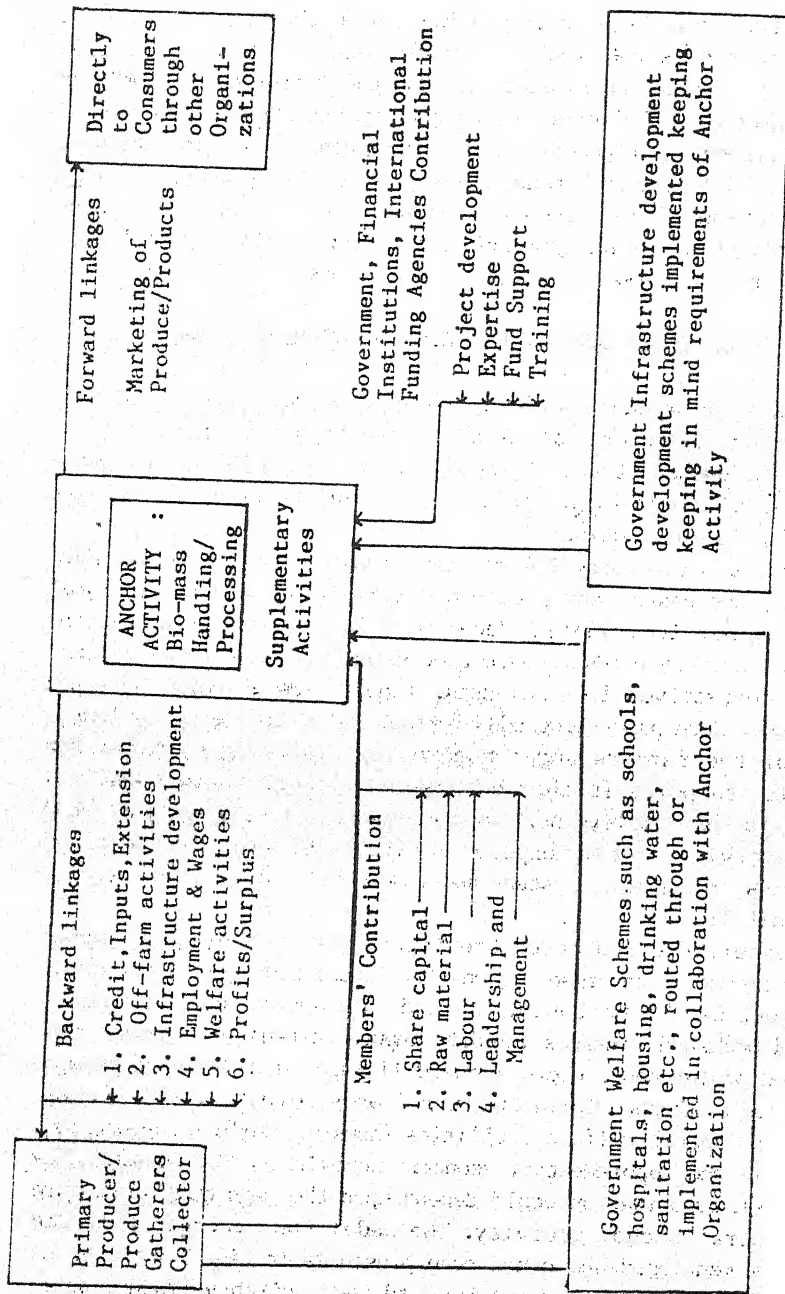


FIG. 3 Integrated Cooperative Agro-Processing Organisation Model

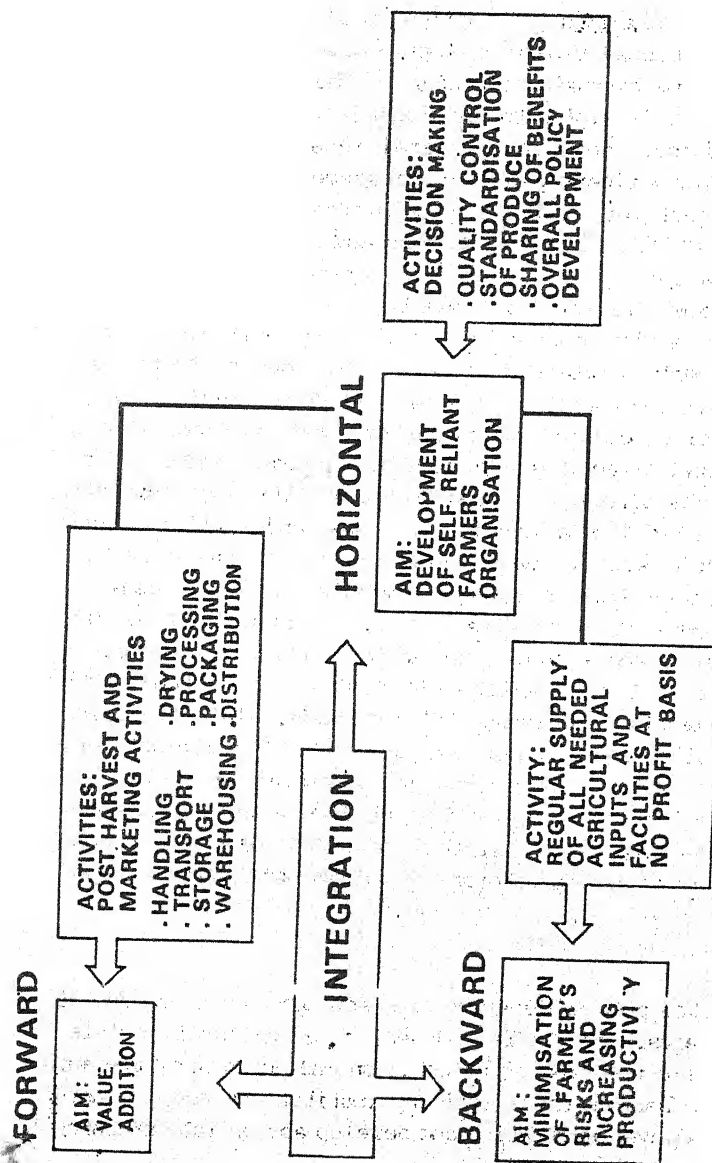


FIG. 4 Concept of Integration

SOURCE: V.K. Gupta and V.R. Gaikwad, Guide to Management of Small Farmers' Cooperatives, New Delhi, Concept, 1986.

TRAINING EFFORTS

Training Efforts in the Past

Till now, the scope of training in agricultural administration was limited to: (a) traditional training in public administration; (b) general orientation and extension training to the field, staff; (c) technical subject matter training to field and lower-middle functionaries; (d) a few ad hoc, short-term general management courses to make middle and senior officers aware of management techniques and tools; and (e) Project Identification, Formulation and Appraisal (PIFA), Project Identification, Monitoring and Evaluation (PIME), Designing Projects for Agricultural Development (DPAD) types of courses for selected middle level personnel.

There was no properly thought-out training programme for the middle and senior administrators. Over the years, due to continuous concentration on only one aspect of agricultural development, namely, limited agricultural production (which was no doubt very necessary), the training institutions and trainers have developed a rigid, limited orientation towards agricultural development. The farm industry linkage aspect of agricultural development, was, and still is, considered beyond their scope. Due to limited vision there was no proactive training programme to expose the middle and senior administrators to this aspect of agriculture. Thus, as far as the training institutions, trainers and agricultural administrators were concerned, there was more or less complete bifurcation of agricultural production and commercial and industrial activities. This, in spite of the fact that, since early seventies, agricultural administrators were increasingly called upon to manage commercial and industrial enterprises with the establishment/strengthening of autonomous organisations, such as national and state level agro-industries corporations, cooperative marketing federations, rural development corporations, etc.

Present needs

To consolidate the past achievements and strengthen the process of farm-industry linkages, the middle and senior agricultural administrators would require new kind of orientation and administrative and managerial skills. Towards this, training institutions and trainers also have to develop new orientation and develop appropriate training programmes.

Future Training Requirements

From the analysis, presented in preceding paras, emerges the following objectives for new training programmes for agricultural

administrators:

1. To provide scientific information about the agricultural resources (entire flora and fauna, i.e., various plant and animal species in a region) and create awareness about the commercial and industrial potential of these;
2. To develop skills in identification and formulation of viable, integrated projects for commercial and industrial exploitation of local agricultural resources, as well as appraisal of such projects;
3. To develop appreciation of integrated approach under which agro-processing organisation works as an anchor around which backward linkages (credit, input supply, extension, etc.), forward linkages (storage, handling, transport, processing, marketing, etc.), and horizontal linkages (farmers groups, and other organisations) can be effectively and efficiently developed;
4. To develop skills in building primary producers/raw material gatherers integrated cooperative organisations for exploitation of local agricultural resources.
5. To develop managerial skills for effective and efficient execution of integrated projects;
6. To develop skills in identification of organisational requirements of agro-processing enterprises (since organisational requirements of different commodities are different).⁹

Such training programmes are necessary for agricultural administrators operating at middle and higher levels of administration. In addition, training programmes on policy formulation and analysis for administrators operating at higher policy levels are required. The focus of these programmes should be on:

1. **Market Analysis:** Demand and supply analysis for local and export markets. (This will help them in deciding about production support to specific commodities, quota for export, development of marketing infrastructure, etc.)
2. **Organisational Analysis,** e.g., whether a particular commodity/agro-product should be primarily processed by (or reserved for) private, cooperative or public sector or a combination of these? (This will help them in deciding about exclusivity of operations and financial and other supports needed by each sector).
3. **Impact Analysis:** What would be the likely impact on the economy of primary producers and the region, and on local markets (availability and price)? (This will help them in deciding about location and size of operations, price of raw materials, control on finished product price, quota for local market and

4. **Constraint Analysis:** What would be the likely constraints in implementation of policy, and methods to remove these (This will help them in deciding about the necessary promotional as well as relief measures).

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3. Such information was needed for exhibitions of products organised in capitals of industrially advanced countries. For example, in 1887, Agriculture Department of the North-Western Province was required to provide a collection of products for the Paris Exhibition, and again in 1880 for the Melbourne Exhibition. Early in 1883, the Imperial Department of Agriculture was called upon for a third collection for the exhibition at Amsterdam. At that time, there was also demand from Italy and Belgium for sample collections of commercial products. Incidentally, one exhibition was also organised at Calcutta in 1883-84.
4. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, *The Wealth of India: A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products* (in 11 volumes of Raw Materials and nine volumes of Industrial Products), Publication and Information Directorate CSIR, New Delhi, 1940-76
5. For further discussion on this see, V.R. Gaikwad, "Application of Science and Technology for Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development: A Farm-Industry Linkage Approach", in IDBI, *Consultancy and Development*, No. 8, June 1986, pp. 63-90.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-90.
7. In early stages of industrialisation in a country, agricultural raw materials are converted into new products primarily with the help of first manual and then mechanical engineering (for crushing, twisting, blending, weaving, etc.). Real scientific and technological breakthrough comes with the understanding of and mastery over chemical processes, and mechanical engineering is increasingly supplemented by chemical engineering. (e.g., Solvent extraction plants, chemical plants for processing of molasses.)
8. India has about 5000 Kms of sea-shore, and the exclusive economic zone (EEC) adds 1/3 to its land area. Marine biological resources within EEC have yet to be exploited in an organised manner, and the country's share in the exploitation of deep sea fishery resources is negligible compared to that of industrially advanced countries. India has yet to enter the field of "floating factories" for processing of marine products on high seas.
9. It is the nature of commodity (degree of perishability, seasonality, crop cycle, complexity in processing, complexity in quality control, nature of technology, nature of by-products, etc.), magnitude of investment and cost structure, and nature of markets (including potential for speculation in purchase and sales, that determine the organisational structure of agro-processing enterprises. For details, see, V.R. Gaikwad "Organisational Patterns and Management Structure of Cooperative Agro-Processing Units", in *Cooperative Processing of Agricultural*

Refocusing Training in Rural Development : Institute of Rural Management, Anand

TUSHAAR SHAH

EARLY YEARS of 1960s witnessed the hastening of the transition in Indian industry from closely held family concerns to modern corporate enterprises and of gradual delinking of ownership from management. This shift resulted in domestic initiatives to create internal capacities to train professional managers for the growing corporate firms in private and public sectors. The new management institutes which came to be established for this purpose sought active collaboration with well known business schools in North America. Despite severe problems of acceptance in a business world in transition, it is now acknowledged that these institutes played a vital and active role in supplying high calibre officer material to Indian industry, largely in the private sector.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, however, the term management continued to be viewed as synonymous with business; and the management institutes functioned much like business schools, as reflective individuals, like Ravi Mathai, Kamla Chowdhury, etc., attempted to stress the dire need for the management institutes to address themselves to key undermanaged sectors of the economy. Some efforts were indeed made at the IIMA where the Centre for Management in Agriculture has been engaged in research and training in the management of agricultural sector, particularly focusing on the industries supplying inputs to the agriculture sector. The establishment of the Public Systems Group at IIMA too was an effort in this direction. Likewise, the IIM Bangalore attempted to serve the manpower and training needs of India's growing public sector and attempted to build capability in various key sectors of the economy, such as energy, agriculture, etc.

Relevant Management Education

Many important areas of the economy--such as, for example, the opportunities and problems of our rural sector--and, indeed, the entire issue of development remained for long untouched by the growth

of professional management education in the country. Indeed an eminent management educationist in the country recently lamented:

Management education in India, along with other higher education, has built an edifice of learning but has deprived it of its foundation--foundations which are rooted in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the people.¹

In the rural sector, for instance, as the capacity to absorb high quality manpower improved through the emergence of different forms of institutional structures, this shortcoming came to be more widely felt. None of the existing management institutes either cared--or was appropriately oriented--to cater to the specialised needs of these emerging structures, especially those, such as the dairy co-operatives of Gujarat and other states, and sugar cooperatives of Maharashtra, which were independent business organisations owned and controlled by farmers, unlike the traditional officially sponsored, supported and directed cooperative movement in other sectors of the rural economy.

The Institute of Rural Management (IRMA) was established primarily to fill this gap. The main stimulus and support were provided by the National Dairy Development Board whose primary interest was in producing a cadre of rural managers--and creating a base of practical management consultancy and research support--for rural producers' cooperative organisations established and supported by them in dairy and oilseeds sectors. While the demands from these sectors themselves were enormous, IRMA's mission was seen in broader terms as one of providing support to rural producers' organisations largely--but by no means exclusively--in the cooperative sector. Indeed, IRMA's founders envisaged it as a custodian of the true spirit of the Anand pattern, the hallmark of the Dairy Board's ethos and philosophy stressing the partnership between the rural people and professional managers working through democratic organisations owned and effectively controlled by the former.

IRMA envisaged four different vehicles to make its contributions to its chosen constituency: (1) A two-year residential post-graduate programme in rural management, first offered in 1979; (2) Short-term training programmes for managers already employed in rural producers' organisations at various levels; (3) Practical consultancy services as a means of specialist support to cooperatives and of generating teaching material for the institute's training activities; and (4) Conceptual and field based empirical research in the processes of rural management. While all these have developed to varying extent, the PRM (Programme in Rural Management) has received maximum concen-

tration of faculty effort, ideas and innovations from early days. Several constructs were offered as basis for the structure and content of the PRM during its early phases. An important early paper², for instance, argued for the commodity systems approach--with the production, procurement, processing and marketing--as one dimension to the programme structure and content. On the other hand, some of the debates which, in retrospect, appear sterile, discussed in what ways the PRM might or might not differ from a standard management programme.³

Programme in Rural Management

The design of the PRM, that was ultimately used, recognised the need to blend four different strands of knowledge, namely, enterprise management skills; relevant components of social science disciplines; understanding of the social and political environment within which rural managers operate and the internal task environment of rural organisations. The design of the PRM (Fig. 1) that has been offered by IRMA to-date, despite many changes and modifications that it has undergone, sought to achieve this difficult blend using three different modes of learning as shown in Fig. 2.

The total programme duration of 85 weeks is distributed across three distinct modes of learning: class-study segment (50 weeks), field study segment (10 weeks) and the organisational training segment (25 weeks). As Fig. 2 suggests, there are major and significant overlaps between the three modes; indeed, field and organisational training segments, spread over three spells each of 10 weeks' duration are so interspersed with class-study terms as to forge strong feedback loops from class room to the field and back. Each field work and organisational study term is supported by preparatory courses or seminar series in the preceding class study term and is integrated in the class study through seminars/presentations by students to interested members of the entire community during the following term.

Courses

Substantial proportion of the course work in the PRM aims at building enterprise management skills, such as in the functional areas of accounting, costing and financial management, marketing and distribution; planning, control and management information systems; human resources management; organisation theory; operations research; etc. In all these areas, case method has been the dominant mode of teaching. The instruction through case method is generally more effective if cases used are based on or related to the type of situations that the graduates are likely to face as managers. Case writing and discussion result in professional growth of teachers as

Classroom Segment Term-I (12 Weeks)	Classroom Segment Term-II (11 Weeks)	Field work Segment (10 Weeks)	Classroom Segment Term-III (11 Weeks)	Management Traineeship Segment-I (10 Weeks)	Classroom Segment Term-IV (11 Weeks)	Management Traineeship Segment-II (10 Weeks)	Classroom Segment Term-V (10 Weeks)
COURSES	COURSES	FOCUS	COURSES	FOCUS	COURSES	FOCUS	COURSES
Computer	Costing	Rural economy	Farmers organisation	Application of concept in functional areas	Economic analysis II	Integrative view of or-ganisations through inter-func-tional projects	Optional: (5 to be selected)
Economic analysis I	Financial management	Rural poverty	Legal environment		Project management		Advanced finance and control systems
Individual and group behaviour	Marketing management I	Organisation & management of coops.	Management planning & control	Individual projects in --Marketing & --Finance & accounting	Strategic management	Group Projects in --Planning --Management control systems	
Management accounting	Understanding organisations	Spearhead team as change agent	Marketing management II	--Procurement & farmers' organisation	Managerial analysis & communication II	--Project management resources management	Common property resources management

Managerial analysis & communication I	Quantitative rural environment	Quantitative II structure castes & classes	Personnel management	--Production Management (3 to be information selected) system	Optional (3 to be information selected)	--Feasibility studies	Indian economic environment & agriculture finance & rural banking
Quantitative techniques I rural production systems	Field work presentations	Production & operations management	--Computers	--Operations research	Industrial relations Management science applications Product & advertising management Rural development Rural marketing	--Studies on Socio-economic impacts	Production Planning & Control Sales Force and Distribution management Statistical analysis for decision-making
			--Personnel		Welfare foundations of development policy	--Implementation studies	Management of change Management of development institutions Personal computers and applications

FIG. 1 Programme Structure

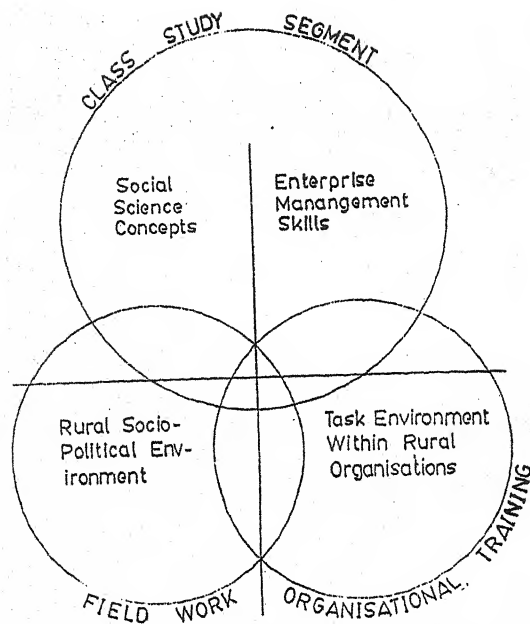


FIG. 2 The Logic Underlying the Design of PRM Structure

well as students. These are generally recognised; however, the development of suitable teaching material has, by no means, been uniform in all the areas. There are indeed courses which are taught in IRMA in much the same way and using teaching material from the urban corporate contexts similar to what would be used in a standard MBA programme. This is one area where substantial improvement can be made.

In the courses drawing heavily upon social science disciplines, there is greater diversity of pedagogical styles with some courses using plain lecture method effectively and others using varying combinations of cases, gaming simulations, small field based exercises and lectures. Courses, such as rural environment, rural production systems, etc., make extensive use of films, guest speakers, etc.

Field Work

The main purpose of the field work segment is to provide to students opportunity for intense exposure to the economic, social and political environment within rural communities. It is scheduled after the completion of the first two class study terms during which certain basic skills of observation and analysis are already developed. Towards the end of the second term, special seminar modules are

used to introduce various field research skills and methodologies, including Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques. The aim is to enable students to probe in some depth those aspects of rural life/society which are of particular interest to them. The fieldwork design allows considerable flexibility but expects rigorous, in-depth enquiry and understanding, all of which are facilitated by substantial commitment of time by a section of the faculty members to be spent with various student teams during fieldwork.⁴

Constant interaction of students with rural people in their own settings is the key consideration in fieldwork management; as a result, small teams (of 2-3 students) are usually placed for the first four weeks in villages where they are familiar with the local language. Thus, 20-30 villages across 6-7 states are involved in a typical fieldwork. Each team stays put in the village assigned to it for the first leg of four weeks during which their observation and interaction are aided by a series of exercises/assignments designed to facilitate probing at different levels. These assignments encourage them to understand various dimensions of the lives of the people; about village institutions; about the resources and their control; about the political and social differentiation in a village community, etc.

The second leg of the fieldwork takes the students to study and observe the working of the agencies--private, government, co-operative or voluntary--attempting to bring about change in the conditions of rural communities. During these six weeks, most teams invariably spend some period learning about the interface between these agencies and the rural communities.

Students are expected to produce and present a variety of reports based on their fieldwork experiences. Many of these bring important insights when they are presented to and discussed by the entire class upon the conclusion of the fieldwork. In addition, there are strong backward and forward linkages between field work and some of the courses, such as Rural Environment, Farmers' Organisation, Economic Analyses for Rural Organisations, Rural Development Management, Welfare Foundations of Development Policy, and Rural Production Systems.

Organisational Training

Organisational Training during the PRM consists of two segments, each of 12 weeks that students spend learning by working in rural organisations. The first segment requires each student to work on a specific, time bound managerial problem suggested (in advance) by an organisation under the supervision of a senior officer. Often, projects involve considerable information collection and analysis and long spells of field work. A comprehensive report is expected by the

organisation as well as the Institute. Presentation of the report first to the management of the organisation and later at the Institute to a combined audience of the faculty and students permits productive exchange of ideas and experiences, sharpens the skills of presentation, provides faculty members with case leads to be pursued when their schedules allow them time for case writing.

In terms of administration, the second segment which follows the fourth term of the class study is identical to the first; its logic however was quite different when it was originally conceived. Like most management programmes, PRM stresses techniques, functions, analysis, etc., in its early parts and its focus becomes more integrative toward the later parts as emphasised in Fig. 3. In the fourth term, thus, the emphases of many courses--such as strategic management; management, planning and control; management of development institutions, etc.--is on the concerns and tasks of the chief executive. In the second segment of the Organisational Training, thus the key goal in the original scheme was to enable students to study the organisation in its totality and how different components coordinate with each other in the pursuit of the organisational goals.⁵ In early years, teams of 5-8 students were placed in an organisation, each student spending some time in each department/division. Over the years, however, this focus has got diluted and, as a result, the second segment organisational training is no different from the first. It has often been argued quite convincingly that both the segments might be fruitfully merged; the only reason they have been retained is that two segments expose students to two different organisations--often to two different commodity systems, functions, regions, and so on--and students place a high value on this opportunity.

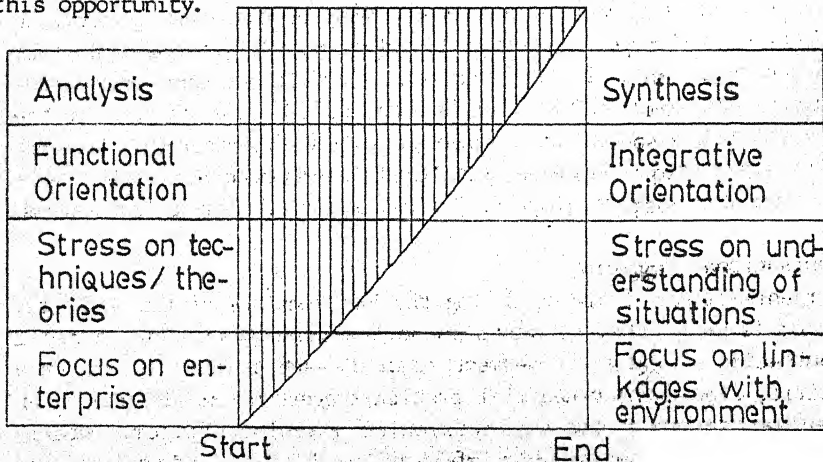


FIG. 3 Learning of Focus in the PRM

Over years, the quality of effort put in and results produced by IRMA students in Organisational Training have improved dramatically; indeed, report submitted by students as part of this segment form a priceless and much guarded collection in IRMA's library. And yet, the faculty is generally in agreement that field work and organisational training are the areas where greater investment of faculty effort in planning and management would yield rich dividends in terms of programme effectiveness and student learning.

Programme Management

In conducting the PRM, IRMA's main objective is to encourage bright young men and women to choose careers in rural organisations and over time create a base of professional managers who will provide in the rural sector stable and forward-looking management, responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people. The quality and the suitability of PRM for this purpose is only one of the several requirements to be fulfilled to achieve this goal. Some of the other requirements include induction of the 'right' officer material into the PRM; suitable placement of the graduates in rural organisations; willingness and capability in recruiting organisations to effectively absorb this new talent by creating and providing them adequate 'space' to operate and to play meaningful roles in organisational settings; management of their professional and personal aspirations; creation of systems to provide support to those who opt for high risk but pioneering roles in which no well defined career path exists. IRMA can do little about fulfilling many of these conditions.⁶ What it does attempt to do is: (a) manage its admission process for PRM such that those who are admitted to it are, in addition to having the analytical capability and articulation required for coping with the rigours of the PRM, appear most suited temperamentally to working in rural organisations, and (b) manage the placement of the graduates with a view to striking the best fit between what the students want and what the recruiting organisations need.

IRMA has already graduated seven batches of PRM graduates; over 350 trained rural managers who passed out of IRMA have been placed in over 70 rural organisations in the cooperative and voluntary sectors. As should be expected in all such experiments, the experience has been mixed; there have been several cases of IRMA graduates who opted out of the co-ops. and joined banks or other public sector organisations interested in rural development; some have even joined the corporate sector. However, over 250 continue to work in designated rural producers' organisations. Where allowed to utilise their skills and given some leeway, IRMA graduates have made substantial contribu-

tion to their organisations and identified closely with their goals.

Adapting to the Constraints

The most important problem facing young professional managers seeking to contribute to rural organisations is their internal task environment. Professionals tend to excel in work situations in which they are provided 'space' to exercise their skills and show results. Informal feedback from IRMA graduates suggests absence of such environment as a major cause of frustration and lack of professional fulfilment. Many cooperative organisations operate in bureaucratic mode; in contrast, several voluntary organisations operate as extension of the authoritarian leadership styles of the pioneers who established them. Neither of these provides the right environment for professionals to perform; and yet, until both these sets of organisations acquire the culture of professionalism, these organisations cannot achieve what they are capable of.

IRMA views the PRM as one of the instruments available which it can use to play the role of strengthening management capacities in farmers' organisations. The board and the faculty of IRMA thus assess, from time to time, ways of improving and modifying the PRM management so that it is better aligned with this overall objective. A change in this direction introduced recently on an experimental basis will, for instance, see IRMA encouraging more of the young officers already working in rural organisations to compete for PRM admissions. The expectation is that these officers, after their graduation from IRMA, will have less difficulty in carving out meaningful roles for themselves when they return to their organisations. Further, it is also expected that IRMA graduates will face less resistance amongst peers who have access to IRMA education themselves and, therefore, feel less threatened. Special support shall be organised to help them through the more arduous modules of PRM. If these expectations turn out to be vindicated, next few years may witness major shifts in IRMA's training strategies.

What IRMA has been able to do, its successes and its failings, are obviously of interest to many new institutions with aims similar to IRMA. They will no doubt be able to learn a great deal from the processes that IRMA has evolved to adapt its programmes to the needs of its constituency. Thus, the Institute of Forest Management at Bhopal, with a similar mission has adopted a structure for their Post-Graduate Programme similar to IRMA's PRM.⁷ The Bankers Institute of Rural Development too may follow a similar structure and management process.⁸ It is important, however, that they keep modifying and adapting their structure as they learn more about the context within which their graduates will operate.

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Training of Rural Development Personnel

MUKKAVILLI SEETHARAM

THE WEALTH, security and well being of a country are its people. The achievement of people, whatever their purposes or tasks, depends not only on their innate abilities but also on their education and training. Training is a key to rural development. An important element in organisational effectiveness is the development of people capable of carrying on the varied activities involved in administration at all organisational levels.

The contemporary strategy of rural development finds expression in target group and area development oriented poverty alleviation programmes. Schemes, such as IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, TRYSEM and DWCRA constitute a major part of the massive budgetary outlay of Rs. 9,072 crore envisaged under the Seventh Plan for rural development sector. The thrust is expected to continue during the Eighth Plan period too with greater vigour and resources.

A gigantic endeavour targetted at reducing poverty and unemployment calls for adequate preparation and motivation of the functionaries and beneficiaries in the delivery system. All those involved officials, non-officials and people need to be appraised of the concepts, strategy and expected outcomes from the programmes. Further, it is imperative to equip them for the tasks through skill transfer and inculcation of desired attitudes. This is expected to facilitate efficient and effective discharge of assigned role responsibilities. Similarly, training of people, who constitute the response system, would enhance their understanding and utilisation of services.

EVOLUTION OF TRAINING

Sponsors of community development saw training as a sine qua non for the success of the movement. Pandit Nehru too felt that if the community development movements ever failed in achieving its objective, it will not be for lack of money, but for lack of trained

personnel. In view of this, 27 village level workers training centres and five training centres for social education organisers were started during 1952-53. The institutional training of Gram Sevikas started with the setting up of 25 Home Science Wings as part of Extension Training Centres during 1955.

The vital role of training in rural development was highlighted by various studies and reports of expert committees. The Asoka Mehta Committee¹ expressed its displeasure at the unsatisfactory staffing pattern, lack of proper physical facilities, defects in syllabi and training methodology with regard to existing training institutions in rural development. Detailed ESCAP studies in several Asian countries show that rural development personnel were not being trained effectively. At the field level, the main hindrance, they found, was lack of a clear understanding of the job they were meant to do by functionaries.

The G.V.K. Rao Committee² recommended creation of additional training facilities to offer orientation and refresher training to all functionaries in rural development. Stressing the vital role of training, the Seventh Plan³ noted that renewed attention will have to be paid to questions of motivation, morale and orientation of extension machinery.

Clientele and Centres

The clientele for rural development training is very wide and large necessitating a massive infrastructure to train people at central and state levels, district level, sub-divisional level and village level. The client groups include officials and non-officials of directly as well as indirectly related agencies to rural development, beneficiaries of programmes and members of voluntary bodies. There are administrators, legislators, chairmen and members of panchayati raj institutions. Project Directors and Assistant Project Officers of District Rural Development Agencies, Block Development Officers (BDO), banking and cooperative personnel, village level workers, officials and non-officials of voluntary organisations, youth, farmers, beneficiaries of anti-poverty programmes, and other interest groups of villagers.

As per available information, there are 7,613 BDOs, additional BDOs and Deputy BDOs, 30,684 Extension Officers, 51,140 village level workers, and 40,000 bank personnel and Assistant Project Officers dealing with rural development. Though no accurate information is available, it is estimated that 16 per cent of the middle level functionaries and 25 per cent of the junior level functionaries are trained.

Training centres exist at various levels in rural development. At

the apex level, there are national institutions. At the state level, there are 14 state Institutions of rural development, 11 state Institutes of Administration, 77 Gram Sevak/Extension Training Centres, 21 Home Science wings/Gram Sevika Training Centres, 50 Bank staff Training Colleges, 114 Farmers Training Centres, 89 Krishi Vigyan Kendras, 18 Khadi Gramodyog centres and a large number of other training institutions. Despite the wide network, the nation's institutional infrastructure for training in rural development is not fully equipped to take care of all those to be trained. The gap is more pronounced with regard to training of the target groups, such as farmers, women, youth and weaker sections.

Cooperative Sector

Cooperatives play a major role in rural development specially in the area of rural credit. During 1984-85 there were 0.92 lakh primary agricultural cooperatives, 350 central cooperative banks, 50,919 milk cooperatives, 7,542 fishermen's cooperative and 1581 forest labour cooperatives. The training of officials, non-officials and members in cooperative sector is undertaken by 17 cooperative training colleges and 83 Junior Cooperative Training Centres besides an apex institution.

Panchayati Raj Institutions

People's participation in rural development is institutionalised through panchayati raj bodies. Their pattern, however, exhibits variation from state to state in terms of bodies at district level, block level and village level. There are 2,00,533 Gram Panchayats, 3,858 Panchayat Samithis and 345 Zilla Parishads.⁴ The number of elected, coopted and nominated members of Gram Panchayats is 1,94,081. The total number of panchayat secretaries at village level is 78,313. Of them 69,173 are trained while the remaining 9,140 are not trained. The duration of training for panchayat secretaries ranges from 3-6 months.

Out of the 13 states for which data was available, only nine have facilities for training of non-officials of panchayat bodies at block level and only four states have arrangements to train non-officials of panchayati raj institutions at district level. The infrastructure for training panchayati raj representatives needs considerable expansion from the existing 128 training centres.

Training of VLWs

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee⁵ recommended the appointment of Village Level Workers (VLW), each of whom will have the jurisdiction of 5-10 villages where he would be the joint agent for develop-

ment programmes. The introduction of Training and Visit System in a majority of the states brought about shift of a number of VLWs from block office to Departments of Agriculture. Thus, there are two categories of VLWs: one category known as VLWs under T and V system and the other as general VLWs. While the former deal with agriculture, the latter are responsible for poverty alleviation and other rural development programmes. The change in job content is not adequately reflected in the training content of VLWs. Beside male VLWs, there are Gram Sevikas who are trained in Home Science Wings of VLV Training Centres.

VLWs are trained at the time of joining the post and at periodic intervals. The Balwantray Mehta Committee⁶ recommended a two year training for VLWs. However, the period of induction training varies from one to two years in different states. Many VLWs have not undergone refresher training due to the reluctance of their superiors at district and block levels to release them for training. With a view to overcoming such difficulty, in states like Bihar, VLWs were trained with the aid of mobile teams. A major challenge of training of VLWs relates to enthusing them to learn. It arises partly due to organisational factors, like lack of motivation borne out of stagnation up to 25 years at the same level.

Training of BDOs

The training of Block Development Officers has passed through three phases⁷. During the first phase, from 1954 to 1967, their training received considerable attention. During this period, Orientation and Study Centres (OSC) were set up by the central government to train BDOs. The second phase from 1968 to 1979 was characterised by decline and fall of the OSCs. The training centres were neglected and many were in moribund state. The third phase from 1980 saw a revival of interest in these centres with financial support from the Central Government.

A central sector scheme to strengthen the institutions for training and research in rural development was introduced during the Sixth Plan Period. The scheme provided for recurring and non-recurring assistance to the tune of Rs. ten Lakh to a state level institutions declared as apex institute for rural development by the state concerned on an equal sharing basis of expenditure among the Central and state governments. Hence, once again, BDOs training is viewed as significant for poverty alleviation and model courses devised. Many OSCs were rechristened as state Institutes Rural Development.

Training Infrastructure

State Institutes of Rural Development exist in 14 states of the

country. Wherever they do not exist, the training of middle level personnel is handled either by Extension Training Centres (ETC) or State Institutes of Administration. Besides these institutions, an experimental programme on rural development for BDOs is offered by the Indira Gandhi National Open University for BDOs in Rajasthan and north eastern states. A national Seminar on Training⁸ recommended creation of one ETC/VLW Training Centre to train village level functionaries for every 40 blocks. This would require 48 ETCs in order to satisfy the norm in addition to the existing 77 VLW Training centres. Further, new facilities have to be established wherever the existing centres have been converted for training of VLWs and other field staff working under Training and Visit system exclusively. The categories of those trained by ETCs requires diversification. The ETCs could offer training to: (a) village level workers; (b) Gram Sevika; (c) Secretaries and executive officers of panchayats and cooperatives; (d) leaders and members of panchayats; (e) non-officials of cooperatives; and (f) beneficiaries of anti-poverty programmes.

Most of the lower-level and middle-level training centres were constructed during early 50s and 60s and are in need of comprehensive repairs.⁹ They were neglected for over a decade. The physical infrastructure needs improvement in terms of class rooms, staff rooms, furniture, conference halls, hostel rooms and staff quarters. Many centres do not have audio-visual aids to support class room teaching. They are in need of overhead projectors, slide projector, epidiascope, film projector, etc., to strengthen training. The situation with reference to vehicles too projects a picture of neglect and denial of amenities to function successfully.

It is generally noted that there is an under utilisation of the training capacity of training centres causing wastage. Several reasons account for less capacity utilisation: (a) agency holding administrative control of training agency and agency controlling the trainees are different; (b) scarcity of staff at operational levels; (c) lack of advance planning on the part of state governments with regard to personnel training; (d) lack of interest in and appreciating of training programmes; (e) improper timing of the courses; and (f) lack of coordination among officials responsible for deputing personnel for training.

Training of Bank Personnel

The banking organisations are charged with the additional responsibility of rural development. They are required to reach out to the sectors of agriculture, village and cottage industry and weaker sections. Hence, banking personnel need sufficient knowledge and

skills to deal with these tasks and to cultivate relevant attitudes. Bank personnel include those from cooperatives, commercial banks and regional rural Banks. A working group to review the Training Arrangements (1980) and the NABARD felt that there are 38,000 officers in 28 public sector banks who need training. Besides general training centres, four banks have separate rural banking institutes. Training content of banks shows that there are two streams in rural development: one in specific rural banking training and other with a slant towards rural development.¹⁰ These are meant for rural development officers, field level technical staff and managers of rural branches. The regional rural banks which were introduced during 1975 have about 26,000 functionaries to be trained in rural development. The induction courses for RRB personnel is organised usually by sponsoring banks. RRB need separate facilities for refresher as well as induction training of their personnel. The Kamath Committee¹¹ highlighted the need for proper evaluation of bank personnel's training.

Faculty Improvement

Initially, recruitment of faculty from open market was discouraged. Hence the OSCs, SEOTICs and ETCs were largely manned by functionaries taken on deputation from governmental agencies.

Due to lack of promotional avenues in ETCs/SIRDs, the staff get demoralised and frustrated. The situation with reference to directly recruited staff of ETCs is no better on account of stagnation. The faculty need to be exposed to new methods and techniques of training to enthuse their trainees to learn. The vacancies are not usually filled and there are delays in filling these up. According to a study¹² 30 per cent of the posts in SIRDs are vacant. This adversely affects the conduct of job and refresher courses both in terms of the number of programmes and subject themes. Consequently, the centres rely heavily on guest speakers from DRDAs, banks and other institutions.

The Union Government recognised training as an integral part of administration at all levels. It has announced special monetary incentives for trainers. The benefit of these incentives has not percolated to a large majority of those engaged in training for rural development. Selective extensions of incentives to those on deputation may create a class of elites among the trainers undermining team spirit. Incentives serve as double edged tools. While attracting or retaining talent they can also bring lot of pressures from those who want to join just because of monetary incentives. The faculty taken on deputation should have an aptitude for teaching besides competence. State Governments should extend incentives to draw talented personnel as trainers to upgrade the quality of training

imparted. Concurrently, the status of principals, vice-principals and faculty of SIRDs needs to be enhanced along with devolution of more functional autonomy.

Training Content and Follow-up

The nature of training courses in rural development encompass: (a) foundation courses for directly recruited personnel like VLWs, EOs, and BDOs; (b) induction programmes for the promotees soon after promotion; (c) refresher courses to officials and non-officials for skill upgradation; and (d) functional courses. Bolar¹³ suggests four specific areas of training in the rural context. These are: (a) values and motivations; (b) skills for dealing with people, communication, leadership, etc.; (c) information and intellectual capacity to understand a situation to apply knowledge to be self reliant and inventive; and (d) development of a sense of group identity and mutual problem solving capacity.

Despite the bifurcation of VLWs, the training of VLWs in rural development lays more emphasis on agriculture. This anomaly needs correction with a shift in favour of poverty alleviation programmes. The training content has to deal with asset transfer and income generations schemes, supplementary wage employment programmes and the special area development programmes. The VLW is the link between these programmes and the village population. In this context, Mathur and Tiwari¹⁴ prepared model syllabus to train village level workers. Similarly, a study on training needs of BDOs suggested possible areas of training.¹⁵ Rural development is also viewed as an emerging profession with a definite body of knowledge.¹⁶ Accordingly, it requires professional training to various types of personnel.

There are several limitations of training offered to rural development personnel at higher level and middle level. Foremost amongst them is the inadequate need assessment and planning. Higher level agencies offer short courses on diverse aspects for short duration. The selection of trainees is usually ad hoc in the absence of systematic manpower planning policies. By virtue of heterogenous mix of participants, the short courses widen the horizon of participants but fall short of effective learning transfers for improved role performance as in these focus often gets diluted.

A crucial aspect of training in rural development is to relate class room work to the problems in the field. The ideas in their contents relate to pre-service field experience for the trainees, adoption of a development block, drawing faculty from field practitioners, etc. Training courses should adopt adjoining blocks for field work and concerned official and non-officials be coopted on the advisory committee of the training centre. It was envisioned that the

block would serve as a laboratory. Field orientation of training may improve through: (a) wider use of cases in training; (b) periodic revision of syllabi to make it field related; (c) organising study tours; (d) organising more vertically integrated programmes; and (e) better follow-up.

The follow-up of programme of the training courses has generally been the subject of dissatisfaction and criticism. Often adduced to lack of staff, frequent transfer of trainees, and heavy workload, follow-up needs considerable improvement to realise transfer of classroom ideas into back house situation of trainees. Better liaison among the state training coordinator, head of training centres and the trainee facilitate easy follow-up. Many trainers do not possess the experience of realities at the operational level and its constraints with reference to the trainee's job situation. Due to the theoretical orientation of faculty, trainee may experience difficulties in relating class room learning to their job situation.

CONCLUSION

Value orientation and attitudinal change are two crucial facets which have not found a proper place in rural development training. As the Seventh Plan rightly pointed out, it is essential to transmit values, such as honesty and integrity, through training to minimise rampant corruption eroding the flow of benefits to the rural poor. In tune with the movement for responsive administration, attitudes may change towards the public. Vertical mix of trainees can bridge the gap between the policy makers and the implementing agencies by bringing them together in training programmes. At the moment, such courses are confined to civil servants from district level and above.

Current status of training suggests that a wide gap still exists between various measures recommended for strengthening the training machinery for rural development and the extent to which they are practiced. More than the training centres, the state governments hold the key to refurbishing training function. The gap appears to be the weakest link on account of administrative and organisational issues. If it is narrowed by affirmative action by respective Governments, training for rural development will receive a magnetic boost, improving productivity of human resources towards poverty alleviation. A perspective training plan should be prepared in every state for all development personnel at various levels of rural development administration. Training should be viewed as an integral part of personnel policies by including recruitment, training, promotion and career opportunities for middle and lower level rural development personnel.

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Training Customs and Central Excise Personnel for 2000 A.D. and Beyond

M.V.N. RAO

THE COMMON man's image of a custom officer is one who is either victoriously smiling over a pile of seized gold, watches, textiles, etc., or one who is 'rummaging' through the baggage of passengers arriving from abroad. But very few know that this is only one component and a relatively minor component of a customs officer's work--though, of course, this is the more glamorous part of it and gets much greater publicity than the more important role that he plays as a revenue collector. Actually, in terms of revenues, whereas the duty collected from baggage comes to about Rs.400 crore per annum and the value of seizures amount to be about Rs.250 to Rs.300 crore per annum, the total annual Central Government revenues from Customs and Central Excise are as high as about Rs.15,500 crore and Rs.18,000 crore, respectively. In fact, the studies made by a foreign university indicate that the world over the additional revenue generated by "enforcement effort" comes to only about five per cent of the total revenue.

Functions and Responsibilities of the Department

Broadly speaking, the functions of the Customs and Central Excise officers can be categorised into: 'technical', 'operational' and 'administrative'. The 'technical' area which, in fact, is the most important from the point of view of the department, relates to classification, valuation and assessment of goods imported into or exported out of the country as also the goods manufactured in the country. This calls for a great deal of knowledge about the quantum, composition, pricing, etc., of goods entering the international trade as also the pattern and working of various industries in the country. This is a continuous process and, from the day an officer joins the department, he has to constantly keep himself updated in matters relating to the technological developments in respect of various commodities, changes in trade practices, developments, in the international field, etc. The 'operational' part of the work

essentially relates to anti-smuggling and anti-evasion activities. These call for qualities of leadership, teamwork, tenacity in the collection and pursuit of information received, investigation techniques, etc. The 'administrative' functions relate to man-management, both in regard to the technical and operational areas, organisation and deployment of officers in anti-smuggling and anti-evasion activities on the sea-cost, land-borders and various other formations spread throughout the country. Most of the officers have also to function as quasi-judicial authorities while entrusted with the responsibility of adjudication of cases, deciding appeals filed against the original orders relating to classification, valuation, confiscation, penalties, etc. In their role as quasi-judicial authorities, the officers have necessarily to be very familiar with the intricacies of customs, central excise, gold control, narcotics and allied laws, various judgements of the Supreme Court, High Courts, Tribunals, etc., on the subject handled. Yet another responsibility entrusted to the Customs and Central Excise officers is the enforcement of prohibitions/restrictions envisaged in various enactments in the interests of maintenance of security of India, conservation of foreign exchange, prevention of injury to the economy of the country by uncontrolled import/export, maintenance of standards for classification, grading or marketing of goods in international market, protection of life or health of human, animal, and plant, protection of national treasures of artistic, historical or archaeological value etc.

Challenges of Change

Every day is adding new dimensions to their role and commitments. In the days to come, there will be severe test of their professionalism, technical excellence and administrative skill. Training of the Customs and Central Excise officers for 2000 AD and beyond will have to keep these challenges in view. Modern trends in trade have manifested themselves in the flow of merchandise through pipelines, container ships and international cargo jets. There is no doubt that as transportation carriers improve in comfort, capacity and speed, they will be transporting an increasing number of passengers and delivering vastly greater quantities of merchandise from all corners of the earth, more of it from more places, and more often. If we are to keep pace with these changes, we have to, as described in Alice in Wonderland, "run as fast as we can even to stay where we are!"

Importance of Resource Mobilisation

The Customs and Central Excise Department is at present

responsible for collecting about Rs. 33,000 crore of revenue in a year, constituting about 80 per cent of the total tax revenues of the Central Government. While this is a great privilege, this is also a great responsibility. In the years to come, this responsibility, if anything, will only increase in view of the mounting need for resources and continued higher reliance on indirect taxes and the Customs and Central Excise officers will, therefore, be called upon to work at their optimum efficiency, to build adequate defences against tax evasion and smuggling, ensure full and free inflow of all taxes due to the national exchequer, and facilitate both domestic and international trade and industry.

Another important dimension is that 'taxation' in our country is not merely for raising resources. It also serves various socio-economic objectives. The 'tax system' is intimately related to the policies of the State. Various provisions, exemptions and regulatory measures have been drafted to take the economy in the desired direction. This is done through duty exemptions, rules, procedural modifications, implementation of import and export controls, foreign exchange regulations, grant of duty drawback, etc.

Tax Administration

The tax system consists of three vital elements for its success--taxpayers' assistance, goals of the State, and staff satisfaction. For the taxpayers, it is not as much the payment of taxes but the processes and procedures that are important. From the taxpayers' point of view, the irksomeness of tax procedures is as much of evil as uncertainty of tax liability. Both are, in a literal sense, counterproductive. What an assessee most desires in the system is the prompt assessment of his liability and effective redressal of his grievances. The government too is as much interested in a just tax system, with a simple tax structure and timely collection of taxes due. For the government, what is needed is an efficient machinery which maximises collection and minimises cost and streamlined procedures which reduce the burden on the Department and the assessee alike. Insofar as the tax-collectors are concerned, their development, motivation and management are the key to both the aforesaid objectives. The tax personnel can best perform their duty if their responsibilities are clearly defined and both service and working conditions are such as to promote job satisfaction as well as individual contentment and welfare.

There will be need for keeping the cost of collection as low as possible. It will call for maximum development of human resources and optimum utilisation of available resources. In view of the vast powers exercised by the officers at different levels, the need for

respect of law, discipline, character-building and utmost vigilance, cannot be over-emphasised. In the ultimate analysis, the future will rest on the efficiency, capability and the correct approach of the personnel manning different posts in the Department. Training for the future will have to keep these considerations in view. Considerable stress is, therefore, laid in the training programmes for officers at various levels, on attitudinal changes in the matter of clearance of cargo, passengers, etc.

New technological innovations, growing industrialisation in the country and expanding international trade will put the technical capability of Customs and Central Excise officers to a severe test. As a consequence of continuous research, changes in consumer preference and development in industrial techniques, classification of goods for assessment will continue to be an important aspect of the working of the Department. Similarly, intricacies of financial arrangements, price fixation and movement of funds between different manufacturing, trading, financial and commercial units will keep the revenue machinery ever on the alert.

Recently, the Customs and Central Excise tariff schedules have been re-designed on the basis of a scientifically prepared and widely accepted international nomenclature (Harmonised System of Nomenclature). In fact, India holds the distinction of being the 'first' country to adopt the Harmonised System, which is popularly known as the universal economic language and code for classification of goods for Customs purposes and can be adapted as such in other areas like banking, insurance, transport, warehousing, freight tariffs, excise tariff, import trade control, etc. A modified form of 'Value Added Tax' (MODVAT) has been introduced to curtail the cost cascades created by taxes on inputs which hamper industrial growth. Such innovations would have to be constantly thought of in all related fields. Howsoever detailed and comprehensive the Tariffs may be today, they need to be continually updated to meet the changing requirements.

Revenue officers have necessarily to function strictly within the framework of law. All their decisions are subject to scrutiny, judicial interpretation and public approval. Their knowledge of laws, procedures, rules, regulations, formalities, etc., have to be of a high order. Customs and Central Excise duties being in the nature of indirect levies, their burden ultimately falls on the consumer. The manufacturers tend to pass on the duty burden to their customers. Uniformity in assessment and interpretation is, therefore, of paramount importance.

In a democratic set-up with a responsive government, vigilant opposition, free Press, and above all, high parliamentary traditions,

it is but inevitable that harmony is maintained between the need for resources, capacity to pay taxes by the assesseees, and the machinery for tax collection and redressal of grievances. Customs and Central Excise Officers have, thus, to develop a high degree of sensitivity in their working to meet these requirements.

The officers of the Customs and Central Excise Department come in direct and intimate contact not only with the trade and industry but also with the general public. They are responsible for administering a number of laws (in fact as many as about 50) which are of critical importance to the economy, health and well-being of the society. In the days to come, this relationship between tax-man and the general public will become more sensitive.

Sensitivity to dealings with the members of the public has, therefore, to be instilled in all grades of Customs and Central Excise Officers. Proper value-based training will be an important factor in bridging the gap between expectations and performance and in projecting the right image of the public servants in the eyes of the public.

Inter-Departmental and Inter-Agency Cooperation

Coordination between different departments and agencies of the government is an important factor for achieving the goals of the state. In the ultimate analysis, the welfare of the people and national development is the aim of the government. A number of impediments could be avoided if different agencies of the government realise their particular role in the overall context. It is particularly so for Customs and Central Excise, whose working impinges on vital aspects of life of the people. The Customs and Central Excise officers need to appreciate the role of other organs of the State and cultivate healthy relationship with all sister government organisations, public undertakings, associations of industry and trade, etc.

Anti-Smuggling and Anti-Evasion Measures

Simultaneously with the sophistication and development of trade and industry, the menace of smuggling and tax evasion will pose a potential danger to revenue collection. Economic crimes are assuming serious proportions. Vested interests may eat into the vitals of our economy, unless we take timely and effective steps to safeguard its health and vitality. The tax-collectors have to remain ever-alert. The growth in technology is a double-edged weapon. On the one hand, it provides new aids, I like computers and other modern office gadgets for collection and analysis of data and for preparation of management information reports, anti-smuggling equipments, etc.; on

the other, it also provides powerful means to the tax evaders and smugglers indulging in nefarious activities. Training has an important role to play in meeting this dual challenge.

A multi-pronged strategy has to be adopted for fighting the menace of tax evasion and smuggling and proper enforcement measures have to be thought of. At the same time, enforcement has to be balanced with facilitation. It is very important that legitimate trade interests do not suffer by misplaced and over enforcement measures. Whatever measures are taken have to be carefully thought of to ensure that no tax evader or smuggler is able to go undetected and at the same time nothing is done to undermine the confidence of the honest taxpayer in the system and its efficiency. A proper balance has to be struck between revenue interests and taxpayers' assistance.

The Scourge of Drugs

Among the various ills of the modern society, perhaps none is more damaging than drug-trafficking and drug abuse. In spite of growing international cooperation and stricter laws, drug situation is becoming increasingly difficult. In terms of the **Report of the International Narcotics Control Board for 1987**, the abuse of drugs, both natural and synthetic, has increased so rapidly and progressively over the past two decades that it now imperils all countries and menaces all segments of society. Drug abuse is not limited to urban areas, to the educated or the uneducated, or to the rich or the poor; drug abuse is now prevalent everywhere--in schools, at work, in the entertainment field, and in sports arenas. The pattern and extent of drug abuse vary from region to region and from country to country. Illicit production and manufacture of drugs are taking place in a growing number of countries in many regions of the world. These illicit activities, which have reached alarming proportions, are financed and master-minded by criminal organisations with international links and with accomplices in financial circles. With almost unlimited funds at their disposal, traffickers and corrupt officials spread violence and terrorism, influence compliance with international drug control treaties, and even exercise political and economic power in some regions of the world. This whole process continues not only to undermine the economic and social order, but also to imperil the social fabric, and even, in some cases, the political stability and security of countries. In view of all this, we owe it to the innocent victims involved never to despair of bringing the scourge under control. Central to the success of any effort to combat this crime is the recognition that is a classic example of the type of problem which no nation can solve alone and which can only be dealt with through international cooperation.

Realising the importance of training in combating drug trafficking and drug abuse, the Government of India has organised a number of international training seminars on narcotics control and enforcement. A number of courses have been organised by the Central Board of Excise and Customs for enforcement officers in different departments. In the future, this aspect of training will demand greater attention and larger investment.

Computerisation

The stresses and strains over human efforts to meet the challenges of change will outpace normal human capabilities. To meet the situation, a number of aids have been developed, of which perhaps computer will play the most significant role. Framing of tax proposals, studies regarding impact of taxes on production and prices, account of revenue, need for uniformity in assessment, taxpayers' assistance and personnel administration will be facilitated by computerisation. The Customs and Central Excise Department has already embarked on an elaborate programme of computerisation. Proper training in the handling and use of computers will be necessary for deriving optimum benefits for the investments made.

The Customs and Central Excise Department has adopted the latest technology in the field of computerisation and extensive facilities are being built up to serve the various purposes of the department. By way of training effort, computer terminals have been provided, as a part of the all-India network, even in the Directorate of Training. While the primary function of various computerised operations will be in the field of assessment, revenue collection, anti-smuggling and anti-evasion measures, building up data-base and better public service, action is already under way for developing computerised Management Information Systems for the Department.

At the macro level, Customs and Central Excise, taken together, reflect the health of the industry and trade of the nation; their growth is intimately related to the economic goals of the government. All factors which have a bearing on the purchasing power of the people, producing capacity of the farms and factories, and various forces affecting the market mechanisms, are considered relevant for organising a Management Information System for the Customs and Central Excise Department.

By 2000 AD and beyond, human efforts will be supplemented more and more by computerisation. The officers of the Department have to be emotionally and operationally attuned to installation and working of computers. More training efforts to develop compatibility between man and machine will be necessary.

It, however, needs to be remembered that machines can never en-

tirely replace man, even as we go well into the next Century. In Customs and Excise, concentration, even from now, is on developing human resources and putting them to the best use. In every cadre, from recruitment onwards, the endeavour is to get the best available talent, groom them systematically, and more importantly, motivate them to give out their best at every juncture.

RESTRUCTURING OF THE CUSTOMS AND CENTRAL EXCISE DEPARTMENT

The challenges before the department are outpacing the organisational arrangements. To meet the government's commitment for a result-oriented, clean, vigilant and responsive administration, restructuring of the Customs and Central Excise Department has been taken up particularly in the context of computerisation.

The Customs administration has an important role to play in ensuring economic stability and in contributing to development of international trade through application of uniform Customs procedures and simplification of formalities.

Keeping in view the long-term objectives of national development, the Indian Customs administration has been playing an important role in the international Customs organisations. India is an active member of the Customs Cooperation Council and its Policy Commission and a Contracting Party to a number of Conventions, Declarations and Agreements. In a world characterised by vast technological changes, shrinking distances and growing inter-dependence of nations for various economic needs, it is but natural that Indian officers will be called upon to play a larger role in international economic activities. In the days to come, the role of Customs will assume still greater significance and India will have to play a leading role in international Customs affairs in general and in matters relating to cooperation with the Customs administrations of the neighbouring countries in particular.

In various fields, the Indian Customs administration has developed expertise which could be shared with various countries for mutual benefit. Hopefully, in the years to come, a number of countries would like to avail of India's training facilities and study the systems India has evolved with a great deal of effort and care.

DIRECTORATE OF TRAINING, CUSTOMS AND CENTRAL EXCISE: PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

The Directorate of Training, under the Central Board of Excise and Customs, is responsible for imparting training to all grades of officers in the Customs and Central Excise Department. Training is

also imparted by the directorate to officers of other sister organisations. As a part of Taxpayers' Assistance Programme, courses are also organised for chambers of commerce, manufacturers' organisations, public sector undertakings, financial institutions and custom house agents. On request, faculty support is provided by the directorate to other training institutes, whether in the government sector or otherwise.

The Directorate of Training is organising, on a regular basis, international seminars on narcotics control and other subjects of international interest. Its facilities are also being availed of by a number of foreign Customs administrations.

The technical subject covered by the training programmes, include Customs, Central Excise, gold control, narcotics laws and procedures; intelligence, investigations, enforcement of anti-smuggling, anti-evasion, drug abuse, export promotion schemes; procedures and regulations relating to Free Trade Zones and Inland Container Depots, international conventions; imports/exports by land, sea and air; passenger clearance, baggage restrictions, quasi-judicial proceedings in the courts of law, including High Courts and the Supreme Court; budget making; and computerisation.

There are special courses and training arrangements for such subjects as cost accountancy and financial management, parliamentary procedures and processes, computerisation and management information systems, use of fire-arms and the art of self-defence, motor driving, swimming, use of modern office aids and data processing equipment, wireless communication network, preservation of wild life and antiques, to mention only a few.

In pursuance of the government's decision to create a "new work culture" among civil servants, a comprehensive cadre training plan for various levels of officers of the Department has been drawn up. The objectives of the cadre training include, among others, refreshing the minds of the participants, to update their knowledge and skills and to enable them to share the experience of others in similar fields. The participants are enabled to reflect their own performance and shortcomings and to know how others are making progress. The officers are also introduced to the concept of management and modern aids and techniques of management so that their managerial capacity is enhanced for effective implementation of programmes and the goals and objectives of the organisation are duly achieved. As a part of the cadre training course, training is imparted in such subjects as motivation, ethics, character building, styles of leadership, personnel management, individual and group behaviour, inter-personal relations, etc.

In recent months, the Directorate of Training has further diversi-

fied its activities. It is assisting the field formations in organising training units in the field. It has also introduced distance learning for the field officers. A special drive has been launched to prepare need-based, handy and effective training material which could be used not only in the institutions under the Directorate but also by the training units in the field.

Perspective for the Future

Progress in all phases of international trade, indigenous industries and domestic trade, continues to mount at an accelerated pace. The Customs and Central Excise operations, as a consequence, climb in volume and complexity. The Customs and Central Excise authorities all over the world recognise the vital importance of increasing efficiency in the face of this rapid growth.

As the work of Customs and Central Excise Officers become more demanding, the skills of the officers must be developed to meet the challenges of change and progress. They must have not only the expertise and originality to solve Customs problems; they must have the capability of absorbing new information regarding ever-changing tariff laws and the ability to meet the constantly growing demands of the 20th and indeed the 21st Century. Perhaps, more than any other government agency and indeed even more than any commercial enterprise, the individual Customs and Central Excise officer must have the ability to operate independently and think creatively, know how to handle matters as a matter of routine as well as under adverse circumstances, always remembering that the custom officer is the symbol of the government and its people. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to say, even more important than modernisation of the machine is the modernisation of the human mind. We have, therefore, to strive constantly to infuse a culture of courtesy and helpfulness in government officers.

To solve the problems of today and to meet the challenges of 2000 AD and beyond, we will require qualified, educated, trained and thoughtful Customs and Central Excise officers, working together as a team, to accomplish pre-determined objectives. Therefore, training and all efforts will, therefore, necessarily have to be in this direction. It is that the Indian Customs and Central Excise Administration will be second to none in equipping itself and its personnel to reach laudable goals.

National Integration Input in Civil Services Training Programmes

S.K. PACHAURI

THE PREAMBLE of the constitution states that people of India resolve to constitute an Independent, Sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic Republic. This emphasis on secular state is in keeping with traditions handed down by the rulers throughout our history. Since time immemorial, the respect for mankind and universal brotherhood has been a central theme of our great culture since the hoary past. The most eloquent expression given to secular thinking was by Ashok. He issued edicts with a definite message for the betterment of the human condition. The hallmark of these edicts is the spirit of toleration, his ideas on morality have been styled as Dharma in his edicts and Dharma is nothing but secular approach in solving all the problems (See Appendix). Later, it was Akbar who continued this tradition of religious toleration and meting equal justice to every citizen. Akbar founded a religion and called it 'Din-i-llahi' (Divine Faith) which was made up of universal ethics and the values of all religions. This was achieved without visiting Temple, Mosque or a Church. During the national struggle, Gandhiji again employed the technique of Ahimsa and Satyagraha which had a universal appeal and transcended all religious sectarianism.

Promoting the Value of Secularism

In 1947, when India achieved freedom, we were also on the threshold of a new chapter of our history. For the first time in history, India became politically one from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. The tasks and challenges before the Government of the day were indeed formidable. The country had been partitioned and the princely states had to be still united with the rest of the country. In this hour of crises, the bureaucracy had to play a major role in India's development programmes. For effectively countering the challenge of narrow parochial thinking and rabid communalism, secularism, was the only answer. It may be recalled that all countries neighbouring India have opted for a state religion namely Pakistan and Bangladesh

have Islam, Sri Lanka and Burma have Buddhism and Nepal has Hinduism as the state religion. India made an exception and embraced the philosophy of secularism.

The development of secularist attitudes has to be stressed in the training of Civil Servants. As young administrators, they have to take charge of District Administration which is the cutting edge of our socio-economic and political system. It is, therefore, imperative that changes should first occur at this nodal level. It is absolutely necessary that district level administrators are familiarised with the problems of national integration facing the country. The civil servant is an agent of change in the society and this change can only be brought about if they carry people with them, and transcend all caste, race and regional biases which will otherwise act as an impediment in their day-to-day functioning.

It is now increasingly realised and abundantly clear that development programmes receive a setback if public order remains disturbed. Moreover there are fissiparous forces in our society which have to be dealt with firmly. For this purpose, it is essential to understand the socio-economic conditions in different parts of the country. An effort should be made to study the problems facing the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and minority communities throughout the country, particularly with alleviation of poverty in mind. India, as we know today, is a multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-lingual society and hence it becomes all the more essential to study the different patterns of development emerging around us. Even though memories of partition days have faded, the world as of late has been swept by a wave of religious fundamentalism and this wave has also raised its ugly head in some parts of India. Time and again, there have been communal riots and this has taken a severe toll in terms of life and property. It is, therefore, very essential that recruits to the civil services are made aware of these developments around us.

Exposure to Different Cultures

It is now all the more necessary to expose the civil servants to the different cultures, customs, etiquettes prevailing in all parts of the country. The Civil Servants of the future should make a conscious effort to identify people on the basis of merit and qualifications rather than on the basis of name and caste. These attitudes of past years will have to be put in the cold-storage and these should not buoy up in any form of social behaviour. Another attitudinal change which has to be inculcated is that regional biases/prejudices should be diluted and brought down to the minimum. No person should suffer any kind of inferiority complex in the conduct of his work and profession. Some of the positive attitudes that should be developed

amongst our civil servants are that they should make determined bid to exterminate communal and divisive forces. As a part of the curriculum in order to develop a secular outlook, there should be an item on the study of comparative religions. It should be made clear that civil servants during the discharge of their functions should not encourage the performance of religious ceremonies at public functions. They should also be taught the importance of inter-communal mixing. As young administrators, incharge of districts they must also ensure that schools impart proper and secular education. They should also be made to understand the value of encouraging voluntary organisations engaged in the task of taking up National Integration programmes. Lastly, another, item which could be made mandatory would be the study of fundamental duties of Indian citizens as laid down in Article 51-A of Indian Constitution.

Delinking Religion and Politics and Promoting National Integration

Very recently, a bill has been passed in Parliament known as Religious Institutions (Prevention of Misuse) Bill, 1988. This Bill aims to delink religion from politics. As a matter of fact, the heart of secularism envisages separation of religion from politics. The study of such legislations should be encouraged amongst probationers of all services as it will foster growth of secular outlook among them.

It is a recognised fact that Indian society is plural in character and to bind the country together is a very complex task. P.N. Haksar's Committee on National Integration has recently attempted a definition of National Integration which is as follows:

The concept underlying national integration, shorn of all verbiage, is to attain a particular kind of consciousness in every Citizen of the Republic of India which will enable him or her to feel that he or she, transcending the primordial divides of our ancient society thinks and acts as a citizen of India first. This in turn means territorial identification with the whole of India. It also means primary loyalty to Indian nationhood and a refusal to agree to that primary loyalty being corroded or eroded by consideration of caste, religion, region, and language.

In brief, it means that the citizens of India should be the promoters of the idea of nationalism based on civic consciousness rather than narrower consciousness implicit in our history and geography. In effect, we have to consciously promote the idea of enlightened citizenship, amongst the people of India. This should really be our philosophy and a way of life. The great Tamil sage Thiruvalluvar in

his celebrated work **Thirukural** says: "All those who cannot move in harmony with the world are learned fools". According to Swami Vivekananda, "religion in India must be made as free and as easy in access as is God's air. And this is the kind of work we have to bring about in India, but not by setting up little sects and fighting on points of difference".

India has always prospered since time immemorial whenever there was cultural renaissance and religious flux, be it in the times of Ashoka, Akbar and more recently during the National Movement. With its great cultural heritage, human values and universal idealism, we have been saved from bigotry and parochialism. Our Constitution embodies in itself the noblest of virtues and excellence of thought which the human mind can envision with an emphasis on human love, sympathy, cooperation and non-violence. With these positive attributes it should be possible to march into the 21st Century with confidence.

Appendix

TEXT OF ASHOKA'S ROCK EDICT'
[GIRNAR]

His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King is honouring all sects, both ascetics and house-holders; by gifts and offerings of various kinds is he honouring them. But his Sacred Majesty does not value such gifts or honours as that how should there be the growth of the essential elements of all religious sects. The growth of this genuine matter is, however, of many kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech, that is, that there should not be honour of one's own sect and condemnation of others' sects without any ground. Such slighting should be for specified grounds only. On the other hand, the sects of others, should be honoured for this ground and that. Thus doing, one helps his own sects to grow, and benefits the sects of others too. Doing otherwise, one hurts his own sect and injures the sects of others. For whosoever honours his own sect and condemns the sects of others wholly from devotion to his own sect, i.e., the thought, "How I may glorify my own sects"--one acting thus injures more gravely his own sect on the contrary. Hence concord alone is commendable in the sense that all should listen and be willing to listen to the doctrines professed by others. This is, in fact, the desire of his Sacred Majesty, viz., that all sects should be possessed of wide learning and good doctrines. And those who are content in their respective faith, should all be told that His Sacred Majesty does not value so much gift or external honour as that there should be the growth of the essential elements, and breadth, of all sects.

For this purpose are, indeed, employed the *Dharmamahamatras*, *Stri-adhyaksa-mahamatras* (Mahamatras in charge of, or who were, the superintendents of women), the officers in charge of pastures and other bodies. And the fruit of this is that the promotion of one's own sect takes place as well as the glorification of the Dharma.

Training Policy for future : A Study of Himachal Pradesh

ASHOK RANJAN BASU

THE ROLE of the government has changed drastically with the attainment of independence: From a tax collecting and law and order maintaining agency, it has now become an agency capable of regulating the entire economic and social process in the country. The philosophy of the amateur administrator learning by sitting by the side of an experienced administrator alone no longer holds good. Now there is a greater need of professionalisation of services, oriented to a managerial culture with accent on commitment to tasks to be performed and results to be achieved. The broader commitment is, of course, to democracy, socialism and eradication of poverty. There is, thus, a greater need for institutional training now than ever before in our administrative history.

The task of institution-building for training is, however, difficult, delicate and intricate. It has many dimensions and aspects which have to be taken into consideration before setting up training institutions. Some of the important aspects which deserve consideration for a State Training Institution are discussed in following para.

SETTING OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Determination of clear aims and objectives is the first and foremost task in institution-building. Lack of clarity in the aims and objectives will lead to dissipation of efforts by picking up some activities and then leaving them after a fruitless attempt. Important points to be considered in this regard are:

1. Whether role of State Training Institutes (STIs) be limited to pre-entry training or post-entry training or should include both;
2. Should the STIs involve themselves in administrative reforms or not;
3. Should the STIs conduct examination for judging competence of

various civil servants or not; and

4. Should the STIs engage themselves in the conduct of various competitive examinations or not.

Training in public administration has to be a continuous activity. The STIs should, therefore, cater to both pre-entry and post-entry training. Training at the time of entry into a service is essential for inculcating desired skills and attitudes in the entrants. Similarly, in-service training in the form of training at fixed intervals is a necessity for helping the administrative machinery to retain its freshness and competence. STIs should also involve themselves in administrative reforms work so that they keep themselves in touch with the actual administration and make training worthwhile and useful and can also function as a "think tank". As for conducting examination for judging competence of various civil servants, this work should preferably be done by the state Public Service Commissions otherwise the STIs will unnecessarily waste lot of their time and expertise in non-training functions. As for preparing the candidates for various competitive examinations, this role should be performed by universities or by some other specialised agencies. Otherwise the STIs will be drifting from their main function.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

At present, there are differing viewpoints on the organisational structure of training institutes and their control mechanisms. Some advocate that the administrative control of the training institutes should vest in government, while others want them to be autonomous bodies. Both the viewpoints have their advantages and disadvantages. Whatever may be the character of the institutes, it will be essential to provide them adequate operational flexibility in financial and administrative matters in consonance with their special needs.

STIs should, however, have small advisory bodies for taking policy-decisions on important matters. These advisory-bodies may be named as governing body or managing councils and should consist of secretaries to the state governments, some selected professors of universities and other official and non-official members who have experience and interest in training in public administration. The committee should decide long-term policy measures for training. A smaller committee can be made to review the implementation annually.

STI should be an apex body for imparting training in a state. Efforts should be made to decentralise training, to make it effective and broad-based, by taking steps to establish regional and preferably district training centres. In this way the training can be imparted

to a larger group of people and also near their work place. STIs should be headed preferably by an IAS officer. Proper selection for this purpose is of great importance as he has to lead the entire team of officials and academics with him. Besides status, seniority and other qualities, academically also he should preferably be first among equals. The director could be supported by two additional or joint directors--one looking after training aspects and the other after routine administration. Efforts should be made to make the posting of the director attractive. Tenure of a director should be at least three years to enable him to make some effective and useful contribution to training needs.

Regional or district training centres should be headed by an officer of state administrative service and assisted by at least two faculty members.

The functioning of the STIs would largely depend on proper selection of director and deputy directors.

FACULTY

Role of faculty in institution building can hardly be over-emphasised. Steps should be taken to develop core-faculty on important subjects, like public administration, economics, behavioural sciences, financial administration, revenue administration, etc. The faculty should be recruited on regular basis as well as on deputation to cater to the various needs of the training. The faculty should be a combination of both academics and practitioners. Too much reliance on practitioners reduces the academic input of training, while too much reliance on academics make it too theoretical. Though the ratio of practitioners to academics on the faculty would depend on specific requirement of courses, it would be ideal to have proper blend of both. Guest speakers from practising administrators, professors of various Universities or Institutes, and even eminent retired civil servants should also be invited to deliver talks. Sincere efforts have to be made to develop and retain competent faculty in the institute. For this, the faculty should also undergo training in various institutes in the country and abroad. They can be provided with incentives, like rent-free accommodation, one step promotion, special pay, etc. This way, the STIs can develop their own faculties and retain them for longer time. Many a time, faculty from universities do not want to work in STIs and so there is a difficulty in filling up the posts. Recruitment through State Public Service Commission should be given up and STIs should be empowered to recruit their own faculty from the best available sources--universities, government departments and other training institutes. The recruitment should be

done by an Executive Council consisting of senior government officers and experts in the subject. This will enable not only the trainees but also the faculty members of the Institute to interact with eminent speakers and up-date themselves.

Faculty on Tenure Basis

Faculty appointments to the STIs at least from the stream of practitioners should be for a period ranging from three to five years. Too frequent changes create wastages and instability in training programmes. Persons with right aptitudes should be appointed trainers. Existing selection procedures should be revamped keeping in view that: (i) the Head of the Institute should have a decisive say in the faculty selection; and (ii) trainers should be tested for their communication skills and knowledge prior to their final selection. It would be advantageous to give them sessions in training programmes or seminars for getting a feedback on their training skills before selection.

Development of Training Skills

Every faculty member must be given training in training technologies through formal institutional training outside as also through internal efforts, on a continuing basis. The courses offered under the Colombo Plan abroad as also programmes on Training of Trainers by various institutions in the country could be made use of for this purpose. In fact, such exposure must be provided as soon as a person joins faculty.

A question may arise about the role of the director as a faculty. The main function of the director is to implement training policies of the government and also to improve the quality of training. In this process, he has to coordinate training programmes with various sponsoring agencies and should keep watch on the training being imparted. For this purpose, occasionally he should also function as a faculty in subjects in which he has specialisation.

CONTENTS OF TRAINING

It is of real importance to design contents of training in accordance with training needs. This has further to be worked out according to different courses. It is a difficult task in the initial stage. But once the aims of a training course is determined, the task becomes easier. In determining the contents, it will be advisable to consult senior officers of the departments concerned. Involvement of the trainees in determination of contents of training will also be useful. After each course, the contents can be updated

keeping in view the feedback received. Moreover, while designing the contents of a training programme, the purpose of the programme, i.e., development of conceptual skills, behavioural skills or professional skills, has to be kept in view. A proper mix, depending on the level of participation, might be useful. The director should associate himself in designing the content of the training programme and should see its implementation.

In a conventional training institution, if one looks at the training programmes that are being offered, contents are mostly related to "what the trainers know". Once we have such training programmes based on this philosophy, we are beginning to move in a wrong direction in the initial phase itself. Perhaps, one could argue that identification of training needs itself will indicate the real-felt needs of an organisation. However, there is some doubt about these methods since the clientele which STIs are supposed to serve are not adequately exposed to identify their real problems. Consequently, the role of STIs become all the more difficult. Participants come to the training institutions, stay with them for a period of one or two weeks, and in the processes try to pick up something that have been told to them by the speakers. The experience reveals that generally the officers say, "everything is excellent", and go back to their respective organisations. Whether they have really been able to use the concepts that have been discussed in the classroom is a big question mark. One has to do a lot of basic research in identifying this. The problem not only lies fully with the trainer but the sponsoring organisation also should bear the brunt. Whenever the courses are organised, they send the participants without really bothering about their need. A study about the mutual perception of trainers and trainee reveals that the trainers see the administrators as: (1) manipulator, (2) action oriented, (3) status conscious, (4) opportunist, and (5) self-centred, and the administrators see the trainers as: (1) knowledgeable, (2) theoretical, (3) active, (4) egoistic, and (5) well behaved.

Thus, there exists a strong gap between the perceptions of the two. In order to bridge the gap, the trainers must take a lead. Further, this is in their own interest if they want to develop themselves as a full-fledged manner. The following could be a possible step in this direction.

Functions of government are felt at the cutting-edge level where lower level administrative functionaries come into contact with the public in delivering welfare services. Once we are able to identify these cutting edges, then that would be right stage for the training institutions to step in. Instead of organising conventional classroom training programmes, a group of lower level functionaries should

be collected and their role, problems, etc., should be identified. This would make the trainers aware of the clientele's need, their role and also the opportunities available for them to function effectively. Normally the clientele groups (government organisations) learn things through concrete experiences, and not through either active experimentation or reflective observation or abstract conceptualisation. If this view is accepted, the training strategy should move away from conventional classroom approach to one of problem-solving approach. The trainers should have continuous sessions with the group spread over a period of time so that they can be taken into various phases, such as: (i) role clarification, (ii) identification of problems, (iii) identification of opportunities, (iv) testing these in the field, (v) getting feedback, and (vi) modifying the strategy, based on the feedback. Once the training institutions are able to achieve this, then the clientele would have faith in the training process.

TRAINING AIDS AND EQUIPMENT

Use of modern audio-visual aids is very much essential in making training useful and effective. Lecture method normally makes trainees passive participants. Use of training aids, like overhead projectors, slide projectors, film-projectors, video cassette players, etc., increases the interest of the trainees and registers lasting impact.

METHODOLOGY

STIs should use modern participative methods in imparting training. Some of these methods are as follows: (i) lecture-cum-discussion, (ii) group discussions, (iii) seminars, (iv) panel discussions, (v) workshops, (vi) syndicates, (vii) case studies, (viii) in-basket exercises, (ix) role play, (x) brain storming, (xi) exercises in law, (xii) practical exercises, and (xiii) exercises in communication and skill development.

The list is, however, illustrative and not exhaustive. Many more can be added. The main purpose is to make the training programme participative.

WORKING LINKAGES

STIs should develop working linkages amongst themselves and with other training and management development institutes in the country

other institutes. There should also be an exchange of faculty amongst the various institutes.

STIs should develop working linkages with client organisations also. They should make them fully conversant with their activities through publishing Institute Newsletters and through official letters and other publicity media. STIs should make efforts to enable the client organisations internalise the concept of training. For this, training coordinators should be appointed in the client organisations. These "Training Coordinators" should work as ambassadors of training in their respective organisations. They should make a roster of training in their organisations and send all the officers/officials for training according to their turn or in accordance with some objective criteria. They should also give training opportunity to every one in the organisation instead of sponsoring a few officers again and again.

RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

In order to make training effective, research is necessary. Research and publications should be an integrated part of the training institutions. Research can be either empirical research, field research or a combination of both. Research should have primarily an applied bias and practical orientation. Research, thus, can be used as an input in various training programmes.

At the top level, the training institutions have to establish a good rapport with the administrators. For this, STIs should undertake policy research so that a kind of a detailed report could be given to the top level administrators for formulating long-term policies. For instance in the case of irrigation department, if the training institution is able to analyse the various policies that have been adopted by the state since independence and their major implications, the stage at which they are in along with number of future options, then this would give a better understanding of the problem both for trainers as well as administrators. Once we are able to do such an exercise for the departments their officers would be too happy to come back to the STIs for solving their problems and difficulties, thus establishing a good rapport. Then they would use trainers not only for the purpose of training but also for using their expertise in various committees, groups and in public sector organisations.

STIs should, therefore, have a Research wing. There should be one deputy director incharge of research assisted by two research officers and a number of research assistants. Research Wing should undertake following tasks: (i) preparing case studies, (ii) evalua-

tion of various programmes, (iii) preparing training material and literature, (iv) identifying training needs of client organisations, (v) innovations in administration, (vi) policy analysis, and (vii) consultancy work.

The feedback of all these studies should be used for training purposes. This would require the trainers to update their skill and knowledge. Narrow specialisation has no relevance in a training institute.

EVALUATION

To make training programmes effective, there is a need for constant evaluation. Administrative organisations are growing fast and it is not possible to know how the people trained are actually doing in the field. It is, therefore, essential to review the scope, programme and approach of the training institutions in the light of the feedback of the client agencies.

STIs should have a course-wise evaluation. The evaluation should be done formally and informally. The formal evaluation should be done through a well-designed proforma during the middle of a course and at the end of a course. For informal evaluation, the Course Director should be in touch with the trainees and feel the pulse of the trainees about their reaction to the contents, methodology, and the faculty. Feedback, thus gathered will help in designing and redesigning various courses.

Effectiveness of various training programmes conducted by the STIs should be studied. The performance of the trainees in their respective organisations after they receive training should be studied by applying scientific methods of research and survey.

Supporting Staff

Competent and devoted staff is a sine-qua-non for the smooth and efficient functioning of STIs. The Administrators and faculty members should be provided with adequate staff to help them in performance of their routine work. Efforts should be made to make the staff efficient and motivated. They should also be imparted training in the STIs and other training institutes in the country. They should also be provided with the incentives like those of the faculty members.

Physical Facilities

Physical facilities play a great role in institution-building. STIs should have sufficient accommodation to house administrative wing. It should have sufficient number of lecture halls, seminar

rooms, faculty rooms, reception room, store, hostel, dining halls, recreation room, etc. STIs should have sufficient number of typewriters, preferably electric ones. Modern equipment like word processor and photo copier, etc., should also be there to work with greater speed and efficiency.

STIs should have sufficient number of vehicles for efficient functioning. Those STIs which are situated at a distance of more than eight Kms. from the main city should be linked with regular public transport system. The STIs should also have their own vehicles for bringing and leaving the trainees in such a situation. To overcome these problems, besides the State budget, assistance under Finance Commission Award, Central Scheme of Strengthening Training Facilities in Rural Development, EEC Assistance, UNDP Assistance; Grant under Seventh Five Year Plan and Equipment Grant of the Department of Personnel, Government of India, can be availed.

The critical areas of action for improving training of civil servants are, therefore, preparation of a comprehensive plan for long-term development of the STIs taking into account various training needs which need to be met by an apex training institute. The STIs should take care of: (i) induction training need of all state services, (ii) refresher training course at periodic intervals, (iii) specialised training in various management areas, and (iv) training in rural development.

Library

A good library service is very important in institution-building for training in public administration. Library should provide quick service to the trainees in finding out books, articles or bibliographic references. This is possible only if the STIs' libraries have at least 50,000 books and subscribe to a good number of dailies, magazines and journals. The STIs should have a qualified librarian. The librarian should be assisted by two deputy librarians. The qualified staff should further be assisted by clerks, library attendants, book binders and peons. Their number would depend upon the number of books and the readers using the library.

MASTER PLAN

STIs should have their own Master Plans. They should always make efforts for development of buildings, faculty, equipment, audio-visual aids, library, etc. This is a continuous affair. Stimulating leadership of forward looking directors can play a great role in the institution building for training.

Where new construction is to be done, specific requirements of

sizes of rooms, library, etc., should be worked at the Institute level. A proper building can be designed only if the client has done his home work well. Instances are not lacking where it was left entirely to the architect to design the building. Buildings put up in this manner cannot fully meet various needs of a training institute. The building must allow for 4-5 training programmes to be conducted simultaneously. In order to have proper trainer-trainee interaction, the classroom sitting should be in u-form rather than in row-form. There should be a few syndicate rooms for group work. Since library keeps on expanding, it must be spacious and located in a manner so as to cater to future needs as well.

Public buildings generally lack good aesthetics. Aesthetics should, therefore, be given good care and attention. It must reflect the spirit of the Institute. Greening of the campus also deserves priority. Trainees can be encouraged to tend and water plants as a part of their physical exercise.

Outside the classroom, games, sports as also cultural evening, are very helpful in learning through group-centred activities. Facilities for these should be created and mechanism devised for creating active interest of trainees in these activities.

MANAGEMENT SUPPORT TO TRAINING

Last but not the least, training can become effective only when senior officers have faith in it. They should themselves be convinced of the utility of training. They should take interest in sponsoring officers and officials for different courses. They should have firm belief that training is an investment in human resource development. Sponsoring of officers and officials, should not be considered by them as an impediment in the performance of routine duties due to their absence. They should, on the other hand, believe that the officers/officials after receiving a particular training will be working with greater zeal, enthusiasm, efficiency and satisfaction. Thus, the time and money spent in training by them is not a loss but a gain and fruitful investment. They should themselves undergo training in the training institutes in the country and abroad. They should also come as trainees to STIs. This will help them in having a better perspective of administrative problems, on the one hand, and making training effective in the STIs, on the other.

SUGGESTED TRAINING POLICY OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

It is now beyond doubt that training is one of the most important aspect for the human resource development. In order to train the

officers and officials of the Himachal Pradesh Government, the Himachal Institute of Public Administration (HIPA) at Fairlawn has been declared as the nodal institute. The Institute has ten branches in the ten districts of the Pradesh. In the Kinnaur and Lahul Spiti districts, however, there are no such branches. As such, parapatetic courses are being organised there once in a year. Besides, HIPA, other training institutes in the Pradesh are: (1) Gram Sewak Training Centre, Mashobra; (2) State Council of Research and Training, Solan; (3) Panchayati Raj Training Centre, Mashobra, and Panchayati Raj Training Centre, Baijnath; (4) Police Training Centre, Junga; (5) Health and Family Welfare Centre, Parimahal, Kasumpti; (6) Cooperative Training Centre, Mashobra; (7) Divisional Forest Training School, Chail; and (8) Revenue Training School, Palampur.

In the Pradesh, gazetted officers constitute about five per cent of the total staff strength and non-gazetted officers constitute the remaining 95 per cent of the strength. To meet their training requirement during the Seventh Five Year Plan, the following targets had been fixed:

Courses	Seventh Plan Target	Proposed Courses 1988-89
1. IAS Probationers	5	1
2. HAS Probationers	5	2
3. Courses for GOs	80	23
4. Courses of NGOs	200	45
5. Seminars/workshops	15	4
6. Pre-examination courses	35	7
7. Government of India sponsored courses	25	7
8. Courses at District training training centres (DTCs)	1050	270

The training programme of the gazetted officers are primarily being conducted at HIPA. The training programme of the NGOs are mostly being conducted at DTCs, HP Secretariat and other training institutes. The ADMs of the district have been made district training coordinators. They are being assisted by one assistant, one gestetner operator and a class IV staff. All are being paid some honorarium for doing this additional work. In the HP Secretariat, the deputy secretary (SAD) is coordinating the courses. However, the entire work of organising the courses and preparation of the training material is being done by HIPA. A superintendent and a clerk has been specifically posted in the Secretariat to look after the course

being run at HP Secretariat. HIPA is also organising the courses for the NGOs particularly in computer, special course for superintendents/assistants, office procedure and financial administration and for subordinate accounts service. In all these courses on the average 25 participants are being admitted.

Besides the pre-examination coaching pre-examination coaching, courses for NGOs training programme for PEC is being done by HIPA. The courses which are being organised are: (i) Central civil service--preliminary, main, and interview; (ii) HAS and allied service examination; (iii) Pre-medical test; (iv) Probationary officers (Banking); (v) Banking clerks; and (vi) Assistant grade examination, etc. The performance of the students undergoing PEC courses at HIPA has considerably improved.

Besides, training programmes including pre-examination coaching, the Institute is also involved in research and publications. The main thrust of research is in the field of rural development. The Institute is bringing out following publications: (i) Journal of HP Institute of Public Administration (bi-annual); (ii) Newsletter (quarterly); (iii) Updating the manuals; and (iv) Preparation of guidelines for the inspection of: (a) BDO office, (b) Judicial lock-up, (c) Revenue offices, and (d) Treasuries, etc.

These research and publications are being used as training material. However, there are lot of things which can be done for improving the training policies of the state:

1. **IAS/IPS/IFS Officers:** The All-India Service Officers are being deputed for training for one week's duration annually and for four weeks' once in four years. It might be useful to nominate them in one special course as well each year if anyone specifically ask for it.
2. **HAS/HPS Officers:** It has been seen that on the average an HAS officer is deputed for training once in seven years. These officers can also be deputed at HIPA for one week course every year or once in two years like the IAS officers. If two courses are organised annually, this can cover all the offices in every two years. Like the joint DM/SPs course, it might be worthwhile to have joint course of HAS and HPS officers say 15 from HAS and 10 from HPS. These officers can also be nominated to one additional course at HIPA or elsewhere in the country, preferably in one of the Government of India sponsored courses.
3. It has been seen that training schedule of other gazetted officers is better than HAS/HPS. However, their main thrust had been on office procedure and financial administration

courses. It might be difficult to organise specialised courses for individual departments, but some joint programme can be drawn annually for the allied departments.

4. **Computerisation:** It is necessary to expose every gazetted and non-gazetted officer to computer awareness courses. To start with, a schedule can be drawn so as to expose all gazetted officers in a 3-day awareness course. Thereafter, a detailed training programme for one week courses can be organised. To start with twelve 3-day course can be organised each year. Thereafter, one week courses can also be introduced. Six such courses can be organised in the subsequent years. In this process, annually about 500 officers can be trained. Thereafter, one month courses should be organised once in a year for those who have undergone earlier short-term courses. Now computers are being set up at district level as well. The DTCs can also avail of this facility.

In-Service Training

In-service training is another important aspect. At present IAS/HAS officers are undergoing training at HIPA. All gazetted officers are undergoing foundational training programme.

In order to improve the training programme, it is necessary to augment both the HIPA and the DTCs.

The HP Institute of Public Administration should undertake training programme of senior level officers. It should function as think-tank and should also involve itself more in research, consultancy, preparation of training materials, etc. Broadly, the objectives should be as follows: (i) To equip the trainees with the administrative knowledge and practical skills necessary for efficient job performance and also to broaden their mental horizon and influence their attitudes by organising appropriate training courses; (ii) To serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas and experience between senior administrators, members of the faculty (internal and external and the other trainees; and (iii) To undertake studies of specific administrative problems and make recommendations to government and or to senior administrators if and when required to do so.

For the achievements of these objectives within the overall training policy outlined above the HIPA should do the following:

1. Conduct basically five levels of training, viz., (i) Foundational training for new entrants, (ii) Professional training for officers of up to nine years of seniority, (iii) Executive development programmes for officers between 10 and 16 years seniority, (iv) Advanced management development programme for

officers between 16 to 21 years seniority, and (v) Seminars, symposium, colloquiums, etc., for officers beyond 20 years of seniority.

These training programmes would be either: (a) Designed for specific services or group of services, (b) Specialist functional programmes, (c) General management programmes, (d) Multi-disciplinary integrative programmes, and (e) Programmes specifically designed for action research and innovations.

2. HIPA should also assist the cadre controlling authorities of technical/non-technical services in the state in identifying training needs developing and designing training programmes; preparing suitable training materials and aids; monitoring and evaluating the training activities; and validating the training effort to the extent possible.
3. HIPA should also develop research and consultancy activities to the extent that the knowledge and data so generated will form an essential training input, thereby enriching the quality of training programmes and making them much more meaningful.

Over time, at the state level HIPA as the apex level training Institute may concentrate more on training policy formulation and analysis, and in the training of senior officers of the State. Further, it should concentrate its attention towards in-service training programmes, training of trainers, etc., and coordination/ supervision of all the training activities of the state. It should function as a training bank and leaving the training at lower levels to regional/ district training institute and other training institutes mentioned earlier.

CONCLUSION

The significant shifts in the functional content of the civil service, however, have inevitably necessitated a re-examination of the existing personnel system especially with a view to assessing the kind and degree of support it can lend to the developmentally oriented system of public administration. In development administration these are certain distinct features. The process of development demands a system of open exchange and communication between various levels so that the gap caused by the hierarchy can be overcome. Moreover, development embraces large number of activities and therefore, ways have to be found to coordinate the activities of the agencies engaged in allied and complementary tasks. There are some agencies and institutions which do not belong to the structure of

administration but they have also a vital role to play.

The development activities are of two types. The first type includes highly discrete operations which are amenable to administrative discipline and control practically at all levels. These activities are clearly identifiable in terms of what to achieve and how, e.g., industry, mining, power, irrigation, etc. The other type includes highly diffused activities where the goals and objectives cannot be accurately measured or quantified nor is it possible to bring under organisational discipline and control all the persons and groups who determine the ultimate character and success of the programmes, e.g., community development, social welfare, etc. Experience has shown that the same type of personnel do not meet the functional requirements of these two types of activities. Whereas the skills required in the first type is largely managerial in the second type they are much more complex. It has thus to be seen how far the present personnel system is relevant for the development administration.

Public Administration all over the world is exhibiting an unmistakable trend of expansion. The phenomenal increase in governmental functions is a continuing process, and each year that passes adds some more to an already long list of functions. In India, too, we are in the midst of an expanding government. Consequently, administration is today draped with unparalleled powers. Power in a democratic society requires control and the greater the power the more need for control. How to vest power sufficient for the purposes in view and maintain adequate control without crippling authority is one of the historic dilemmas of popular government. Administration itself is a specialist activity. It stands for the process or activity of administering governmental affairs. It is also an area of intellectual enquiry. The first is practice; the second is study. It is, therefore, necessary to expose the civil servants to their changed role and equip them with the latest techniques of administration and behavioural services.

Training is an important input for human resources development. It is necessary to adapt the officers to their current administrative requirements. The recruitment to the civil servants is on the basis of merit. The recruitment tests aim at testing the intellectual equipment and scholastic abilities of the candidates rather than narrow academic specialisation. Hence the need for training becomes all the more important. It is thus necessary to provide orientation training, in-service training and also post-entry training. In 1961 the Central Government decided that study leave may be granted for studies which may not be closely and directly linked with government servant's work but improve his abilities as a civil servant and to

equip him better to collaborate with those employed in other branches of the public service.

Training, thus, has to be both general and specific. Some training programmes should aim at improving general awareness of the officers about socio-political situation prevalent while others should be more specific. These two types combined together will promote professional skills, human (behavioural) skills and conceptual skills.

As pointed out earlier, administration is both an art and science. Hence to keep the civil servants up-to-date it is essential that they should undergo training in a phased manner through out their career. However, for proper career management, it might be worthwhile to obtain their views about the specialised training programmes they might like to undertake and, thus, a proper manpower planning can be done. During the Seventh Plan period, a great emphasis has been laid on training of civil servants.

The above analysis highlights the importance of training of civil servants, in an effort to make the public service competent and responsive to the aspirations of the people. The ultimate success of a training programme rests upon a wise recruitment policy, for training cannot rectify the original error. Nor can it endow its recipient with the flair for administration which is something in-born. This flair may be stimulated, but it cannot be artificially acquired. These are the limitations of training. Despite these limitations training is of paramount need for administrators today. However, all such training has to be selective both in terms of clientele and substantive context. With little bit of imagination and planning probably these difficulties can be overcome.

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Civil Service Training in Africa : The Case of Nigeria

I.B. BELLO-IMAM

LEARNING IS a continuous process. If man must meet the challenges of life with effortless ease, and through time, he needs to continue to train and retrain.

Until very recently, the introduction and consolidation of a universal educational system was considered the best way of developing human resources in African countries. This practice had an inherent tendency of eliminating those outside the school system. However, with time, it became evident that such institutions could not provide the required manpower suited to the development requirements of the continent. In the same vein, the system was found to be a self-perpetuating mechanism which ate deep into the scarce budget resources of the respective countries. This situation forced attention to alternative forms of education and training to effectively complement the schooling system if an ultimate long-term solution to development problems was to be achieved. The main alternative was the acquisition and transmission of professional knowledge and practical skills during the beneficiary's work life. Such instruction was either given at the work place or in specialist institutions.¹ This trend is usually referred to as in-service training, a phenomenon which is general in virtually all African civil services.

This relatively new trend derives from the recognition of the significance of civil services in nation building, which is also a recognition of the place of the human factor in economic growth and development. In a world of constant evolution and change, African civil services are called upon as instruments of change to 'smoothen, accelerate and steer the course of progress'. For this purpose, they must undergo continuous progressive transformation, an impossible feat for administrative systems not endowed with the mechanisms of adaptation. Organisational adaptation is prominently the province of central personnel agencies and organisations and methods units but in the developing countries of Africa, it is also the role of training. Training specifically has the added responsibility of changing not

only systems (laws and regulations or organisational patterns) but also people (their attitudes, behaviour and working habits).²

It is almost indisputable that no public service can be sustained effectively without trained and experienced workforce to deal with difficult matters as financial management, budgetary procedures, industrial growth, initiation and administration of housing schemes and social welfare. Viewing training as an integral part of the total human resource, and given the dynamics between the latter and economic development, the intended end of public service training in an African country would be to enable, among others:

1. Running of government operations efficiently and economically;
2. Developing maximum efficiency in subordinate work performance;
3. Developing and sustaining high performance level in transacting government business;³ and
4. All these to ensure overall national development.

In Nigeria, the division of the country into 21 states since 1987 means the existence of 21 state civil services, one federal service at the centre and numerous local government services each with its own administrative class occupying a pre-eminent position and on whom the developmental and managerial function of government devolves. Associated with this is the heightening of training consciousness. The purpose of this article is to take stock of the scenario of civil service training in Africa with particular emphasis on Nigeria with a view to identifying what possible changes or modifications have taken place in policies, programmes, strategies and techniques as reflected in existing specialist training institutions.

CIVIL SERVICE TRAINING IN AFRICA

In the advanced economies of the world, for example the USA, despite the rapid growth of employment in the governmental and other non-profit making sectors of the economy, the private sector has remained the largest employer and developer of manpower.⁴ But in Africa, and indeed in the Third World, the situation is otherwise. For instance, in Tunisia, whose level of education is considerably representative of that of many other middle-income developing countries, public corporations have been the most active economic agents in in-service training mainly through their "integrated centres" which acted as the providers of basic training for the private sector. These centres of basic training gradually moved over to advanced training and retraining in order to facilitate internal promotion of staff in accordance with the articles and staff regula-

tions of public corporations.⁵

With political independence, African governments assumed more and more roles with heightened citizenry expectations. Logically, administrative processes became profoundly complex. As was the case in the "Commonwealth Caribbean", sweeping political and constitutional changes in the 1960s were accompanied by changes in the organisations, and role and functions of particular bureaucracies. Specifically, there was an urgent need to develop an indigencous cadre of top-grade administrative officials with requisite competence to manage newly created expanding departments of governmental business.⁶ But, generally, post-independence Africanization of civil services meant hasty elevation of indigenous officials hitherto restricted to routine clerical and other supportive role to administrative positions for which they were ill-prepared by training and experience. It was in view of such problems that the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD) was founded under the terms of agreement of May 13, 1964 between the Moroccan Government and the Director-General of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) following a unanimously adopted resolution supported by nine African countries.

As an African regional institution, concerned with the study and solution of administrative problems inherent in the economic and social development of Africa, CAFRAD membership is open to all African countries. Notably, in 1976, CAFRAD organised and funded a Top Management Course in Ibadan, Nigeria.

Beyond the founding of CAFRAD the importance attached to training in Africa was evident in the establishment of about 50 training institutes and schools of public administration all over the continent in the very first decade of independence. This was in response to the acute staff problems--precipitated by both the retirement of expatriates and policies of indigenisation of national civil services to meet the expanding political and socio-economic responsibilities--that the services were called upon to bear. Generally, teaching techniques included lectures, tutorials and seminars, panel discussion, syndicates, visual techniques, case studies and on the job or desk training. Other possible techniques were initiative training, project training, exercises, in-tray training, role playing, programmed learning, demonstration visits, attachments or internships and training within industry (TWI). The application of specific methods demanded spatio-temporal relevance. The difficulty actually was in deciding which techniques were the most appropriate.⁷

Yet there was the problem of turning the established institutions into effective instruments for staff development because of associated problems of curriculum development, recruitment and training of

indigenous staff to man these institutions, assembling teaching materials based on local experiences and practices and therefore familiar to trainees, and getting suitably qualified officials in adequate number released for training. Moreover, there was the more difficult problem of having to ensure that the marginal benefit (however computed) derived from training modestly equalled the marginal cost of providing the training.⁸ The unsatisfactory inter-institutional communication among the African institutes to enable exchange of experiences did not aid matters in these respects.

The specific problem of low take-up of initiates, and of selection and timely release of personnel for training courses assumes meaning against the background of shortage of high-level manpower and costs. In the circumstance, the difficulty in selecting and appointing properly qualified training directors and the reluctance of governments to release senior staff as trainers were all too often a result of the tendency for training to be regarded as a costly and time absorbing, if not abnormal, aspect of management and administration. Among other things, African governments were simply afraid of the cost of temporary replacement of officials released at senior levels. Inevitably such false economy of minimising costs left open the option of transferring junior personnel to staff training duties and consequently the neglect of need to direct staff training duties from a high enough level.

It is also to be noted that uncritical borrowing of institutions, courses or training methods by some African countries often compounded rather than solved the human resource problem. It is no surprise that often officers returning from training, especially from overseas, and assigned to duties still further needed some degree of rehabilitation to speed their return to working reality.

In the context of these general problems, governments in both West and East Africa have indicated manpower budgets for the establishment of training needs over five- or ten-year periods. It has been noted that such budgets usually revealed a lack of balance between various professions, trades or skills; they also helped to demonstrate the dimension of the training problem and the wastage due to the diversion of trained personnel to other duties within weeks of completing their training.⁹ The Nigerian experience illustrates some of these problems.

CIVIL SERVICE TRAINING IN NIGERIA

Preamble

Training, like recruitment functions came later in the history of public personnel management in Nigeria. In fact, training processes

came into focus by accident rather than by design.¹⁰ Generally, the development of administrative training in Nigeria can be divided into four phases, namely, the period before 1954; 1954 to the attainment of political independence in 1960; the decade of the 1960s; and contemporary developments since 1970.

Modest achievement was recorded in the area of high-level manpower development between 1938 and 1948. While only one scholarship was awarded in 1938-39 and £ 648 was expended on scholarships that year the total number of scholarships had risen to 137 in 1947-48 and the cumulative expenditure had reached £ 92,468 within the same period. The progress in manpower development was apparently matched by the relatively impressive record in the area of Nigerianisation. Thus, in contrast to 1938, when only 26 Nigerians were in the senior service, in 1948 the figure had gone up to 172.¹¹ Yet ambitious training and staff development schemes had to wait until the political future of Nigeria was decided at the various constitutional conferences after World War II, prominently in 1954.

Between 1954 and 1960, the aim of training was mainly to accelerate the assumption of responsibility in senior government posts by young Nigerians. However, in the decade of the 1960s, the defects of training programmes so based were being realised as the administrative tasks of government expanded. With the phenomenal post civil war (1967-70) growth in political and economic life in Nigeria, especially with the creation of states and local governments, a new problem of effective communication among the functionaries of various governments and the private sector surfaced. Related problems of development administration resulted in notable increasing emphasis through development planning efforts on human resource in appreciation of its vital role in the development process, particularly the emphasis on increasing Nigeria's stock of trained manpower through the expansion of existing educational and training facilities and the establishment of new ones.¹² This has been the official position since the 1970s.

Civil Service Training in the 1950s and 1960s

Following the constitutional regionalisation of Nigeria, regional civil services were created in 1954. The establishment of a Federal civil service (in addition to the regional services) and the conspicuous Nigerianisation drive with political independence in view placed the training function on the agenda. In the Western region, it was recognised that training "is the key to the success of our (Government's) whole endeavour to create a civil service indigenous at all levels and worthy of the Regions".¹³

With an in-service training in view, the Western region, which had already set up a high level standing committee on training in 1955,

ultimately favoured a programme of continuous staff development specifically directed to improving staff performance in a particular post or class of posts. Thus, by the time political power was transferred to Nigerians on October 1, 1960, and in contrast to earlier governmental concerns with issues of grading and remuneration, the governments were training conscious, among other reasons because of the emergence of hardcore personnel problems, notably, those of the recruitment and training.

Granted that the focus on civil service training in the decade prior to independence was inspired by the Nigerinisation drive, when that exercise was relatively completed, it was realised that its accelerated pace, which also meant massive exit of expatriates, led to a "massive dilution of experience". This was critical because political independence also meant a heightened pace of development and more complex administrative problems. Besides, the new reality was that the primary objective of public administration had shifted from maintenance of law and order to social and economic development undertaken or effectively controlled by the state. It was this new reality that informed the establishment of the Institute of Administration of the University of Ife.¹⁴

The Institute of Administration, University of Ife was founded as a post-graduate school of public administration and a staff college to the governments of Nigeria in July 1963. Its establishment was precisely in response to the demonstrable needs of the governments of Nigeria and all other African countries for advanced, intensive and practical training in public administration and related subjects for the administrative officers and other high-level manpower needed in the public service. In addition to training activities, the institution was enjoined by its charter to provide consultancy services for governments, business organisations, statutory corporations and local authorities, and to conduct basic and applied research. Table 1 summarises the enrolment for the Institute's Diploma in Public Administration (DPA) course between 1963 and 1968. It was evident that tremendous scope existed for training in Nigerian public services, especially on the realisation that the federal civil service had been more than twice as large as the regional services.

At the federal level, there was the Nigerianisation office [later to be known as the Staff Development Division (SDD) of the Federal Ministry of Establishment, which is statutorily responsible for training in the public services]. In the early 1950s, the major pre-occupation of the Nigerianisation office was to ensure the placement of Nigerians in key positions in the federal civil service preparatory to the ultimate indigenisation of the civil service. Given this focus, it was not surprising that not much training was actually

Table 1 ENROLMENT FOR THE DPA COURSE BY SPONSORS, 1963-68

Sl. No.	Sponsoring Institutions	Total Enrolment
1.	Federal Government	3
2.	Western Nigeria Government	71
3.	Eastern Nigeria Government	2
4.	Mid-Western Nigeria Government	1
5.	Statutory Corporations	6
6.	Overseas Government	1
7.	Private Students	4

SOURCE: A. Adedeji, *Training for Development Administration in Western Nigeria*

carried out.

In 1961, a career officer was appointed at the federal level to speed up the process of Nigerianisation through recruitment and career counselling. By the end of 1962, Nigerianisation had progressed to such an extent that the Federal Public Service Commission was able to report that Nigerianisation "should no longer be a political issue".

By the mid 1960s and with the tremendous expansion in government service, arising from rapid changes in political, economic and social life of the country, coupled with the complexity of the problems of development that had to be achieved, it had become clear that training could solve a variety of manpower problems which could militate against optimum productivity. It had also been recognised that training could afford individual civil servants opportunity to add to their apercptive backgrounds specific identifiable items of additional knowledge, skill and understanding necessary for the successful implementation of the country's development plans. The mark of the new training awareness was reflected in the commissioning by the Federal Military Government in 1967 of a survey on the Training Need of the Federal Civil Service. The ultimate outcome of the survey, which harped on the urgent need for "systematic, sustained and regular programme" of training in the Civil Service was the establishment of a staff Development Division in the Federal Ministry of Establishment for which the Nigerianisation Division was redesignated.¹⁵

It was also to tackle the post-independence staffing problems that four universities were established at Zaria, Ife, Nsukka and Lagos in addition to assistance from overseas institutions. Generally, the

methods mostly favoured by governments in their relations with these institutions were:

1. In-service training (study leave with pay plus scholarship benefits);
2. Study leave (without salary, but with scholarship benefits); and
3. Release from official obligations to attend courses instruction.¹⁶

This was the setting prior to the 1970s.

Civil Service Training Since the 1970s

The post-civil war (post-1970) rehabilitation efforts of the Nigerian government resulted in marked increase in wage employment in the country and corresponding training needs. About three-fifths of the estimated modern-sector employment was, however, provided by the public sector (i.e., the Federal and state civil services, government corporations and companies plus the teaching services combined), while the rest was in the private sector. In most of the states, the public sector accounted for roughly three-quarters of modern-sector employment. This implied that in such states the growth of wage employment depended on the expansion of employment in the public sector, particularly the civil service. The expansion of the public services continued until the pronounced retrenchments after 1984. Table 2 reflects the employment in the Federal Civil Service between 1979 and 1985.

Table 2 EMPLOYMENT IN FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE, 1979-85

As on 31st December	Permanent		Temporary		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1979	171,493	20,606	3,711	1,509	175,204	22,115
1981	218,071	28,718	5,734	3,196	223,805	31,914
1984	261,424	39,003	891	522	262,315	39,523
1985*	219,507	30,579	3,425	1,777	222,932	32,374

*Provisional.

SOURCE: Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN), **Annual Abstract of Statistics 1986 Edition**, Lagos, Federal Office of Statistics.

In response to anticipated problems of an expanding service, the Federal Military Government in 1972 set up a public service review commission under Chief J. Udoji. With respect to training, the Commission observed:

Training is a continuous process from recruitment (induction and orientation) to retirement....Training is vitally important for our public services....The public services must change and be strengthened to respond effectively to the demands of development. They need qualified, skilled and motivated people in the right places at the right time to achieve these objectives, to transform paper plans into actual achievement....We need to train people who are results-oriented, who can recognise opportunities and meet objectives. We need...men and women who know how to make resources productive.¹⁷

The commission therefore recommended:

placing initial emphasis on management development and supervisory training....Management development is crucial to the success of an organisation since managers have the ultimate responsibility for meeting the objectives of the organisation.¹⁸

The Federal Government wholesomely accepted the new-style, results-oriented public service recommended by the Udoji Commission, which emphasised planned and systematic training, as well as the new management concept which presupposed that the leadership of the system must be exposed continuously to contemporary philosophies of management, planning, delegation and human relations, and to the principles of sound financial administration.¹⁹ As a first step, the Standing Committee on Training and Development, which was set up in 1969 to coordinate federal staff development programmes was reactivated. Subsequently, the expansion of educational and training facilities was vigorously pursued. Particularly, training efforts outside the formal educational system were intensified through the activities of manpower development agencies. This was administered by Staff Development Division (SDD) of the Federal Ministry of Establishment.

The SDD organises induction courses for new entrants into the administrative, professional and executive classes of the public service, supervisory management courses for intermediate level officers, trainer courses and workshops for Departmental Training Officers (DTOs). Processing of ministerial and departmental training proposals, course nominations, recommendations on study leave without pay and the funding of approved departmental courses also fall within

the province of the SDD. In addition, the SDD arranges middle, advanced and top management courses for senior officers. Also arranged for qualified nominees are courses, such as Master of Public Administration (MPA), Master of Business Administration (MBA), Diploma in Development Economics (DDE), Diploma in Public Administration (DPA), and Certificate in Public Administration (CPA), all of which are tenable in Nigerian universities.

The advanced management courses are designed to assist senior public managers (grade levels 13-16) in determining objectives and monitoring progress toward them, in managing the human resources in their organisations more objectively and in improving their capacity to employ modern management skills and techniques in public sector setting. The courses were partly tenable both in Nigeria and overseas before the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) took over completely all management training programmes in July 1978, and were conducted in formal and informal sessions. Table 3 reflects the level of management training between 1975-76 and July 1978.

Table 3 LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT TRAINING, 1975/76-JULY 1978

Year	Advance	Middle	Personnel	Top	Super- visory	Adminis- tration Courses	Total
1975-76	200	140	-	-	228	29	597
1977	150	120	75	-	140	6	491
July 1978	318	94	149	110	266	15	952

SOURCE: FRN, Staff Development Review, 1975-78, p. 26.

Generally, the Management Development Programme, with its antecedents in the Udoji Report, was the first indigenised 'in-house' system to provide, on a regular basis, for formal training and development of managerial manpower in the public services of the federation. To ensure that whatever management training programme was developed to meet the needs of the generality of public service managers, groups of senior Managers from the entire public sector, representing experienced Permanent Secretaries and General Managers of big corporations and state-owned companies, the Directors of the Centre for Management Development (CMD) and ASCON participated in two pilot workshops in 1975 to identify the subject areas which would be most helpful in making the public service a results-oriented system.

The series of trainer courses organised by the SDD are designed to

enlighten the officers designated as DTOs, most of whom are actually new to the training field, on their various roles and functions. Officers in the training divisions of State Ministries of Establishment, Instructors from the Federal Training Centres (FTCs) as well as officers administering training in the SDD also undertake these courses. Before and throughout 1975, these courses were undertaken overseas. It soon became glaring that there was need to have a more comprehensive trainer's course designed ideally for the Nigerian situation. This led to the birth of the TREND (Training and Education for Nigerian Development) Course, specifically designed to install a training programme for training personnel of the Government of Nigeria between 1976 and 1978. By 1978, 113 'highly skilled' TREND trainers had been produced.

The activities of the SDD can be summarised in terms of the transformation, in methods and types, that swept through the training function since the late 1960s: planned and programmed, rather than haphazard training and the development of training consciousness in the civil service, as a whole. These were articulated, programmed and executed by the manpower development institutions, the most prominent of which are briefly discussed here.

Industrial Training Fund (ITF)

One of the cardinal objectives of the Federal Ministry Government in setting up the ITF under Decree No. 47 of 1971 was the rapid industrialisation of Nigeria. The ITF's key role in this was "promoting and encouraging the acquisition of skills in industry and commerce with a view to generating a pool of indigenous trained manpower sufficient to meet the needs of the economy".²⁰ It was the first of the three manpower training and development agencies set up by the government during the Second National Development Plan period (1970-1974), the other two being the Nigerian Council for Management Development (NCMD) and the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON). The general functions of the ITF include:

1. Encouraging greater involvement of employers, particularly small employers, in the organisation and development of training programme and facilities including the establishment of Group Training Scheme and Centres in certain critical areas of economic activities.
2. Building training facilities of its own, in identified areas of national needs;
3. Seeking to formalise its non-formal training programmes with the curricula of formal educational institutions.
4. Bearing a proportion of the direct costs of on-the-job and

off-the-job training of Nigerian employees.²¹

These mean that activities of the ITF are mostly promotional--provision of financial and other supporting services to its member firms, as well as to other training efforts in the economy, including those of Vocational Improvement Centres (VICs). All the same, it was in realisation of its functions that the ITF streamlined its role in the production of skilled manpower through the design and development of various training courses, workshops, seminars and schemes. It was estimated that between 1981 and 1985, about 9,500 training and manpower development officers were to benefit from ITF's "Train-the-Trainers" programmes.²² In 1986 alone, ITF organised a total of 59 Manpower Training and Development Programmes for 850 training personnel in Nigeria. There is cause to believe that ITF's activities have increased since then.

Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON)

ASCON was established by Decree No. 39 of 1973, among other things: (a) to provide higher management training for the development of senior executives for the public and private sectors of the Nigerian economy; and (b) to provide and arrange for a comparative study and investigation of the principles and techniques of management and administration and for exchange of ideas and experiences between various spheres of national life. To fulfil its mission, ASCON provides training under the rubric of seven departments of study. ASCON's various training programmes were originally designed to meet the joint needs of the private and public sectors of the Nigerian economy. Its preliminary programme in 1974 was designed primarily to renew concern for the appropriate management of human resources and enlarge each participants' awareness of the problems facing 'line' managers and personnel specialists and how these could be dealt with. ASCON also helped to widen the scope of SDD's Advanced Management Course by promoting the first 'Module' of each course in Nigeria. Later, the Federal Government decided that ASCON should focus on the training needs of the public service only.

The courses at ASCON are highly participative. Discussions are encouraged during lecture periods which account for about 50 per cent of the course time. The rest of the time is devoted to individual and group exercises, case studies, decision-making exercises and the practice of management skills.²³ Between September 1984 and June 1985 about 618 participants attended courses at ASCON (Table 4).

Centre for Management Development (CMD)

CMD is a resource institution established under Decree No. 51 in

4 TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICANTS AND ADMISSIONS FOR COURSES AT
ASCON BY TYPE OF COURSE SEPTEMBER 1984-JUNE 1985

Course	Number of Applicants	Number of Admission	Number of Participants Who Attended Course
Financial Management	23	22	19
Management Course	218	94	48
cate Course in Public stration	114	114	66
Course in Public stration	45	45	18
al Management Course	100	64	54
Management Course	254	159	104
on Course	163	163	163
ent Consulting Course	87	67	45
ent Development and ng Course	80	76	35
Management Course	73	45	20
ng the Trainers Programme			
cal Government Officers	29	27	27
TOTAL	1,218	903	618
age of total number of nts	100	74.1	50.7

uced with effect from 1985, this Course on Project Management
gricultural and Rural Development has been discontinued since

CE: FRN, *Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1986 Edition*, Lagos,
Federal Office of Statistics, p. 106.

the operational arm of the Nigerian Council for Management
ment (NCMD), which has overall responsibility for the prom-
nd coordination of management education and training in
a. CMD caters for both the public and private sectors. Its
ent development activities include running conferences on and
hing into management problems, financial and technical support

to management training institutions training activities, and promotion of management effectiveness and training consciousness in both sectors of the economy.

Specifically, CMD's major roles include:

1. assessing Nigeria's managerial manpower needs;
2. developing resource for managerial teaching, training and consultancy;
3. assessing the type and quality of programmes for the development of the country's managerial manpower; and
4. improving the quality and enhancing the use of management consulting, research and training.²⁴

The target of CMD's programmes include entrepreneurs and managers, planners of managerial manpower, management educators, trainers, human resources specialists, and individual Nigerians, whose employment and self-fulfilment depend upon enhancing their managerial and supervisory effectiveness.

For the purpose of coordinating and setting standards in management related activities, CMD embarked on a systematic establishment of professional management associations, such as Nigerian Association of Management Consultants (NAMCON), Nigerian Association of Schools of Management Education and Training (NASMET), etc. The network of institutions facilitates its task of promoting high national standards of professionalism in management education, consultancy, training and marketing.

Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM)

NIM is a private organisation concerned with management development in both the public and private sectors. With 16 branches nationwide, the strength of the individual and corporate members of NIM stood at 8,047 and 347 respectively in 1984. Quite frequently, NIM, staff deliver lectures on subjects, such as Management by Objectives (MBO), Effective Communication, Motivation and Work, Work Measurement, Budgeting and Budgetary Control, Tools of Financial Management, etc., to officers on Supervisory Management Courses and the induction courses for administrative and professional officers in the federal civil service. The Institute also organises Annual National Management Conferences, Symposia, films and workshops.

The prevailing national economic recession in Nigeria has affected the training operations of NIM as some companies and organisations were not in optimum operation or retrenched a lot of their workers who would have been sent for training. However, 1984 proved a better year than 1983 as patronage of courses witnessed a general improve-

ment over 1983. The total number of runs of all courses increased from 79 to 90 while participation level also increased from 706 to 1,176 (Table 5)²⁵

Table 5 NIM: SCHEDULED COURSES AND PARTICIPATION, 1980-1984

Year	Total Number of Run (All Courses)	Total Number of Participants	Average Participation
1980	122	1,558	13
1981	128	1,466	12
1982	103	1,359	13
1983	79	706	9
1984	90	1,176	13

SOURCE: NIM, 24th Annual Report and Accounts, 1984, p. 12.

National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS)

NIPSS was legally established by Decree No. 20 of 1979 as a Federal Government parastatal to provide a forum to bridge the 'gap' between initiators and executors of policy. Since its establishment, NIPSS has served as a high level centre for reflection, research and dialogue where academics of excellence, seasoned policy initiators and executors and other citizens of mature experience and wisdom drawn from different sectors of Nigeria's national life meet, reflect and exchange ideas on the great issues of society, particularly as they relate to Nigeria and Africa in the context of a constantly changing world. To achieve this, NIPSS among other things: (a) conducts courses for top-level policy makers and executors drawn from different sectors of national life; and (b) conducts seminars, workshops and other action-oriented programmes for leaders and potential leaders in the public services (including the military and other security services), private sector, etc.²⁶

NIPSS is organised into three departments, namely, administration, studies, and research.

Other Training Institutions

The other prominent manpower development centres in Nigeria are the Institutes of Public Administration and of Local Government Studies in three universities federally designated for the purpose. These are the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife (formerly University of Ife). Officers nominated for in-house training are trained in

these institutions.

Besides the senior and intermediate-level categories of staff expected to benefit from training programmes of the various institutions, and agencies, the low level category of public servants were also billed for appropriate training to improve their performance. For example, in the 1980s, the Manpower Development Department of the Office of the Head of Service planned to run a series of courses for Clerical Officers and other low-level staff employed in Federal Government Ministries. The effort was intended to encourage the individual ministries to run similar courses for their staff.²⁷ Also designed for similar purpose are the Federal Training Centres (FTCs). These are concerned with the training of the junior and middle-level personnel in all aspects of government work, e.g., typists, clerical assistants, stenographers and confidential secretaries of all grades'.

Up till January 1975, there were only two FTCs, one in Lagos and the other in Kaduna. However, considerable enlargement of government activities meant an urgent need to develop competent secretaries and typists. This led to the establishment of new FTC's at Ilorin, Enugu and Maiduguri with proposal for the establishment of two more before the end of the Third National Plan period.²⁸ The FTCs are open to all state governments and parastatals.

Assessment of the Training Efforts

Staff development is a continuous and growing process. Therefore, results are often not so dramatic and immediate as to make success easily discernible. However, it can be suggested that there is still room for improvement as the implementation of the various manpower policies and programmes in Nigeria has not achieved the desired degree of anticipated success. As it has been noted:

The various training efforts, commendable as they are, can hardly be considered adequate in relation to the enormous manpower requirements of the economy. In quantitative terms, the gap between the demand and supply of manpower ... has remained very wide.²⁹

In 1977, well after major training and manpower development institutions had been established, the extent of manpower shortage as reflected in staff vacancies varied from 33 per cent to a little over 50 per cent in respect of a wide range of manpower categories. Associated with this shortage was imbalance in distribution, especially of professional manpower, more evident in the public sector in part because of less attractive service conditions there. The situation proved debilitating to efficient management.

The response of the established institutions yielded limited value because of certain specific and general problems. As the representative case of the FTC, Kaduna showed there was often lack of staff and insufficient lecture periods especially in secretarial subjects. This was aggravated by poor equipment for skill subjects like typewriting. There was also the dilemma of academic versus pedestrian training. This refers to the tendency for university based training institutes to be "too academic" while, on the other hand, institutes attached to establishment ministries get obsessed with the basic tools aspect of administration.

The effectiveness of the various training programmes attended by civil servants from the ministries and departments in terms of relevance of the courses sponsored to identified training needs has also not been too clear. This is evident in the lack of demonstrable match between the world of training and the world of production, a problem often compounded by lackadaisical attitude of trainees as mostly expressed in the question "what reward?" This latter issue relates to a further dilemma in the training function, that is, training for efficiency versus training for promotion. In this regard, it was noted: "The results of the Accounting-Auditing Students (of FTC, Lagos) have been very encouraging...probably because those successful are always promoted immediately they complete their courses".³⁰ Inevitably, while training needs are appreciated and much is actually done, little has been achieved. In the present context, the training function is further weakened by the prominent belief by many organisations that when there are business constraints, the first sector from which to cut down expenses is the manpower training and development area. This need not continue to be so.

PROSPECTS

The need for training and retraining of Nigerian manpower has been generally accepted, in view of the substantial increase in the number and scope of activities of public and private agencies. Though a welcome development, it emphasises the need for regular evaluation of training programmes to ascertain their relevance and assess their impact, for example, an assessment of the almost ubiquitous "Train-the-Trainers" programmes to determine the extent of realisation of their multiplier effects. As the **Fourth National Development Plan** also recognises, it is necessary for this and other purposes that the agencies which run identical programmes should collaborate, as much as possible for the purpose of sharing experiences and avoidance of unnecessary duplication of efforts. The recommendation for a continuous inter-change of staff between the civil service and other

sectors of the economy, that is, large commercial parastatals and large private sector enterprises to "inject some freshness, new ideas, scarce skills and varied experience into the service"³¹ is useful in this regard.

As Nigerian civil services increasingly consolidate their development administration focus, training programmes must be reviewed continuously in line with changing developmental perspectives. For example, managerial approaches to administration under an affluent economy differ from those under austere conditions. The continuous review would be necessary to keep pace with developmental trends, economical, technological or work organisational situation. For this, there is need to build in training evaluation processes to courses with designs which allow flexibility and adaptation. This could assume the form of "job-behaviour evaluation".

On the other hand, the importance of "reaction evaluation" cannot be underplayed. It is significant that the SDD's Training and Evaluation Unit realised that mere awareness of a possible after-course evaluation of work performance often inspired trainees to assimilate and therefore achieve the best out of a training course.

In spite of the dilemma between training for promotion or efficiency, the developmental focus of contemporary public administration suggests that promotion should be de-institutionalised from training. As Jacques Charmes et al., suggest, even while arguing a contrary case:

...promotion has to be organised in a balanced manner: it cannot be confined to vertical promotion, the limitations of which show up clearly in the staff rules of the public corporations; nor can it be confined to horizontal promotion which is too closely bound up with ergonomics.³²

Finally, at a general African level, the question of speeding up the development of human resource in the civil services has a definite relation with the improvement of general pre-work educational standards. This derives from the fact that a system of specialised training is more efficient and flexible if it is applied to a population that has already learned the basic mechanisms of learning.³³ In the present and future contexts, training and education can be integrated with staffing policies as a stepping stone to overall manpower development in African countries. There is considerable scope for civil service training in Africa. In spite of objective difficulties deriving mostly from economic factors, there is the consolation that African governments are gradually realising this fact.

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Training for Administrators in France

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FRANCE* HAS been among those few countries which have traditionally attached a high level of importance to the training of its civil servants. This stands out in sharp contrast to the traditional belief in the concept of 'learning by doing'. In other words, the view held in nearly all the countries for a long time was that the ideal way of learning swimming was to get into water and practise swimming. Even when training of civil servants did not have many votaries, France evinced concern towards it and what is more, institutionalised it.

Place of Civil Service in France

Importance accorded to the training of civil servants flows from the historical fact that civil service has always occupied a place of key significance in France. This has been so since the times of the *ancien regime*. Indeed, its importance has been all the time growing. The members of the higher civil service, especially of what are called the *grandes ecoles*,¹ occupy as a rule policy-making positions in their respective organisations and even move out to other ministries and departments of the state where they occupy leadership positions. They are appointed on key posts in autonomous and public enterprises. They even go to private sector companies and man higher posts there. They are made members of the ministers' personal cabinets, and thus participate directly in policy-making responsibilities. Like other civil servants, they enjoy the right to seek election to the national parliament and may also be appointed as ministers in the government. The Constitution of the Fifth Republic, under operation since 1958, prohibits deputies from becoming ministers. This was done to curb the political ambitions of

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legislators, which brought such a bad name to the Fourth Republic (1945-57). All the same, the incompatibility provisions have changed the source of national politics in France. Under such an ineligibility provision, France had to seek other sources, and the country's civil service has filled the gap. A large number of present-day ministers are civil servants, and what is more, they generally belong to the elite corps. In Japan also, a large number of ministers come from the world of civil service.² But there is a difference between the two countries. In Japan, civil servants enter politics after their retirement from the government. In France, they enjoy the right to become deputies and ministers, including prime minister without resigning from their bureaucratic positions, and they exercise it also. In short, in France, the civil service is growingly becoming the mother profession which adds immeasurably to its attractiveness for the ambitious young men and women of France. The fact is that what France is today is owed substantially to its mandarins, more than any one else.

In this article, it is proposed to discuss the training of generalist administrators in France. One must note that France makes a distinction between the "administrative generalists" and the "scientific generalists". The latter category includes those who are expected to occupy supervisory and policy-making positions in departments and ministries having a large input of science and technology. The scientific generalists are recruited from amongst graduates who have passed in science subject. On the other hand, the administrative generalists are graduates with law or/and social science background. Recruitment is through a most stiff competitive examination in which several thousand graduates sit to compete for 40 seats, the total annual intake being fixed at 80. The remaining 40 positions are filled through a limited competitive examination open only to the serving servants with at least five years' service and below the age of 32. These two constitute the major sources of recruitment of the administrative generalists in France.

An Indian reader needs to be reminded that France does not have an agency like India's civil service commission charged with the responsibility for recruitment of higher civil servants. The scientific generalists are recruited by the Ecole Polytechnique through a written competitive examination in which over 3000 science graduates sit while the number of posts to be filled is around 300. The administrative generalists are recruited by another school--the Ecole National d'Administration (ENA).

The Ecole Polytechnique was set up by Napoleon more than 200 years ago, his motivating desire being to recruit qualified and competent engineers for the state, especially for the military. The army is no

longer the first attraction of those who are recruited by the Polytechnique, but the latter continues to be run by the army and along army lines. Indeed, nearly half of those who graduate from the Polytechnique at the end of their training resign from the government and join private sector where the salary and the perks are very attractive. Those who figure very high in the final merit list, prefer corps like corps de mines (corps of engineers) corps de ponts et chaussées (corps of roads and bridges)³, etc. The duration of training at the Polytechnique is three years where the trainees are imparted intensive instruction in science subjects as well as public law (which includes public administration), economics, etc. There are periodic examinations in which marks are awarded. At the end of the training, a final examination takes place. On the basis of marks awarded in all the tests, a merit list is prepared. This merit list is of critical importance for the career of the trainee. The topper in the list is the first to be invited to choose the corps and those who figure low get diminishing choices.

Training at the ENA

The remaining part of the present article is devoted to the training of the administrative generalists in France. The Ecole Polytechnique was (and is even now) the recruiting and training agency for the scientific generalists but it did not have for a long time a counterpart for the recruitment and training of administrative generalists. A demand for such an institutionalised arrangement was being made from time to time but in vain. It was soon after the World War II that France established the ENA.

The ENA is both the recruiting and the training agency of administrative generalists in France. Established in 1945, first under a state decree and later under a statute, it functions directly under the Prime Minister's Office. It is headed by a Director who is appointed by the President of the Republic. Generally, a high ranking civil servant is appointed as the Director though this need not be so. The previous Director of ENA was from private sector. Under the Director come the Director of Studies and the Director of Internships. It is a practice to appoint a University professor⁴ as the Director of Studies. The internal administration of the school is made the responsibility of a General Secretary, who is of a somewhat lower rank. The ENA has a total staff of 140 out of which only 30-40 are in Category A--which is the category of officer class.

The ENA has hired a building for the accommodation of the trainees but residence is not compulsory. Most trainees prefer to make their own arrangements for stay, and come to ENA for their lessons, the working hours being 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. A trainee is expected to put in

20-24 hours of lessons in a week. But he has also to work outside in preparation of case studies, etc.

Though the present annual intake of civil servants from the open market at ENA stands at 40 the number was much larger in the past. For a long time, France was experiencing rapid economic growth, which was reflected in the expansion of the civil service also. Under the regime of the socialists who came into power in the eighties, the expansion of the civil service got a fresh impetus. Since mid-eighties, France has been feeling that it has a bloated bureaucracy which needs pruning. An upshot is a greatly reduced number of annual intake. Table 1 shows the number of annual recruitment to the higher service since the establishment of ENA. The ENA has earned world-wide reputation for the high standards of its training and, as a result, some friendly foreign countries have also been deputed their officers to it to receive their training.

OBJECTIVES OF TRAINING

The syllabus of in-service training at ENA has undergone revision from time to time but its objective has remained stable, which is to impart to the newly recruited civil servants skills and practical knowledge of how to conduct administration efficiently. Training of civil servants is thus practice-oriented, that is, what the newly recruited civil servants would be required to do in administration. It lasts for two years out of which the first year is devoted to 'internship' and the second one to 'academic studies'. Though called academic studies, one must note, the accent is on practical aspects of public administration. Secondly, the higher civil service recruitment has two streams, namely, the external examination open to students who have obtained the baccalaureat, not above the age of 25 and the internal, limited one, restricted to serving civil servants with a minimum of five years' service and below the age of 32, but all attend the same training programme at ENA which begins in February each year and concludes in January two years later. In other words, training is common for both the streams and all sit in the same class even though they come from two different sources of recruitment. Thirdly, training at ENA is critically important for the career of civil servants. There are regular tests which are evaluated and a final merit list is prepared on the basis of marks obtained in them. While no one in training remains denied of employment, the most prestigious corps are joined by those who stand very high in the merit list, preferably occupying among the first 10 or 12 positions. The training is conducted under the charge of two officials at ENA who work directly under the Director of the Ecole, namely, Director

Table 1 ENA INTAKE SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT

Batch	No. of Parti- cipants	Batch	No. of Parti- cipants
May 1946-July 1947	87	January 1967-May 1969	97
June 1946-December 1948	65	January 1968-May 1970	115 ^e
January 1947-December 1948	59	January 1969-May 1971	103 ^f
January 1947-December 1949	55	January 1970-May 1972	103
February 1948-December 1949	11	January 1971-May 1973	97
January 1948-December 1950	43	January 1972-May 1974	131
January 1949-December 1951	39	January 1973-May 1975	115
January 1950-December 1952	78	January 1974-May 1976	141 ^g
January 1951-September 1953	99	January 1975-May 1977	147
January 1954-July 1956	78	January 1976-May 1978	159 ^h
January 1955-July 1957	77	January 1977-May 1979	136
January 1956-July 1968	67 ^a	January 1978-May 1980	168
January 1957-July 1959	54 ^b	January 1979-May 1981	159
January 1960-May 1962	54	January 1980-May 1982	133
February 1961-May 1963	63	January 1981-May 1983	149
February 1962-May 1964	68	January 1982-May 1984	177
February 1963-May 1965	94	January 1983-May 1985	153
February 1964-May 1966	112 ^c	January 1984-May 1986	153 ⁱ
February 1965-May 1967	92 ^d	January 1985-May 1987	171
January 1966-May 1968	121	January 1986-May 1988	146

^aOne from Cambodia.

^bOne from Greece & one from Syria.

^cOne from Overseas.

^dTwo from Overseas.

^eSix from Overseas.

^fOne from Overseas.

^gOne from Overseas.

^hOne from Overseas.

ⁱTwo from Overseas.

of Internships and Director of Academic Studies. These two functionaries have to award marks in internship and academic studies which is a responsibility of supreme sensitivity and delicacy: the marks obtained by the students determine their ranking in the civil service and, finally, their service career. Fourthly, ENA takes utmost care in selecting the organisations, both in public administration and the private sector, where the 'élèves' (students) are to undergo their internship. The principle is one organisation for one intern, which implies selection of 80 organisations in public administration and an equal number in private sector. Finally, it is a firm policy of the school to have internship done outside Paris: civil servants just

starting their career should imbibe their initial experiences outside the metropolis.

TRAINING: SYLLABUS AND METHODOLOGY

Internship

Internship refers to attachment to both public and private organisations where the newly recruited civil servants work directly under the head of the organisation and are entrusted with definite functional responsibilities to carry out. They, thus, operate not merely as observers or learners, but actually do the work. Internship has two terms--six months in public administration and six months in a private sector company, generally small sized one, employing less than 100 persons. It is not necessary for public organisation internship to precede the private firm internship. The order may be changed: what is important to bear in mind is that both the parts are compulsory and equally important. Let us begin with six months' internship in a public organisation.

The intern is usually sent to a pre-fixed field agency away from Paris, such as a prefecture whose administrative head, one may recall, is the prefect, or the "Commissioner of the Republic", as is his new nomenclature. He works directly under the latter, who allots him definite tasks for performance which he carries out. He directly handles certain cases and even proposes the appropriate course of action to the prefect. But he cannot sign papers himself, for under the law the prefect alone can take decisions within his jurisdiction. He represents the prefect in public functions and makes speeches. In short, he is integrated with the organisation of his internship even though he draws his salary from the Government at Paris. During this period, the Director of Internships at ENA remains in regular organised contact with him and his local boss, namely, the prefect. He visits the intern, discusses with him what and how he is doing, talks to his boss and acts as his adviser. His objective is to ensure that the intern learns the maximum and properly while in the field. Also, he has to assess the intern's performance and mentally evaluate him in terms of other interns serving else where. The responsibility is most delicate and onerous. At the end of six months, the head of local administration, in this case the prefect, is required to send an evaluation report on the intern to the Director of Internships at ENA. To standardise the evaluation and minimise the inter-play of subjective elements, a detailed questionnaire has been prepared by ENA and the prefect responds under these heads. He even recommends the marks to be awarded to the intern. But the final awards are given by the Director of Internships who has necessarily to keep in mind

the performance of the remaining interns and put him on an appropriate scale.

The intern then proceeds to a private firm where he spends six months directly under its head. The indenting company gives him definite responsibilities which may include even preparation of project reports but he reports directly to its head. The Director of Internships remains in contact with the intern as well as the company, regularly visiting the latter and talking to the intern as well as his boss. The evaluation of the intern follows the same pattern as discussed in the preceding paragraph. A private company, one may think, may treat the intern as a bird of passage with no stake or interest or even as an intruder. But this is not the case. The ENA experience is that private companies genuinely welcome the interns: the ENA association adds to their prestige. Interns, moreover, are highly sought after persons in France, and many firms are prepared to offer their interns employment with handsome emoluments.

Mention needs to be made of an international exposure given to the trainees during the internship period of one year. Each trainee must spend some time outside France--either attached to the French embassy abroad or to a foreign government or to a foreign company. The countries where the trainees are sent for this experience are usually United States, Germany, Canada (especially to French-speaking Quebec), Great Britain, Italy, etc. The one-year internship is evaluated at the end as a single unit.

Academic Studies

'Academic Studies' constitute the second segment of two-year training at ENA. One must not infer from the term that instructions at this stage are purely academic and theoretical. As already mentioned, the objective of training is to transform theoretically and conceptually strong graduates into practitioners of administration, technically proficient for the job awaiting them in their career.

The first part of training is dispersed but training for the second part (Academic Studies) is conducted at Paris--within the premises of the ENA itself. The first week of this one year instruction is spent in the mountain, away from Paris, where all the students live together. During the period of internship, one may recall, the trainees remain located at different places and do not know each other in the batch--or 'promotion' as it is called in ENA. They are made to live together for a week amidst the environment of a mountain so that they may come to know each other more closely and get welded into a socially cohesive team. A sojourn in the mountains has a sweet social purpose. An interesting ceremony in the first week

is the choosing of a theme for the 'promotion'. This needs an explanation for the Indian reader, for in India there is nothing equivalent to it either in our academic institutions or training schools. The word 'promotion' means a batch or class. At ENA, the newly recruited civil servants choose, by discussion among themselves and by eventual voting, it need be, a slogan for the year. The trainees are invited to propose slogans or names and after deliberations, which may continue till the early hours of the night, the list gets shorter and shorter and ultimately two themes may remain for final voting. Generally, one theme is a pronouncedly leftist one and another one is a rightist one, reflecting the spectrum of political beliefs of the class. Sometimes, as a compromise, a third theme, neutral in colour, is accepted by the 'promotion'. The theme of the promotion for one year, for instance, was 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. In the year 1987, the theme of the promotion was the sixteenth century philosopher, Michel de Montaigne, which was a third, neutral and therefore universally acceptable one. A living personality is seldom selected as the promotion.

Five broad principles firmly underpin the 'Academic Studies' segment of the ENA training. First, the whole training effort at ENA is animated by a philosophy of continuous competition among the students and this competition must be very fair. To this end, the trainees have to appear at various tests, both written and oral, in which definite marks are awarded. At the end of the training programme, the trainees are graded and a merit list is prepared. The second governing principle is the supreme importance of objectivity and impartiality in the evaluation of the trainees during the period of their instruction at ENA. In France, "the employees choose their employer" principle is followed. This in practice means that the trainees choose their job according to their rank determined by the marks they secure in the various tests. As there is regular monitoring of their performance, it is absolutely necessary to have a fool-proof system of evaluation. The ministries every year notify to ENA the number of vacancies and the latter sends the list of selected candidates which can never be turned down even by the minister of the indenting ministry. Thirdly, the courses of study at ENA are reasonably broad in scope and diverse in nature, which itself reflects the vast diversity of functions which a modern state is called up on to perform. This is necessary because allocation of trainees to various corps and ministries is done at the end of their stay at ENA and is not known earlier.⁵ The curriculum is thus so designed as to cover as far as possible the demands of a modern state. Fourthly, instruction at ENA is not in the least doctrinaire but is deliberately designed to be practical and pragmatic. Finally, familiarisation with international

and corporate approach is constantly emphasised in the course of training.

A CRITIQUE OF TRAINING

The French public administration has historically emphasised the legal training of civil servants. This is in line with the wider Europe-wide concern for profound knowledge of public law on the part of mandarins. Germany in this respect is even many steps ahead of France: it has deepest reverence for law as the ideal preparation for a civil service career. In the French system of training, law is accorded a very high place but of late the input of economics and management has been increasing. Some close observers of the French administrative system fear that legal education of the civil servant is not presently receiving the emphasis it deserves while others assert that emphasis on law has not suffered but some new subjects have been added to the syllabus to produce a better breed of administrators. One also notices a total absence of input of behavioural sciences in the training of civil servants.

The training programme at ENA is comprehensive in its range, multi-componental in its coverage and diverse in nature. The contents of 'Academic Studies' comprise seminars; drafting of juridical texts and administrative notes; international relations; management; economics, mathematics and statistics applied to management and economics; field study of social problems; languages and communication; bureautics, and, finally, physical training. The training methodology relies heavily on case studies and report-writing, both group and individual. As the objective of training is to prepare the trainees for the practical tasks of public administration, the trainees are taught methods and techniques more than contents. The ENA, thus, acts as a workshop, a polytechnic, if you so like.

Training institutions in France do not maintain a permanent teaching faculty; and instead rely on outsiders for lectures. The ENA, too, has been following this policy since its inception and does not have a faculty of its own. It, instead, depends on the guest faculty for teaching and the sources it taps are various--civil service, universities, mass media, private sector, etc. Since the objective of the training is to transform university graduates into practising civil servants, the largest single group it draws on is that of civil servants.⁶ Senior academics come for instructional purposes in large numbers. The ENA has earned a very high level of reputation in the society and people love to be invited for lectures, for an invitation from ENA constitutes a public recognition. The speakers are carefully chosen and they on their part take their assignment seriously. There

is a sort of discreet monitoring of instructors and those not coming up to the mark are silently dropped from the list.

As already mentioned, training is punctuated by periodic examinations, written as well as oral; and marks obtained in them determine their final ranking in the class. It is this ranking which fixes their career for life. It is, therefore, of utmost significance that evaluation of performance of the 80 and odd trainees be done in the most objective and professional way. Evaluation of trainees is entrusted to a jury, which is a board of examiners appointed by ENA. Members of the jury are well-known experts in their areas and carry out their responsibilities with utmost integrity. The broad principle observed in the evaluation is that 20 per cent of marks are allotted to Internship, and the remaining 80 per cent to Academic Studies of which 60 per cent remain with the jury and only 20 per cent with the instructors. The identity of the trainees is kept confidential--to keep the examiners unbiased. At the end of the two year period, the final order of merit is prepared. And with it begins the most critical function of allocation to various corps and ministries. The trainee getting the highest marks in the list is the first to choose his employer, but the choice follows the all too well-known predictable lines. The first six or seven in the list, the cream of the cream, generally, choose the conseil d'etat (the most prestigious corps) and those below in ranking opt for court des comptes and inspection generale des finances. The corp de prefecture and the diplomatic corps are generally chosen by those who cannot get into the first three. These are the three or five elite corps or services in France. Those below this number have to opt for various ministries and departments and they become Administrative Civil. The range of choice goes on diminishing as one goes down the list; to leave some semblance of choice even for the last candidate in the merit list--no one fails at ENA--the policy of the government is to notify more jobs than students under training. Thus, even the last trainee has a choice: he may choose out of ten or so jobs offered, all of equal level. Even the last job offered to the ENA product assures a comfortable life but every year two or three trainees refuse these left-over jobs, resign and join private sector which eagerly welcomes them. Such trainees have to refund their salaries while getting out of government. The label of ENA is most prestigious in the market and private sector organisations would be too willing to bear the charge in order to get an ENA trainee. This is equally true of the products of Ecole Polytechnique.

Continuous competition among the trainees is thus a cardinal principle of training in France--both at ENA and the Ecole Polytechnique. In France, competitiveness⁷ is an integral part of the

social culture. The device of examination during training keeps alive the spirit of competition, which brings for the best traits in the human personality; and the best among the best must be graded high and suitably compensated. Without examinations, training will not produce the optimum results. There must be a cause for fighting and examination during training supplies the cause. So runs the argument of the defenders of the practice. For full two years, the trainees compete with each other for the same career, which may possibly affect the social climate at ENA. The author discussed with the ENA staff the question of social relationship among the trainees and the general view appears to be that it is not always very wholesome. A senior official at ENA pointed out in the course of discussion with the author: "The social relationship among the *élevés* (students) is not unfair but nor are the trainees friendly with each other". "As the trainees compete for the same career they are careful not to help each other". The Fulton Committee on Civil Service appointed by Great Britain in 1968 noticed among the ENA trainees "a degree of competitive tension that is sometimes unhealthy".⁸

One may also note the view of those who have been successful in entering the ENA. A very widely held view is that the candidates for the higher civil service examination have to work very, very hard to get into ENA but once in it, every one is sure of a comfortable life career with satisfactory salary and other perks and the two years' stay at ENA is not one marked with tension and hostility. "We take the things in their strides", remarked one who was at ENA a few years back.

The content of training and the precise mix of its various components have undergone revision from time to time to keep it up to date. All the courses of study are compulsory and every one regardless of the stream he has come from is made to study all of them even though a subject may not be related to his actual career. Thus members of the diplomatic corps studies public law and other subjects while those in the corp of prefectures learn international relations. Indeed, no one knows what job he would hold, for allocation is done at the end of two years. One advantage of every one reading the same subjects is that when they leave ENA and go out to different spheres of administration each has a means of communication with others.

This arrangement of every trainee studying the same subjects was a later development. Earlier, the training at ENA, was divided into four specialisms: administration, economics, social affairs, and international relations. These specialisms were a hang-over of the past when every ministry and corps recruited its own officers and itself imparted training to them. At ENA, there was no relationship between specialisation and the career one was to eventually pursue

and, therefore, this arrangement was discontinued in 1958. Since then, every trainee attends the same courses. Likewise the behavioural science input in training was discarded in view of the unbalancing influence it produced among the trainees. The total duration of training has also varied. Till 1986 the training lasted for two years and six months. Since then, its duration has been fixed at two years--one year for internship and the remaining one year for Academic Studies.

One may also note a few other attributes of training of administrators in France. Being fully practice-oriented, training is designed to convert the graduates into technical personnel capable of conducting administration--ostensibly along lines hitherto observed. In other words, it has the effect of reproducing the administration, carrying forward both its strengths and weaknesses. It, in other words, does not make any attempt to identify gaps in the existing administration and fill them up. At present, the training at ENA does not appear to be futuristic, at least to a degree desired by the emerging ecological changes. A larger part of the training input has traditionally flowed from civil servants who have been coming to ENA for lectures, and the emphasis they generally lay upon is on the existing rather than on what should exist. Nor is there much academic stimulation provided in the training.

Before the present paper is concluded, a general observation seems warranted. The ENA system is apparently built upon competition, but the competition takes place in a society characterised by differing levels of consciousness. In such a context, brilliance itself includes capacities to overcome social handicaps, which in the process tilts the balance in favour of groups having socialisation advantages. In short, underneath the ENA system operates a subtle social discrimination, especially when it comes to the elite corps in the civil service. Social selection by manners may not be a totally incorrect, inapt and irrelevant comment on what happens in the ENA system and this is powerfully legitimised by the competitive system of recruitment. This is not peculiar to France: in countries where the social status of the public bureaucracy is high the elite groups in the society are apt to reproduce themselves in a convex form in the higher reaches of its mandarinat.

PRE-ENTRY AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

The foregoing relates to the initial training of newly recruited civil servants in France. A discussion of the present topic shall remain incomplete without a reference to the pre-entry and in-service training in France. The state in France has made arrangements for

the benefit of the individuals preparing for the higher civil service competitive examinations. Facilities are provided to candidates taking the external as well as internal examinations. Specialised Institutions has been created and attached to the universities for the benefit of the students seeking a government career. The serving civil servants are given special leave with pay for one to two years to attend inter-ministerial centres to prepare for examinations. Those who do not succeed may rejoin their government posts.

As regards in-service training, it is not much developed or organised in a definite form in France. The higher civil servants, especially those belonging to the three controlling corps have a most varied career. They move from ministry to ministry and even accept assignments in both public enterprises and private sector. This renders planning of effective in-service training very difficult even though short-term training programmes and seminars of varying duration are getting organised, especially for the specialist personnel. The dominant belief, however, appears to be that with sound initial grounding, the mandarins do not much need in-service training. Nor does France seemingly see any empirical reason for activating itself in this regard. The civil service is functionally adequate, efficient and motivated--traits which apparently do not necessitate mounting of institutional in-service training.

An absence of widely developed in-service training is presently compensated by the ingrained habits of self-study and reflection on the part of the mandarins. Mention in this respect may be made of an interesting innovation in the French public administration. This needs some discussion.

Reflection Clubs

The Fourth Republic was a period of continuing political fluidity in France, which made some civil servants feel concerned about the country's affairs and discover ways and means of moving it forward. It was a turbulent age for France; and some senior civil servants and university professors responded to the challenge by deciding to meet together and exchange views and opinions periodically. The first such 'reflection club' was formed around the fifties. To signify the role and responsibility of the civil service in the society, it was named after a distinguished civil servant who was in the forefront of the resistance movement during the World War II and who met his end at the hands of the Nazis. Soon, some politicians also joined, and many such clubs emerged, mostly in Paris where like-minded civil servants, university professors and politicians began to meet periodically, discuss the current problems and reflect on possible solutions. In the course of time, they become ideologically based and

became forums for vigorous, even if somewhat polemical, discussion of country's political and other problems. Though their importance have declined in the eighties, consequent on the end of ideology, so to say, nearly ten such reflection clubs are still influential where like-minded top civil servants, politicians and academics meet and debate on country's emerging problems, concerns and issues. These clubs serve the purpose of keeping higher civil servants well informed about the problems of the society in general and of public administration in particular.

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1. The grandes ecoles are specialised institutions, not a part of the universities. A few of them are privately run but most are created by the state. Though their number is very small compared to universities and other institutions of higher learning they account for nearly all higher civil servants. Entrance to them is through a fiercely competitive examination, called **concours**. In order to expect success, the applicants have to make special preparation for two or three years after their baccalaureate. Admission in them itself signifies high achievement in the society. The most well-known are the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole National d' Administration.
2. See Shriram Maheshwari, **The Higher Civil Service in Japan**, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1987, pp. 290.
3. It is like India's public works department. The Indian reader must be told that the prestige which this corps enjoys in France is enormous, second only to the corps of engineers.
4. In France, teachers are categorised as civil servants. But in academic discussions, a distinction between the two groups is generally maintained.
5. In India, the 'servicification' is done by the recruiting agency as soon as the recruitment process is completed. In France, this is done at the end of training, depending on the marks obtained during the period of two-year training. One may note that India's Kothari Committee on Recruitment Policy and Selection Methods (1976) made a recommendation that the allocation to the various services be made after assessing the performance of the trainees at the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, on the recommendation of the Union Public Service Commission. The recommendation was not accepted by the Government of India on the plea that "this will involve reorganisation of the Academy". The allocation of successful candidates to different services is, thus, made on the basis of marks in the main examination and interview, taking into consideration the candidates' preferences. The Committee's recommendation in favour of allocating the candidates to the various services after they have completed their training is

based on the argument that servicification would become more scientific if this is done after watching the candidates' performance during the period of training and in the post-training test. It is a theoretically sensible recommendation, but in practice may lead to highly undesirable results. Unfortunately, the general level of integrity in India is presently not very high, and it is not safe to delay or defer the process of servicification. The interval between the main examination and the post-training test is too brief to make the 'servicification' really objective. At the same time, it is long enough for the blue-eyed boys and girls to mobilise support and gain entry into the more prestigious services. It is, therefore, very proper that servicification in India is made exactly when the results of the competitive examination are announced.

6. In France, civil servants have the freedom to take up teaching assignments and accept the payment.
7. See Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Intellect and Pride*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 269-74.
8. *Report of the Committee on the Civil Service* (Chairman: Lord Fulton), cmd. 3638, London, HMSO, 1968, p. 135.

Management Development in Public Administration : The Experience of Sri Lanka

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IT IS nearly half a century since most Asian countries emerged from their colonial dependence or turned away from their pre-modern state and embarked on a process of administrative modernisation. During this period, these countries have experienced rapid changes in the socio-economic, technological and political milieu in which their administrative systems were called upon to function. As they approach the twentyfirst century, their administrative systems face even more complex changes in their functional milieu.

Sri Lanka has been no exception to this experience. In trying to cope with the challenges posed by development imperatives, attempts were made to restructure and reform the administrative system as well as to upgrade the public service which operates the system. This article seeks to understand and evaluate the manner in which Sri Lanka has, over this period, utilised and improved training for the purpose of upgrading its public service. It would not attempt to provide a historical account of the development of public service training, but would appraise the process, assess the present situation and seek to understand future needs and the manner in which they should be met.

In doing so, the article would proceed on the basis that the citizens of a democratic polity have the fundamental right to expect that the administrative system which serves them meets certain basic requirements and possesses certain basic characteristics. First of all, it should be efficient in the utilisation of public resources and in the delivery of public services. Secondly, it should be effective in the achievement of developmental and service goals set for it. Thirdly, it must be continuously responsive to the concerns and needs of the public good. Fourthly, it should be accountable to the public and, finally, it needs to be forward looking and should have the institutional capability to generate internal changes in response to the changes in its task environment.

In any administrative system, the extent to which such public

expectations are met would depend on the quality of the public service cadres who constitute its human resource. Public administrators in a democratic polity have, therefore, to be regarded as constituting a distinct profession, the practitioners of which need to be equipped to provide the country with such administrative system. The question which this article seeks to address is to what extent the administrative system of post-Independent Sri Lanka has been successful in developing public administration training to produce such practitioners.

Background

The statement, made by an official committee in 1965, that "the government has had no conscious policy and programme to train systematically its public service to meet the managerial requirements of a developing economy" vividly describes the situation as regards public service training which prevailed in the first two post-Independence decades. The same two decades had also witnessed the beginnings of profound socio-political changes in the Sri Lankan society. The passing years had also highlighted the increasing role of modern technology in the resolution of the country's development problems. But, there was no significant change in the level of professionalism of the public administrators. Thus, there was a glaring gap in the capability of practitioners to professionally cope with the changes in the environment and with the demands of technology, as underlined by the official committee mentioned earlier.

It was in October 1966 that the Academy of Administrative Studies (later named the Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration) was established in response to the warning sounded by the official committee and training began to receive some measure of recognition. Even so, the past two decades have witnessed significant variations in the level of attention training has received from the political level and from the leaders of the public service itself. It has ranged from active support to benign neglect or uneasy tolerance.

Whilst training in the public service as a whole has been affected by the prevalent ambivalent attitude, the severest impact on the country's development has resulted from the gaps in capability amongst the management cadres. Since the country achieved independence, there has not only been a general increase in normal governmental activities themselves, but there has also been a significant expansion in the nature, scope and diversity strains on the Government's organisation, management systems and manpower. Continuous warnings have been sounded that if development goals are to be achieved, the significance of improved management capability throughout the total administrative system cannot be overemphasised. Manage-

ment development, thus, lies at the heart of the development management problem in Sri Lanka. This article would, therefore, focus its attention on training of development managers within the Sri Lankan administrative system.

Present Context

There has, certainly, been an expansion of management training in the public service during the past two decades. A variety of institutions and programmes, aimed at managerial groups, dot the administrative scene. Relative to the size of the country and its administrative system, the investment on these has been not insignificant. However, the results have been less than gratifying and Sri Lanka continues to face serious problems of management inadequacy.

Two basic factors affect the problem which Sri Lanka faces in regard to training of development managers. The first is that public administration has yet to be recognised as a distinct profession with its special demands of knowledge, expertise and attitudes. Neither the society nor its political and administrative leaders subscribe to a need for developing a special cadre of managers for public administration. The technical skills or intellectual capacities acquired in the process of tertiary or secondary education have been accepted as being adequate for public administration management. The second is that, within the society and at the level of its political and administrative leaders, there has been inadequate appreciation of the increasing level of sophistication and complexity of the development process and its tasks which the administrative system is required to manage.

The consequences of these factors are evident. One is the inadequacy of training and development of managerial cadres at their induction resulting in a failure to provide them with a base of professionalism. The second is the inadequate recognition of the role of continuing career-long training in equipping managers to meet the challenges of the emerging demands of sophistication and complexity of the development process. These, in turn, have contributed to a series of constraints and weaknesses in the field of management training.

The first of these constraints is the inadequacy of funding for management training whether it be for capital investment or for programmes. Budgetary provision for both lags far behind requirements and continues to rank low in priority. The second is the lack of recognition of public administration training as a profession which impedes the attraction of the best material available as trainers. Thus, Sri Lanka continues to face a problem of inadequacy of trained trainers. This, whilst posing difficulties at every level of train-

ing, constitutes a special constraint at the level of management training. A third constraint is the absence of integration of planned management training with career development which particularly affects the motivation for participation in training.

Whilst, as stated earlier, there has been a growth in the activity of management training, a continuing weakness has been the fractured, uncoordinated and ad hoc character of the arrangements. This situation is contributed to by the absence of a central focal point within the administrative system for policy coordination on training. The fractured character of the arrangements contributes not only to sub-optimal utilisation of resources but also to an absence of substantive interaction amongst the different programmes as well as to an excessive narrowness of their focus and orientation.

All these constraints and weaknesses flow from a major central deficiency, namely, the absence of an authoritative national training policy for the public service which would serve as a system-wide mandate for training, vest the necessary authority in a central focal point, and ensure the flow of financial and human resources.

The Future

This is the situational context from which one has to begin the enquiry as to what the future activities should be to enhance the effectiveness of the effort at management development. Perhaps an assessment of the future key tasks of public management in the Sri Lankan society would be an appropriate point for initiation of such an enquiry. These could be drawn from the society's current state of economic, social and political development as well as recent and imminent changes therein. The last 12 years of the twentieth century would be an appropriate time frame for doing so.

The current level of the gross national product and the clearly articulated aspirations of the people in terms of the quality of life, work expectations and equity, underline the main preoccupation of public management as being the ensuring of accelerated growth and development of the economy and of the modernisation of society through the harnessing of modern technology. The tasks involved in this preoccupation, however, do not arise in a vacuum but in a more than ordinarily complicated socio-political environment.

A critical factor in the political environment is that the country has, for the first time in its post-independence history, set in motion a process of devolution of hitherto centralised political and administrative responsibility and authority. Occurring as it does after four decades of growth of a centralised polity, the process is fraught with a myriad of pitfalls, which, if not overcome with sensitivity yet purposefully, would permanently harm the process of de-

velopment and modernisation. Thus, managing and stabilising the process of devolution would be a key task of the public managers of tomorrow.

At the same time, the social environment is characterised by an endemic situation of confrontation and conflict involving physical violence. Ethnic conflict has been joined by the confrontational and conflict prone approaches to problem solving of the frustrated youth whilst inward looking and outward looking attitudes clash over modernisation. Underlying these is the four decades old and still unresolved class-based confrontation which continues to simmer. All these have now reached a point in which they are mutually reinforcing. Whilst, on the one hand, they intensify the urgency of the tasks of development and modernisation, they make the resolution of issues involved in the tasks even more difficult and risky. Conflict management, thus, would figure prominently in the task menu of public managers of Sri Lanka in the run-up to the twentyfirst century.

This task profile of the public managers of tomorrow underscores a significant fact, namely, that their training needs would be qualitatively different from what has obtained in the past. The Administrative Reforms Committee, in its report on training and career development, sought to highlight some of these needs. In doing so, the Committee stressed the need for developing group cohesiveness, continuous exposure to new technological developments and to new thinking on development related issues, for sharpening of policy analysis skills, for an understanding of the changing development milieu, goals and processes and for an appreciation of the requirements of public accountability.

The future task profile, as outlined earlier, and its training needs highlighted above have implications for the approach to and organisation of management training in the public service. It is necessary, therefore, to assess what these implications are.

To begin with, a change is necessary in the perception of the management group itself. Hitherto, there has been no holistic perception of the management group within the administrative system as a single group with a common role. The group and its role have been identified via sectarian occupational sub-groupings. Such an identification has contributed to a state of continuous sub-group interest based tension within the management group. The future calls for a major change in the approach to management training. The emphasis should be on "training of managers who happen to be involved in specific occupational functions" rather than on "training of specific occupational cadres involved in performing management tasks". The emphasis in the future would need to be on the common management roles and functions of this group rather than on their several

occupational specificities.

This calls for special emphasis on induction training for all inductees to the management group to provide those coming in from different streams of occupational training and education with a common management approach and capability as well as to motivate them to share a common management umbrella. The physical facilities for such induction training would, obviously, have to be common to support the intended objective.

It also underscores the importance of frequent common programmes of management training throughout the career progression of the management group. In the coming decade, the changes in the environment of the administrative system would be so rapid and frequent that they would call for a significant increase in the frequency of exposure of the management group to in-service training. This factor would need to be built into the career structures of the management group if this objective is to be achieved.

Throughout the above discussion, the emphasis has been on deriving the content of management training from the compulsions which flow on the administrative system from its political, social and economic environment. In order to be effective in doing so, the institution responsible for management training and its trainers would require heavy backing from continuing research. One serious shortcoming which has been observed in regard to management training in Sri Lanka has been its heavy dependence on foreign sources for its training material which, as a result, has tended to be prototype material without specific relationship to the milieu in which the country's managers function. There has been hardly any research into issues related to development in Sri Lanka which could provide an indigenous base for the development of training material.

The Administrative Reforms Committee has already drawn attention to this shortcoming as well as to the dearth of qualified management trainers. Both these have, therefore, emerged as areas for priority corrective action in which investment of resources would be necessary.

Given the prevalent situation in regard to training in public management in the country, it is clear that the Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration would have to play the lead role both in induction as well as in in-service training for the management group. The physical facilities in which the induction and in-service training are housed should be common regardless of the occupational sub-groupings and the programmes should be so designed as to bring the sub-groups together into continuous inter-action rather than to keep them separate. Given the nature of the future role of the management group, these two elements cannot be too strongly

emphasised.

A final requirement is a focal point within the administrative system to coordinate the national policy, the allocation of resources, as well as the activities of the different institutions which constitute the training network. Whilst the need for such a focal point is evident for public service training as a whole, its importance in regard to management training is specially critical. The experience of the Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration filling the void was not only not particularly successful, it distracted the Institute from its basic role of being the key instrument of management development.

All these, as the Administrative Reforms Committee has pointed out, need to be incorporated in a National Training Policy for the public service if the future programme of action is to receive the necessary system-wide support. The absence of such a National Training Policy has been a serious drawback to the growth of public service training, including management training, in Sri Lanka. Its absence tended to convey a lack of political commitment to training, impeded the flow of resources to training activities and affected the motivation of public servants, particularly of managers, for participation in training activities.

CONCLUSION

The task that awaits the leaders of the administrative system of Sri Lanka in reforming management training in the public service is indeed a daunting one. Particularly, challenging is the task of changing perceptions and approaches. What is clear is that a mere linear progression on the paths followed earlier would totally fail to produce the required changes and would only serve to perpetuate the irrelevance of management training to the task demands of the administrative system. Failure to initiate and implement the changes would contribute to a continued misutilisation of scarce resources.

The signs are that this reality is now increasingly recognised at decision-making levels. The tragic and costly consequences of the management inadequacies in the development management system can no longer be ignored. The constitution of the Administrative Reforms Committee itself, with its very wide terms of reference, was a recognition of the problem. Now that the Government has commenced the process of implementation of the ARC recommendations, it is to be hoped that the reforms in regard to management training would proceed apace.

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Foundational Course in the National Academy of Administration

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BEFORE THE introduction of competitive examination in 1853, the personnel of the English East India Company were partly nominated by the court of directors and partly by the board of control. All nominees, however, had to undergo training for a period of two years in the East India College at Haileybury. Most of the recruits to the company services were from the British middle class and training given to them at the East India College was aimed at equipping them for a life in a distant land, India and running an administration to promote the imperial interests. Nevertheless, the question of taming a country which had a highly discriminatory, arbitrary and confusingly complex way of administering justice, to the notion of the rule of law, was uniformly stressed.

INTRODUCTION

With the formation of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) and the intake of Indians into it, the emphasis of the training system was on liberal aristocratic values and most part of the training curriculum was made heuristic in practice. A great amount of freedom within the

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organisational framework was made available to the trainee in order that he might develop self-confidence to exercise his authority independently in social situations with caution and his mental horizon might expand to use his discretion in appropriate decisional contexts.

There was insistence on personal integrity and personal virtues that would enhance the prestige and dignity of the public office in the eyes of elite section of society. Training period was, by and large, a social occasion to make readjustments preparatory to the entry into an imperial order.

The change of socio-political situation, brought about by independence, led to the discontinuance of the ICS and the constitution of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) as an entirely indigenous bureaucracy. Along with the IAS, a number of other services were created to make Indian bureaucratic system indeed gigantic.

The training system evolved for the ICS has already been dubbed alien and unsuited to the needs of democratic India, and therefore, the problem of training the recruits to the IAS assumed such a significance as to engage the attention of the highest political levels. In a Westminster type parliamentary set-up, the institutional model for civil service training cannot be anything different from the one evolved by the British and finally a school in Delhi was set up to train the recruits to the IAS. The IAS Training School imparted the same type of instruction as had been received by the probationers of the ICS except the part that fostered British interests in India. Its accent was on the culture of the generalist and attributes such as integrity, impartiality and probity in the context of civil service doctrines namely, neutrality, anonymity and continuity.

Probationers of the other services had their pre-entry training in their own departments or departmental training units or institutions or in the Staff College, Shimla. The recruits of one service hardly got an opportunity to mingle with those of other services to build up within the broad formal structure of the government, an informal organisation which would contribute to mutual understanding, inter-personal cordiality and elimination of conflicts that marred efficiency. In a country of self-isolating castes, each service sought to create an insularity that added to bureaucratic rigidity, rivalry and dispersion of efforts.

SETTING UP OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY

Advice from several sources had convinced the political leadership of the necessity of bringing together the recruits to the various services in one training centre to undergo for a specific period

common instruction in an environment that facilitated promotion of comradeship. In 1959, the IAS Training School situated in Delhi and the Staff College, Shimla were amalgamated to form the National Academy of Administration to be the institution for the foundation course of probationers of all services and professional training for the IAS.

The considerations of politics that had gone into its location in Mussoorie, a hill station, geographically isolated from the rest of the country except for a single winding road link often breached by climatic onslaughts in the forms of landslide and erosion, and known for its tortuous and bitter winter extending over six months, need no admission. The unsuitability of Mussoorie as a national training centre for the direct recruits to class I services, later on was admitted and a new campus for the National Academy of Administration was fully developed between 1962 and 1973 but only to house the Jawaharlal Nehru University again, obviously, for political reasons.

There has been no examination as to how far a complex designed and built for civil service training in the country, would be fit for establishment of a university nor has there been a murmur of protest from any quarters not excluding the opposition parties against the waste involved in such an arbitrary conversion. No civil servant in any advisory position has demonstrated a persuasive influence to impress upon the concerned politicians in authority that there is an ostensible difference in the structural and infrastructural facilities required for civil service training and for imparting knowledge in universities. The fact that the necessities of training of an administrator for which recoveries will be made from him, are not the normal requirements of a university student, is also conveniently ignored.

Role of Director of Academy

The question of final location of the National Academy of Administration still has to find a wholesome answer and unless, political leadership is farsighted and has complete comprehension of civil service system, and the modifications that it requires from time to time, the choice of a congenial place for training, will be made more by influences and pressures than by its needs as visualised by its objectives. The prolonging indecision in regard to the final location of the academy is a major handicap to the successful running of the foundational course. Training is an area which suffers from chronic political neglect and in which politicians in power are the least interested on account of intelligible reasons.

There is of course, a perceptible resistance on the part of the senior civil servants to head a training institution mainly due to

their ambition to occupy positions of authority into which intellectual inadequacies could be concealed and hierarchical distance contributing to self-importance could be enhanced. Some of those who are persuaded to accept the directorship of the academy utilised their relatively secure tenure, far away from the possibilities of political vigilance, for furthering the cause of their hobbies and crass obscurantism intelligibly enough in the mystifying name of cultural development.

On the other hand, some others have subscribed to the view that a relaxation of the basic morals bordering on a mild variety of epicureanism necessarily leads to the creation of an ideal atmosphere for civil service training. In 1966-67 the training advisory committee presided over by D.G. Karve, unanimously recommended that a civil servant who was not required elsewhere, should not be selected to direct the affairs of the academy. Even so, the political will seldom manifests to effect the selection of the director, discreetly and judiciously. It is perhaps absolutely wanting in shifting the directorial nomination from the closed preserve of the bureaucracy to the free province of talents and higher attributes.

Until now the political leadership has taken no durable interest in reforming civil service training or in applying correctives where it is not only demanded but has become imperative. The director is the pivot of the functions of the academy and he enjoys enormous powers as well as freedom for moulding generations of probationers to the tasks of nation building. He, of course, can use or misuse his vast authority. Rarely any political control is exercised over his domain so much so that a former director has indiscriminately resorted to retrenching the most efficient subordinate employees and put to flight competent members of the faculty by insult and terror as passivity subordinated accountability.

A dynamic, resourceful, intellectually brilliant, progressively disposed, equanimous and magnanimous directorship is indispensable to the effective organisation of the foundational course in which probationers belonging to various services, differentiated by their service appellations participate. The whole compartmentalisation of the services by graduated inequality demonstrates the unfailing influence of the IAS over the political executive for the maintenance of its supremacy. The integration of the services in a caste-ridden society, which is one of the aims of the foundational course, is impossible unless it begins in the National Academy of Administration under the leadership of a director, who has absolute faith in the doctrine of equality and a powerful mind to discourage the behavioural trends that foster discrimination based on service affiliations.

A prime objective of the foundational course is to bring the probationers within a disciplinary framework conducive to the promotion of the values of a democratic society and to the establishment of cordial, if not ideal, interrelationships between the different services. Discipline in the academy has been the victim of indigence except for a decade between 1966 and 1977 due to plurality of reasons.

Behavioural Problems--Status of Teachers

A section of the probationers who take their entry into the services especially the IAS, as a transcendental triumph, turn cynical, insolent and conceited to disturb the scheme of training. Assuming omniscience when, in fact, knowledge begins where they have left it, to adopt a derisive attitude towards the instructional system in vogue, advancing their own reasons, which in fact at times is tacitly encouraged by some members of the staff styling as 'directorial'.

While teaching talent in the country is uniformly limited, they expect unexcelled wisdom from an average speaker when their own capacity for imbibing or responding to fresh ideas is too meagre. Often unconventional ideas essential for revealing the strange characteristics and behaviours of society are frowned at and interaction between the speaker and the audience is reduced deliberately to heckling so that he should not develop the theme of his talk. As individual identity can be submerged in the amorphous character of the crowd, innocence is often claimed and not seldom conceded. Their intolerance and impatience are more demonstrated when ideas in favour of progressive social change are expressed. At the very inceptive stage of their career itself, they not only stand for social status quo but are determined to take society back where it was found by the British. The arrogance of assumed omniscience is at once transformed into pliability of subservience, the moment the speaker happens to be a person who wields authority.

The successful passing through the recruitment process beginning with a written examination, is indeed more a strategy of preparation than a sign of intellectual attainment, and the foundational course should provide an environment to open the closed mind of the probationers to the expanding horizon of knowledge. An unreceptive mind is responsible for priggish complacency that adversely affects administrative performance of a civil servant. Some members of the 'directorial' staff invested with the responsibility for enforcing discipline, are inclined to establish proximity with patronising probationers with future anticipations and be too mild or indulgent to them.

From the seventies, an indivious distinction has been driven into

the training personnel to divide them into 'directorial' staff and 'academic' staff and in providing an untenable but apparent justification for it, two bodies, namely, the directorial council and academic council were constituted. The 'academic' staff were denied the pay scales prescribed by the University Grants Commission in order to put them below an average deputy director who often happens to be their trainee, a few years ago.

The permanent training staff as also the core faculty of the academy is indisputably the 'academic' staff openly recruited on all-India basis but neither the quantum of their remuneration nor the length of their service determines their status in relation to officers drawn from the services. Their perquisites are treated as matters of mere directorial grace. The belittlement implied in the treatment meted out to them, projects their images diminutively for the perception of the probationers. Scarcely, therefore, a reputed or promising academic in the country ventures to compete for a training position in the academy and those who landed there under compulsions of unemployment or under-employment, use it as a transit house.

Problem of In discipline

Directors, except a few, in succession have sought to vindicate the plight of the 'academic' staff and their frustration raising out of the lack of opportunity for promotion, and the government at the political level seems to be unconcerned about their existence or importance. The discrimination practised against them was so open and unrestrained that one director often ordered their absence from the auditorium whenever probationers were addressed by high dignitaries, to accommodate his obliging favourites from outside. Such humiliation invariably led to complete impairment of the ability of even the most outstanding among them to maintain the minimum essential discipline in the classroom. The academy seems to be in total oblivion that respect to a teacher is neither commanded nor demanded but it is simply given as his legitimate social due.

The problem of indiscipline is faced more by eminent members of the faculty than by the mediocre. Indiscipline in the academy is largely the making of probationers hailing from influential families with whom some staff members seek to curry favour or against whom they are little emboldened to move. The disciplinary action has been few and far between and if taken, the incidence has fallen on a probationer who comes within the category of lesser mortals.

The effectiveness of the foundational course has to be sought in the capacity of the authorities for equal enforcement of discipline and their determination to uphold the dignity of the teacher and the

sanctity of his profession. If Aristotle has mentioned that inequality is the cause of revolution, its ramifications that have penetrated into every aspect of the life in the academy are the spur for indiscipline within itself.

SOME REMEDIAL MEASURES

In the training systems of the continental countries, particularly of France, effective means are available for the elimination of the undesirable and the incompetent but in India, there is no device to get rid of a trainee unworthy of his service save by some form of disciplinary action, the legality of which is often subject to review by the courts. If the foundational course is to serve its objectives, it must be the first stage to set at work a process of elimination.

The written examination or oral interview prescribed by the Union Public Service Commission does not constitute the means to assess the attributes and attitudes of the interviewees. At best, it is one of the several methods available for measuring some of their capabilities. Qualities like spirit of public service, honesty, integrity, rectitude, and sense of justice and intellectual earnestness which are indispensable for a public servant, cannot be discovered except by persistent effort over a period of time.

There is precipitate hurry among the majority of probationers to occupy the seats of authority without even a self-examination whether their acquisition of knowledge and skills has accorded them adequate intellectual strength for it. Those who fail to do justice to themselves, will be tempted to do injustice to others. A fool-proof system which can annul subjective judgement, is an imperative requirement to weed out the misfits from the services during their probationary period, and the foundational course should form one of its major components. If necessary, the entire recruitment pattern should be radically transformed for achieving this end.

Bureaucratic tinkering with the foundational course between 1965 and 1967 has reduced its duration from six months to 16 weeks which is highly inadequate to serve its objectives. The aims of the foundational course are to promote among the probationers of the various services *esprit de corps*, motivate them to imbibe the basic professional, administrative and human values, to impart to them basic knowledge of the constitution of India, political science, socio-economic system, law, Indian history and culture and public administration, to acquaint them with the use of computers and to inculcate in them the importance of physical fitness for the development of individual personality.

The main constraint in the attainment of these goals is time. In the midst of the functioning of several clubs and societies and the enforced diversions like hiking and trekking, classroom activities leave only a dream effect on the probationers. The answer-papers* of the majority of probationers bear testimony to the fact that their conceptualisation is sub-normal and their organisation of ideas is bereft of logical skill and literary grace. Under political pressures, the Union Public Service Commission has inducted euphoric populism in the sphere of language with the result that there is no vehicle of effective expression either in terms of mother tongue or English with which all regions of the country are familiar for the last 200 years.

The probationers should be kept out of the polemic of language and until an Indian language in the natural course, by its own merit, replaces English, they must be encouraged to acquire proficiency in it. Overwhelming influence and the extensive utility of English in the world of rapidly advancing science, and technology, cannot be refuted by political prejudice or by setting against it the passions of ignorance. If English is western, the concepts of nation and national language are also equally western.

It is through the association with the developed, the less developed reached its full development. Indian languages which have kept intimate relations with English during the last 100 years, have made rapid advancement. English itself expanded as an international vehicle of communication not alone by scientific and industrial progress that the United Kingdom has made, but by its creative dependence on Latin and Greek and its borrowing from hundreds of dialects and tongues all over the world. The probationers in order to be effective in their communication and expression, should be given an orientation in English during the foundational course emphasising on its grammar and composition which constitute its discipline.

*The writer was examiner for one of their subjects even as late as 1987.

Training

[Reproduced from the report of ILO, Joint Committee on the Public Service, Recruitment, Training and Career Development in the Public Service, chapter entitled "Training", Geneva, ILO, pp. 47-61.]

THE NEED for adequate training of public service staff is now universally recognised. In order to run modern administrations, which are affected by numerous economic, social, structural and technological changes, staff require continuous further training just as in other sectors. The standard and efficiency of the public services depend to a large extent on their ability to adapt and, above all, on the competence of their staff.

Such training needs are particularly pronounced in the developing countries, where the administrations must act as a driving force in economic and social development. Training and further training efforts have emerged as an absolute necessity for these countries since their independence, owing to the shortage of qualified national staff.

At the same time, the officials themselves feel the need for training that will allow them greater self-fulfilment in their working life and open up broader prospects of advancement for them. Moreover, many jobs require specific training and preparation which can only be provided partly by the educational system.

THE VARIOUS TYPES OF TRAINING

In order to meet these requirements, systems of training public service staff have been established in nearly every country. To provide for the various stages of career development, they have taken the following forms according to the objectives pursued:

- (a) pre-employment training;
- (b) training of newly recruited staff;
- (c) further training; and
- (d) training for advancement.

These different types of training are complementary and interdependent. The importance attached to one or another differs according to the country: some stress initial training, with less emphasis on further training, whereas in others, greater attention is paid to the latter, with its implications for advancement. The line of demarcation between the various types of training is, besides, difficult to draw at times.

Pre-employment Training

This training is intended to supplement the general knowledge acquired at school and the university by more specific training

geared to the administration's needs. It has become necessary because the knowledge acquired in the general system of education often no longer suffices for carrying out the administrative and technical tasks that must be performed by a modern administration. Specialised knowledge is required in the field of administrative sciences, management techniques, planning and decision-making, budget and finance, and data processing. Moreover, there are specific functions in the public administration for which no training is provided for in the general system of education.

The university system of many countries is no longer directed to the training of staff for the public service. However, various universities and institutions of higher education have included in their curricula courses in administrative science and public administration as the main or an optional field of study leading, in some cases, to degrees or diplomas in these subjects. Some interesting experiments have been carried out in this connection in various universities in the United States and Canada, as well as in Argentina, Australia, the Bahamas, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Portugal, Spain and Venezuela. In Poland, ample provision has been made in the higher schools for the further training of managerial staff. Similarly, the universities in Czechoslovakia have special graduate programmes for administrative training. In France, the universities hope to provide training for candidates for competitive public service examinations.

Many developing countries award fellowships for comprehensive studies abroad in universities and institutes of higher education. However, such a policy raises problems; the students often prefer to remain in the host country on completing their studies rather than return to their own country or, if they do return, they consider that they are automatically entitled to enter the public service - often the main source of employment - which may create rivalry with graduates from local schools. Other problems also arise, such as the equivalence of national and foreign degrees and the maladjustment of studies abroad to national needs. Accordingly, a number of countries have in recent years, with international assistance or under bilateral co-operation agreements, set up their own public administration institutes and schools, better adapted to local circumstances. At the same time, horizontal technical co-operation between developing countries in the field of public administration has considerably increased.

A survey made by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences indicates that 85 developing countries have altogether 240 public service training centres and schools. At the regional level, the United Nations has set up administrative training and research centres, such as the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD), the Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre (APDAC) and the Latin American Centre for Development Administration (CLAD).¹ The ILO's regional labour administration projects (CRADAT and ARLAC in Africa, CIAT and CLAC in Latin America and the Caribbean, and ARPLA in Asia and the Pacific) have also played an important part in the training of labour administration staff in the countries of these regions. The establishment of these regional institutes and centre has enabled many countries to train their own administrative staff and thus to become less dependent on foreign personnel.

In some developing countries, such as Malaysia and the Philippines, where large-scale efforts have been made to promote administrative training institutions, the governments award fellowships to persons who wish to pursue administrative studies, on condition however that they undertake to serve the State for a given period on completing their studies. The Governments of Argentina and Venezuela have concluded agreements with several national universities for the administrative training of future public servants.

However, the universities and public administration centres and institutes can contribute only to a limited extent to the pre-employment training of public service staff. In most cases, it is the State itself that must provide for such training, and this it does either within the administration or in specialised training centres and schools coming under various ministries and administrations.

This latter approach relates primarily to specialised staff employed in the public services: customs officials, police, forestry officers, firemen, air controllers, meteorologists, surveyors, cartographers, judges, postal and railway officials, officials of the labour administration and, social, health and social security services, tax inspectors, etc.²

Training of Newly Recruited Staff

This training is intended primarily to introduce newly recruited staff to the jobs they are to perform and to adapt their knowledge to the duties for which they have been recruited. In some countries, this training is provided by means of induction courses designed to acquaint the new officials with the administration and its organisation and functions. In other countries, it is more specifically job-oriented.

The contents of the training obviously depend on the public service structures and the level of the duties to be assigned to the officials. In countries where the officials are recruited to perform different functions and jobs during their career, the initial training will thus take a different form and other directions than in systems where appointment is made for a given job. Consequently, some countries take a more general approach to such training, considering that it should aim at enabling the staff to be assigned to various posts, thus creating a certain flexibility in staff management.

In most cases, training is provided directly by the body or administration employing the officials, often in close co-operation with government training schools and institutions.

In some countries, training is provided for certain categories of staff following recruitment but prior to taking up their duties. This is the case in France, for example, where the National School of Administration (ENA) and the regional institutes of administration (IRA) give theoretical courses and practical training to upper-grade administrative staff and most category A officials before they take up their duties. National schools of administration also exist in the countries of the Maghreb and French-speaking Africa. In Algeria, the training of middle-grade staff is provided by administrative training centres throughout the country. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the training of middle-grade staff of the federal administration has been provided since 1979 by a professional public administration school and comprises both theoretical courses and practical training. In Norway, the major government administrations have special schools

and programmes for staff recruited from the educational system. The Academy for Administrative Training in Pakistan gives preparatory training courses to officials of grades 16 to 17 who have passed the competitive examinations. In the USSR, special educational establishments provide whatever pre-employment training is necessary for the public service. There are also initial training programmes in Bangladesh and Honduras for officials following recruitment. In Australia, the administrative trainee scheme carried out by the Public Service Board was one of the chief means of training newly recruited graduate staff, but it was suspended in 1981 for financial reasons. The various departments have, besides, become more aware of the need to make available directly training opportunities for their staff.

Preliminary training is often provided during a probationary period. The officials are recruited first on a trial basis and must complete a probationary period within the administration, which may last from six months to three years according to the country and the level of recruitment. During this time, the trainees are employed in various jobs, where they may gain an idea of the range of administrative duties and prove their abilities. This practical training alternates with theoretical courses given either within the administration itself or in specialised schools. Experienced officials often contribute to the theoretical and practical training of the trainees. The training may also be given outside the duty station and even at times in the private sector. At the end of the trial period, the trainees are either confirmed in their job and given a permanent appointment if they have proved their abilities (often by passing an examination) or dismissed. This latter possibility is rather the exception.

The probationary period is important not only for purposes of training but also for testing the abilities of the officials, who in many countries are engaged without prior administrative training. However, it often appears to have been reduced to a mere formality, with all the officials being instated definitely at the end of the probationary period.³

As pointed out in the general report submitted to the Joint Committee at its Second Session, the standard of services performed by officials during their career also depends on the way in which they have been initiated to the work.⁴ In a recent report, the United Nations also stressed that it is essential today for all newly recruited officials to receive preliminary training so that they may begin as soon as possible to perform their duties efficiently.⁵

Further Training

Further training is intended to keep up and improve the officials' knowledge of their work and to prepare them for new duties which they may have to carry out during their career. It has been made necessary today by the swift development of administrative and scientific knowledge and the technologies used in administrative work. Moreover, it supplements and brings up to date the experience gained in performing the actual job.

In some countries, it may be intended to develop the general education of the staff, but in most cases it is geared to the administration's specific needs and the duties to be performed. Thus, the new training policy for public service staff announced by the

President of the Treasury Board of Canada stresses particularly that training must be related directly to public servants' duties and responsibilities. Consequently, it was necessary to eliminate courses that, aimed less at broadening work skills than at personal development, were not essential for training.⁶

In the United States, the Office of Personnel Management runs three executive seminar centres intended for training managerial staff and candidates for the Senior Executive Service. In Poland, a system for management development provides for the training of executive staff intended for positions of responsibility. The Federal Academy of Public Administration in the Federal Republic of Germany gives a course for officials who are to head a section or an agency as well as for those who have been promoted to a higher grade. In Venezuela, the national training system also provides for management development. In Italy, higher-grade officials are required to take a training course following their appointment to managerial posts. In Egypt, too, there are special programmes for the training of senior administrative staff. Training programmes for upper-grade or managerial staff exist in numerous other countries (e.g., Brazil, India, Mexico, Philippines).

In recent years, further training has come to play an important part in the staff development and retraining entailed by structural and technological changes in administrations. This aspect of further training is dealt with another report submitted to the Committee.

Some countries have recently recognised the need for special training for staff in direct contact with the public in order to improve the administration's relations with the public.

In a number of developing countries, further training has acquired a new dimension because of the administrative reforms introduced in recent years. The training programmes adopted in these countries have been linked to the reforms in an attempt to transform the public services through systematic staff training. Such programmes have been adopted, for example, in Argentina, Brazil, India, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, the Philippines, Senegal, Sudan and Venezuela.

Training for Advancement

Such training is intended to prepare the staff concerned (sometimes after a process of selection) to assume higher responsibilities. In countries where the public service is organised according to different categories, measures intended to open up access to a higher category also come under this heading.

As already mentioned in the chapter on recruitment, this type of training has also become very important in the internal training programmes for officials in the lower categories. Programmes designed to train officials for advancement to a higher category or to a post involving greater responsibilities exist in a number of countries. Training courses are given when advancement involves a change of duties and hence skills. An examination is often required prior to promotion, in which case the training is intended primarily to prepare the candidates for the various tests. Though such training is not yet very widespread, programmes are developing according to a variety of procedures.

In France, such training is given to already employed officials who are candidates for various internal competitions, held in addition to external competitions. It is given mainly by the adminis-

tration itself, in collaboration with various training centres, such as the Vocational and Advanced Training Centre of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance and the Joint Staff Training Centre. In Belgium, courses are given for certain computer technicians who must prepare for examinations. Some departments also give courses to prepare officials for the examination required for promotion to the grade of assistant office manager and the competitive examinations for the grades of clerk, minute-writer and administrative secretary. Some countries, such as Colombia and Cyprus, provide systematic advancement training for the staff of such specific services as the customs, air control, the forestry service, the postal and telecommunications service, and the prison administration. In Kuwait, training is given prior to promotion, according to the needs of the services concerned, and the services themselves present candidates. In Portugal, there are training courses for advancement in certain careers such as data processing, finance and the health services. In the Federal Republic of Germany, advancement within the career grade of senior officials is accompanied by a six-month scientific guidance course, given during the two and a half-year period of adaptation to the official's new duties. In Japan, the training is normally given after advancement, though in some cases it may also be given before. Austria, Finland and the United Kingdom state that training is normally given independently of advancement when the nature of the job to be filled requires special training or further knowledge. In Finland, however, the training is directly related to advancement in certain bodies such as the police force, the armed forces, the postal and telecommunications service and the railways. In Czechoslovakia, there is a career planning and training system for setting long-term training targets with a view to improving the officials' skills. The officials selected for advancement thus find their training adapted to the future duties they will be required to perform in the higher post.

A number of countries consider that training for advancement, besides being essential for preparing staff for duties involving greater responsibilities, also helps them to overcome the obstacles to the various categories and bodies of which the public service is composed. Such training thus tends to reduce certain inequalities and allows candidates with ability but without academic qualifications access to higher levels and posts in the public service.

In some countries, the candidates called upon to take a training course for advancement are chosen by the administration itself. This is the case in the United States in particular, where candidates are selected on the basis of merit.

In other countries, lastly, where such training does not yet exist, the possibility and means of introducing it are being examined. In Burundi, for example, the Government is now carrying out studies to define the methods of advancement and training best suited to its services' needs. The Government of the Comoros has stated that once the practice of continuous training has been sufficiently established, it may constitute a condition for advancement.

TRAINING FACILITIES

Since a large part of training takes place on entry to the public service or during employment, the facilities afforded by the adminis-

tration to officials wishing to improve their training take on special importance.

Most countries have adopted measures to enable officials to combine their jobs effectively with participation in various courses and practical activities provided for by the training programmes. Officials attending a full-time training course involving an interruption in work normally remain in active service. The time required for the training is regarded as actual service; the salary and most allowances are paid, and the training costs are covered as well by the administration taking the initiative for the training. Arrangements of this kind exist in the great majority of the countries which replied to the ILO questionnaire.

In a number of countries, in-service training is obligatory for public servants and is regarded as official work. This is the case in the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Kuwait, Mexico, Spain and the United Kingdom. In Czechoslovakia, the attendance of state workers at training courses becomes compulsory when they have agreed to participate. In Uruguay, compulsory training courses for candidates taking aptitude tests for managerial posts are given by the National Civil Service Office.

In other countries, where attendance at in-service training courses is optional, the officials are encouraged in various ways to participate. The most frequent motivation for registering for further training courses is the prospect of advancement. In this respect, the Government of Portugal states that the main reason for attending job-related training courses is the hope of faster career advancement owing to the higher standard of performance gained from the training acquired.

In some countries, the participants are awarded a certificate on completion of the courses, which enhances their chances of winning internal recruitment competitions. This is the case in Italy and Spain. In Mexico, a certificate at testing the level of the training acquired is awarded for participation in the training courses and is regarded as an official certificate for purposes of advancement.

In the United States, officials wishing to undergo training receive various types of assistance, ranging from the supply of teaching materials to the payment of their training, whether internal or external. In Ghana and Senegal, officials who have successfully completed a training course may be entitled to a promotion. The Government of India widely advertises the training courses organised by it so as to attract the greatest possible number of staff. The same holds true in many other countries.

In the United Kingdom, besides the regular training courses for various categories of civil servants where attendance is compulsory, there are specialised training courses of interest to only certain public sector occupations.

Many countries grant public service staff paid or unpaid educational leave either to take part in training programmes organised by the administration or the training establishments attached to it or to pursue long-term or short-term studies and training courses outside the administration, at times even abroad. In France, established and non-established government employees who have completed three years' actual service in the administration are entitled, under the decrees issued in April 1981, to request during their career up to

training of their own choosing. Such training must last at least three months. During the training they retain social security coverage and receive, during one year at most, an allowance equal to 85 per cent of their previous wage. In the USSR, officials may apply to the competent establishments (special advanced training institutes, institutes of higher education, institutions giving special courses, etc.) for training to improve their knowledge while being released temporarily from active duty. Those whose applications are accepted retain their previous post and their basic salary. The cost of transport to the place of studies is paid in full, as well as hotel expenses, and some also receive a fellowship. In Finland, under the legislation on paid educational leave which came into force in 1980 and applies to both the public and the private sector, employees are entitled, over a three-year period, to an unpaid educational leave of nine months at most to undergo general or vocational training of their own choosing. In addition, government employees may be granted a long-term leave of absence with full or partial pay if the administration concerned considers that the training envisaged may be beneficial to the service. Similarly, the collective agreements for government employees in Sweden contain provisions entitling them to take 240 days' educational leave for each period of ten consecutive years of service. If the Government considers that the studies envisaged are of particular importance, their full salaries are paid; in other cases, a certain deduction is made. In the Federal Republic of Germany, public servants may be granted special paid leave in order to attend training courses organised by state institutions or local authorities if such training is of interest to the service. The maximum length of such training is 12 working days per year. In addition, special leave may be granted for language training abroad. The Government of Norway offers a training course for executive officers. Leaves of absence are granted if the training envisaged is related to the official's duties. However, the official must undertake to serve the State during a certain period after completing the training. In Canada, public employees who wish to take part in long-term training programmes may request leaves of absence without pay. In the United Kingdom, in addition to paid educational leave for taking conventional further training courses, some officials are entitled to take up to one year's study or sabbatical leave. Furthermore, allowances, including payment of the salary throughout the leave, may be granted to staff at any level for the purpose of taking outside training.

This measure does not apply, however, to temporary staff or to officers recruited or transferred to posts for which there are special training arrangements and allowances.

In the Bahamas, officials who are required by the Government to take a course of training or study in the interest of the public service are granted educational leave with full pay. If the training envisaged is in the official's own interest but not directly in the interest of the public service, he is required to use his paid annual leave for the purpose. If the duration of the course exceeds his leave entitlement, he may be granted an extension of leave without pay.

In Japan, where training periods are counted as part of actual service, the salary is paid in full to officials attending even long-term training programmes. The Domei states in this connection that no

such guarantee exists for officials wishing to take training courses of their own choosing and considers that paid educational leave should be granted in every case.

Numerous other countries also provide for paid, partially paid or unpaid educational leave, sometimes together with fellowships.

In addition, some countries grant paid educational leave to enable the officials to take courses of training in staff representation functions. In Finland, facilities for such training are provided for by agreements concluded between the workers' and employers' organisations. They are available to all staff having responsibilities in connection with labour protection or the representation of employees within the undertaking or the administration. These officials are entitled to one month's leave with full pay, at most, as well as payment of travelling expenses and a subsistence allowance, to attend training courses given by their organisations. In Switzerland, five days' leave for every two-year period is granted for trade union training. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the members elected to the administration's staff council are entitled to paid educational leave for the purpose of attending the necessary training courses for discharging their staff representation functions. They may also be granted three weeks' paid educational leave during their term of office (three years).

Training has thus acquired growing importance in governments' staff management policies. Its development, however, still runs up against many obstacles. The necessary material and human resources are not always available. The coordination and planning of training and further training would seem to be inadequate in many cases. The knowledge acquired in the training courses often has little bearing on the officials' daily work. Moreover, the officials do not always have an opportunity to apply the new knowledge acquired. Since training is a long-term process whose results are felt only after sometime has elapsed, continuous efforts and considerable means are required. It is regrettable that training should often be the first sector to be affected when economies have to be made in staff expenditure.

Moreover, part of the efforts made by the State to train public servants is lost effort for the government. Many officials and technicians trained for the public service at the State's expense turn towards the semi-public or private sector where salaries are often higher. This phenomenon is particularly widespread in numerous developing countries where the State lacks the necessary financial means to pay officials salaries comparable to those in other sectors. In these countries, the State has thus become one of the major suppliers of skilled labour which, if not lost for the country itself, is lacking in the public service.

SPECIFIC MEASURES FOR THE TRAINING OF WOMEN

Most governments which replied to the ILO questionnaire stated that the adoption of special measures for the training of women could be considered contrary to the principle of equality between men and women since existing training facilities are open to all officials

alike.

Some countries, however, have drawn up special programmes for encouraging and facilitating the training of women. In Belgium, for example, a seminar was organised in 1980 to enable female officials to prepare for positions of responsibility in the administration. At the federal level in Canada, the government departments have implemented a series of programmes for expanding women's career opportunities, including personal and vocational training courses. The specific measures adopted vary from one province to another. In Quebec, the policy of equal employment for women introduced in 1980 provides that specific measures (leave with pay and flexible timetables for purposes of study) are to be taken to encourage female employees, at every level of government, to take advantage of the training and further training programmes which the Government makes available to its employees. In Ontario, the Women Crown Employees Office was established in 1974 and has undertaken to explore and clarify the career goals of women and to plan ways and means of achieving them. Ample provision in this programme of action is made for training problems. The government departments have since adopted certain suggestions for improving the training of women. The Government of Saskatchewan has issued an administrative development diploma available to persons employed in certain job categories where women are most represented.

In the United States, each government agency is required to develop an upward mobility plan as a systematic effort in the staff management policy. The main purpose is to improve career opportunities for lower-level federal employees in operational jobs where they are often unable to realise fully their potential abilities. Although not intended for them alone, these advancement plans are primarily of benefit to women who are concentrated in the operational staff categories covered by the programme. The Dominican Republic also has a training programme intended primarily for office employees, most of whom are women.

The Government of Kuwait states that women may be wholly released from their jobs in the administration to enable them to study during the training courses. However, this facility does not seem to be reserved for women alone.

The Training Department of the Ministry of Consumer Affairs in Norway gives priority to applications from female employees when selecting officers allowed to attend training courses. Most of the places in the Ministry's executive officer courses have in fact already been assigned to women since the majority of recruits are from the office sector. In the German Democratic Republic, the law provides for specific training for women. In the United Kingdom, proposals have been made to introduce a training course for women. Its aim would be to help them to prepare for careers in middle management by improving their occupational skills and knowledge. The Government of Sweden has organised child-care facilities for female employees attending training courses given by the State.

There are also certain collective agreements at the local level that provide for preferential treatment for women in several fields, including training.

TRAINING OF STAFF OF LOCAL, REGIONAL OR PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES

The training of regional and local personnel has only begun to develop recently. Specific problems make its organisation by the central authorities particularly difficult: the fact that staff are scattered out over the country, the wide variety of duties assigned to them and the shortage of resources for training. In some countries, moreover, the development of general training programmes in checked by the principle of local autonomy which does not allow the central authorities to take initiatives in this field.

In the conclusions which it adopted as its Second Session after studying these problems, the Joint Committee stressed the importance of vocational training for personnel of local, regional or provincial authorities because of the increasingly important and varied tasks entrusted to these authorities. Such training is also needed to develop career opportunities which, as the Committee also recognised, must be provided to local employees to encourage them to fulfil their responsibilities properly.

As a general rule, such training is either given by the authorities themselves or organised by the central government.

Training Provided by the Local and Regional Authorities

In some countries, especially those with a federal system or a strong regional tradition, the initiative for training is left to the local and regional authorities themselves. In the United States, for example, the training of state and municipal personnel has expanded considerably over the last ten years and now accounts for a sizable share of the staff expenditure of these authorities. On recruitment, the employees are given initial training to acquaint them with the services to which they will be assigned, the duties they will have to perform and their conditions of work. Such training is usually given as in-service training, often by the employee's superior. Further training is also given for purposes of career advancement. Employees are authorised to attend course during working hours. In Italy, the local authorities (municipalities, provinces, regions) organise continuous training and further training courses. Employees who register for these courses are considered to be on active duty while they last. In the Federal Republic of Germany, theoretical and practical training is given to junior managers of local authorities in schools and special institutes of the local administration. Middle and senior managers of the Lander are trained partly in the federal Government's schools of administration. In Egypt, local employees are given in-service training in the form of lectures, case studies and field visits. In the USSR, training on behalf of local administrations and other state bodies is given in the educational institutions, where it is free. Employees may apply to the competent educational institutions for further training without losing their main job.

In some countries, the local and regional authorities pool efforts in order to overcome the obstacles arising from an excessively rigid framework of regional or municipal bodies. In Finland, for example, the central organisation of municipalities has established training institutes to provide municipal personnel with any training and advanced training they may need. Studies in these institutes are financed by the administration and the officials receive their full salary throughout the training course. Similarly, in Austria the

training of Lander employees is given in supraregional institutes and schools of administration. In Canada (Ontario), municipalities have recently established jointly, with the support of the provincial authorities, the Ontario Municipal Management Development Board for the purpose of creating and facilitating training programmes for municipal employees.

Training Provided by the Central Authorities

Nevertheless, in most cases it is the State that takes action to promote or provide training activities when their cost is too high to be met by the financial resources of the local authorities. Many countries have thus established centres or institutes where all training courses for local officials are given. In France, the Joint Staff Training Centre, which was established in 1972, offers local officials training courses, in-service training and other programmes as preparatory training for the various job categories and to facilitate internal promotion. In Czechoslovakia, the training of local employees is given in the training centres coming under the Czech and Slovak ministries of the Interior and the Public Service Institute. Various facilities are granted to encourage workers to take part in these training programmes. In Uruguay, the Institute of Municipal Studies, which was set up in 1975 in the Montevideo administration, offers permanent courses in the various subjects of local administration to all municipal personnel. A specialised school (Escuela Nacional de Administracion Local) also exists in Spain; while its headquarters is in Madrid, it also has regional offices in the various provinces. In Portugal, an autonomous training centre was recently established (1980) to provide the staff of local autonomous bodies with basic training. In the Philippines, the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development runs regional training centres throughout the country. Such centres also exist in Ghana and Honduras.

Some governments have opened to local officials the training courses they give for their own employees. In Colombia, specialised training courses are organised by the Higher School of Public Administration. In Nigeria, the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) makes available for local officials training courses of varying length according to the trade. In the Dominican Republic, the Training Department of the National Staff Administration Office (ONAP) organises and coordinates in-service training courses for local officials. In Burundi, the Government organises periodic re-training courses for local officials where they have the opportunity both to learn new methods of administration and to exchange experience. In Djibouti, the Government has made provision in the Five-Year Plan 1980-85, for five management training projects in the form of seminars.

From the above examples it is clear that, in view of the specific difficulties involved in this type of action, the public authorities have organised the training of local and regional personnel according to highly different methods, which often vary as well within the same country according to the level of staff concerned and the importance of the local authorities in whose service they are employed, as well as the material means available for providing training to local, regional and provincial personnel.

NOTES

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2. United Nations, Handbook of Training in the Public Service (New York, 1966; Sales No.: 66.II.H.I), p. 31.
3. Gerard Timsit, "La mise en oeuvre des statues de la fonction publique en Afrique et a Madagascar", in Bulletin de l'Institut International d'Administration Publique, January. 1968.
4. ILO, General Report: Recent Events and Developments Affecting the Public Service, Report I, Joint Committee on the Public Service, Second Session, Geneva, 1976.
5. United Nations, Strengthening Public Administration and Finance for Development in the 1980s: Issues and Approaches (New York, 1978; sales No.: E.78.II.H.6).
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Administrative Reforms Commission on Training

[Extracts on Training from Reports of (All India) Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) and its various study teams which were submitted to Government of India from 1967-69.]

ARC REPORT ON PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION (APRIL, 1969)

TRAINING

TRAINING IS an investment in human resources; it is an important means, of improving the human potential and increasing the efficiency of personnel. Some progress has been made in recent years in providing training facilities to civil servants. Direct entrants to Class I Services undergo well-laid out institutional and in-service training programmes. Such programmes for Class III and Class IV personnel are, however, less common. Where they exist, they are generally intended to promote specific technical or functional skills, e.g., in the Indian Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, the Central Secretariat and the Central Excise and Customs Departments. Training Schools and Centres have also been established for technical training in specialised areas of engineering, e.g., Telegraphic Engineering and Tele-Communications. Efforts have also been made in recent years for providing training in the subject connected with rural development, like Community Development, Cooperation, Agricultural Extension and Marketing, Soil Conservation and Warehousing.

Despite all this effort in the field of training during the last two decades, much more needs to be done, particularly in training personnel for managerial and higher administrative responsibilities. With the rapidly rising tempo of political consciousness among the people, and the undertaking by Government of new tasks and responsibilities in the field of development and welfare, the cultivation of proper values and attitudes by civil servants has assumed a vital importance. Again, training should prepare the individual civil servants not only for performing his present job well, but also for shouldering higher responsibilities and meeting new and complex challenges in future. The aim should be to train civil servants not just for the needs of tomorrow but even for those of the day after. If training is to be effective, it should, as far as possible, also help the individual civil servants to so develop his capacities--mental, moral and spiritual--as to instil in him a sense of dedication. The realisation of these wide and comprehensive objectives for training would call for formulation of a clear-cut and bold national policy on the subject, setting priorities, preparation of training plans, both short-term and long-term, mobilisation of the needed funds and other resources, and building up a body of trainers.

Recommendation 26

We recommend that Government should, with the assistance of experienced administrators and experts in training techniques, formulate a clear-cut and far sighted national policy on civil service training, setting out objectives and priorities and guidelines for preparation of training plans.

From the data which we have been able to gather, expenditure on training is seen to be roughly of the order of 0.4 per cent of the wage bill of the Civil Service at the Centre and in the State. The conference of the Heads of the Central training institutions and representatives of different Ministries and Departments, recently convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs, held that one per cent of the total salary bill would be a suitable target of expenditure on training for some years to come. While not being dogmatic about this percentage, we agree that, having in view the need for imparting greater professionalism to the public services and improving their efficiency, a much higher outlay on training than what is now incurred is called for.

Central Direction of Training

The comprehensive role which we envisage for training as an instrument of improving civil service performance and potentialities calls for the strengthening of institutional arrangements. Training will not be effective, and will not receive due attention, unless there is a separate organisation specially charged with this function. In this context, we have noted the recent setting up of a Training Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs. As presently constituted, this Division has the responsibility of promoting and coordinating training programmes of the different Central Ministries and Departments, providing guidance and help, sponsoring or arranging training courses on aspects common to different services and maintaining liaison with the States.

In the scheme of reorganisation recommended by us in our report on the Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedures of Work, the Management of different service cadres will rest with the appropriate Ministries/Departments. It follows that training of the various functional cadres would be the responsibility of the individual Departments and Ministries. However, the Training Division should have the overall responsibility for training in headquarters work as well as for preparing personnel for entry to senior management. It should also be its task to evolve a national policy on civil services training, ensure its translation into operational plans and oversee their implementation. We refer to some of the contents of the training policy later. We would like to emphasise here that such a policy should clearly lay down that those with the best potential for development would be selected for training and not those who are easily available. Again, it must be clearly prescribed and also ensured that the persons who are trained will be 'placed' in jobs where the training received will be properly utilised.

The Training Division should further be responsible for the training of Training Officers/Coordinators of different Departments and Ministries. It should be able to provide guidance and advice in the assessment of training needs and evaluation of the usefulness of training programmes. The Training Division should also take a lead in

promoting the preparation of the needed training materials and undertake research on the use of different training methods.

The Central Training Division is at present headed by a Director with the rank of Joint Secretary. The expanded role which we have in mind for the Division would require its strengthening. The staff should include competent trainers who can apply to the solution of management problems a professional understanding of training methods, learning theory, motivation theory, evaluation techniques and the like. We have already recommended in our report on the Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedures of Work, that the subject of 'training' should be with the Department of Personnel. The Training Directorate should, in consonance with this decision, be under that Department.

Recommendation 27

We recommend that the Central Training Division should be located in the new Department of Personnel. The Division should have the following main functions:

Leadership:

- Promote, coordinate and facilitate training;
- formulate policies, regulations and procedures on training and oversee their implementation;
- advise Ministries and Departments on : determination of training needs instructional techniques evaluation of training programmes.

Services:

- arrange for courses in subjects such as management that are a common need;
- arrange for training overseas;
- arrange for preparation of training materials and research on different training methods.
- train training coordinators.

As training will, for the most part, be decentralised, each Ministry or Department, having a sizeable programme of training should have a separate training cell, located in its Chief Personnel Office, the creation of which has been recommended by us in our report on the Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedures of Work. This cell may be manned by a Training Coordinator on a full or a part-time basis, as appropriate and a few staff aides. In Ministries and Departments which do not have any substantial training activity under them, the functions of the Training Coordinator may be performed by the head or the deputy head of the Chief Personnel Office.

Recommendation 28

We recommend that each Ministry or Department, having a sizeable programme of training, should have a separate training cell, located in its Chief Personnel Office. It should be manned by a Training Coordinator on a full or a part-time basis, as appropriate, and a few staff aides.

TRAINING AT DIFFERENT STAGES

The nature and content of the training imparted to an officer would depend on the staff of his career at which it is imparted. Thus, at the beginning of his career, he will have to receive a post-entry training which will introduce him to the tasks he will have to embark upon. Later, after some years of experience in the particular field in which he started his career he will have to receive a different type of training if he is selected for undertaking managerial responsibilities at the headquarters. While working on his job, his knowledge and skills will have to be kept up-to-date through refresher courses.

Foundational Course at the National Academy of Administration

The post-entry training imparted to all-India and non-technical Central Services falls into two parts--institutional training and training on the job. The former type of training is given in two instalments. There is first, the foundational course at the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie, which is gone through by all the direct recruits to the all-India and non-technical Central Class I Services. After this course is completed, members of the various Services, other than the IAS, are trained in separate institutions, where they exist. Thus, there are Training Schools for the IA & AS at Simla and for the Income-tax Officers of the Indian Revenue Services at Nagpur and a National Police Academy for the IPS at Mount Abu. Members of the IAS get their specific institutional training at Mussoorie Academy itself. Members of Services for whom no special institutional arrangements for training exist, go from the foundational course, straight to their on-the-job training. The foundational course at Mussoorie includes instruction in certain 'core' subjects which provide an orientation in the political, economic and social infrastructure. An important objective aimed at in providing a common foundational course is the promotion of a feeling of oneness among the different Class I Services. Opinion, however, differs about the success achieved in realising this objective. According to some, the foundational course tends to accentuate rather than mitigate a feeling of separateness among Services. It has also been pointed out that the number of trainees is too large to be combined. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the idea of a foundational course is basically sound. We have recommended the introduction of uniform grades of pay applicable to all Class I Services including the all-India Services. If this recommendation is implemented, the common foundational course will really be an effective factor in producing an esprit de corps among the Services. The participants of the course will not be bedevilled by a gnawing feeling of inequality of so, the course will promote real unity in thought and aspiration. As regards the problem created by the number of trainees being large, it should not be difficult to solve. The trainees can be taken up in batches and in fact, even now, such a device is adopted.

The members of the technical Class I Services do not attend the foundational course. In this connection, we would refer to the 93rd report (1965-66) of the Estimates Committee of the Third Lok Sabha in which it has been recommended that the foundational course should be made compulsory for all new recruits to Central Class I Services. We are in agreement with this recommendation which, incidentally, is

consistent with our recommendation in Chapter III according to which suitably qualified members of technical services would be inducted into the middle and higher levels of the Secretariat.

The foundational course needs to be better adapted to the challenging task of making the probationer service-oriented. It is of the highest importance that proper attention is devoted to inculcating the right values and attitudes during the foundational course. In our view, the most important of the objectives of the foundational training should be to instil in the probationers a wide national outlook, a high patriotic fervour and a spirit of dedication to public service. The sort of mentality which avidly seeks to contrast the financial prospects of the Civil Service with the more lucrative opportunities of commercial employment is not the one on which we can depend for the realisation of the social and economic goals of the nation. The urge to work for a cause higher than oneself and the consciousness of serving noble ends, can generate energies which can transcend and vanquish material handicaps. The young men and women who are selected for the services should be made to feel that the opportunity to participate in the nation building enterprise is in itself a valued privilege and a means of self-fulfilment. Such a view of one's vocation at once humble and lofty can be maintained only when one's efforts are grounded on a firm spiritual foundation. The strengthening of the ethical and spiritual base for high human endeavour should be the most important of the responsibilities of the trainers. In this connection, all the great world religions have much to teach. Due to a misunderstanding of the concept of secularism in certain quarters, even the spiritual values enshrined in the great religions are not being given their due place in the educational system. This is unfortunate. Dogma and ritual are not what we mean when we refer to religion. We have in mind the profound wisdom and inspiration which all religions offer for the elevation and transformation of the human character, and which will enable people to live in peace and amity and to unite in a mighty corporate endeavour for the common weal.

The foundational course must, therefore, be basically oriented to make the officer good and honest, for on that foundation must be erected the superstructure of skill, knowledge and efficiency. All training now being given is directed towards making the official efficient, taking goodness for granted. But goodness can seldom be taken for granted. It is a virtue which has to be assiduously cultivated. Incidentally, it will be appropriate if, in accordance with the Directive Principles of the Constitution, the trainees are taught to abstain from intoxicating drinks except for medicinal purposes. In certain sections of the so called 'high' society of to-day, such drinking has come to be regarded as a status symbol. This must be debunked and the virtue of abstinence extolled. The trainees should also be made sensitive to the standard of living of the over-whelming section of the people in the country so that they may not fall victim to "luxury-mindedness" which would distort their sense of values and alienate them from the common run of Indian humanity.

The training must include discussions and discourses on moral standards and spiritual values. Persons who are respected for their moral and spiritual attainments may be periodically invited to give talks. Such discourses should be an integral part of the curriculum.

In addition, they must find a place in the daily time-table of trainees. Persons invited to speak must not be chosen by the management alone. The trainees must have an active voice in such selection, as primarily they will be the beneficiaries. Committees may be constituted for the purpose, comprising of members of the staff as well as the representatives of the trainees. The trainees may also on occasion choose one among themselves for a discourse on a particular day. He may, after preparation, either speak orally or read a paper. It is further desirable to commence each day's work with a suitable prayer, about the efficacy of which Gandhiji said, "Prayer is an unfailling means of cleansing the heart..."

The trainee even after getting trained in skills, procedures and practices, is often out of tune with the requirements, the needs and the psychology of the people. In a democracy, the Government is of the people, by the people and for the people. The people, therefore, must be correctly understood by every Government servant. It so happens that every Government servant tends to migrate towards an urban area, lives in the urban area and becomes part of the urban population. Urban environment breeds a kind of impersonal temperament, isolating him, even from his neighbours. Even a person who is born in a village loses contact with the village to some extent, for he moves out of the village for his higher education and subsequent training. One of the main maladies in administration is the unintentional, almost unconscious, loss of touch with the masses. Many of our social and developmental programmes have come to grief because the officers have not been able to know the needs and mores of the people correctly. It is, therefore, of basic importance in a democracy like ours, that the officers must have a rapport with the people and know their psychology and understand their ways. Three-fourths of the nation live in the villages, and it is they who are in greater need of amelioration and uplift. We, therefore, recommend that every trainee should live in a village at least for a fortnight during the course of his training. During this period, the trainees should familiarise themselves with the conditions of village life, organisation of its society and economy and their needs in a welfare State. The fortnight thus lived with the people, together with the close study and observation of rural milieu and conditions, would equip the officer for the better performance of his duties in the coming years.

The syllabus of the course also needs improvement. We understand that many of the trainees are not satisfied with the content and methods of teaching, and, further, that lectures in several cases are just a replica of the teaching at the College or University level. Moreover, not every one among the training personnel is of the requisite standards. Lately, an attempt has been made to improve the syllabi and organisation of courses. For instance in the teaching of Economics, those who have studied it in their graduate courses or hold a post-graduate degree in the subject, are now exempted from the set of lectures dealing with elementary concepts. But their participation in the remaining lectures is considered essential to promote some meaningful discussion in the class room. Notwithstanding the recent changes, the need for alteration and improvement of the contents of the course still remains. The extension of the foundational course to cover all Class I Services, both technical and non-technical, may also necessitate some changes. We would recommended

that the Government should appoint a small committee of leading non-officials, experts and experienced civil servants to revise the scheme of the foundational training in order to improve its usefulness and lay added emphasis on building proper values and attitudes.

Recommendation 29

We recommend that:

1. The scope of the foundational course at present given by the National Academy of Administration should be extended to cover also technical Class I Central Services and all-India Services.
2. The content of the foundational course should be suitably revised to improve its usefulness and lay added emphasis on building proper values and attitudes among the trainees and inculcating in them a sense of dedication to duty and service-orientation. The need to abstain from intoxicating drinks should be emphasised.
3. Every trainee should live in a village at least for a fortnight to acquaint himself with rural life and conditions.
4. The Government should set up a small committee of leading nonofficials, experts and experienced civil servants to revise the scheme of the foundational training on the above lines.

Post-foundational Institutional Training

As already stated the post-foundational institutional training for the IAS is given at the National Academy of administration itself. We are of the view that this training should be the responsibility of a separate IAS Staff College. The Academy should, in addition to providing foundational training to members of all the Services including technical services, be responsible for middle management training. This should keep its hands full. As indicated earlier, the Departments and Ministries should be responsible for the training of officers whose cadres they manage. The Home Ministry should, therefore, be in charge of the training of IAS and IPS officers and there should be a separate Staff College for the IAS. There is already a separate institutipn, viz., the National Police Academy, for the IPS Officers. The Academy which will be under the Department of Personnel should not be associated with the training of any particular service. In fact the directing staff of the Academy should be drawn from different Services.

Recommendation 30

We Recommend that:

1. The post-foundational institutional training should be entrusted to a separate Staff College for the IAS.
2. The National Academy of Administration should be responsible for the foundational course for Class I, Central Services and all-India Services and for middle management training.
3. The Academy should be under the new Department of Personnel and its directing staff should be drawn from different Services.

It is generally recognised that the post-foundational training for

the IAS trainees at the Academy is in several respects too general and academic. It is not clearly focused on the work which the officers have to do during the next few years. The main difficulty is that the trainees are not familiar with practical administration and the training, therefore, has necessary to be mostly theoretical. The Study Team (T) recommended in June, 1967, the 'sandwiching' of a period of practical administration between two spells of training at the Academy. We are glad that this proposal has been received favourably by the Government. The Ministry of Home Affairs has suggested to the States that the institutional training of the IAS probationers may be divided into two period of about 8 months and 4 months, with 12 months' field training in States intervening between them. It has been proposed that the second part of the institutional training should largely be problem-oriented and based on experience and observations of the trainees in the States. We fully support these proposals and would urge that such a sandwich pattern of training should normally be followed in all programmes of probationary training of Class I Services.

Recommendation 31

We recommend that the proposals for sandwich pattern of post-foundational institutional training for the IAS under the consideration of the Government, should be finalised and implemented early. Such a sandwich pattern of training should normally be followed in all programmes of probationary training of other Class I Services.

The compulsory training in horse-riding is out-of-date. It is a waste of time, effort and money and may be scrapped. Except as a mode of exercise and recreation, horse-riding is now somewhat of an anachronism. No officer except perhaps a few police personnel, uses a horse on official work. As recommended by the Advisory Council, of the National Academy of Administration in 1966, training in jeep driving and motor mechanics should be organised as soon as the Academy shifts to Delhi.

Recommendation 32

We recommend that the compulsory training of horse riding for the IAS may be scrapped. Training in jeep driving and motor mechanics should be imparted when the Academy shifts to Delhi.

At present, the on-the-job training received in the States by the IAS probationers, which follows the institutional training at the Academy, varies from 10 to 18 months, the average being 12 months. This training, however, lacks effective supervision. We have been told that, not unoften, the Collectors to whom the probationers are attached for the larger part of their training in the States are either indifferent or too busy to give them the needed time and attention. They also are not always senior enough to train the officers. We would, therefore, suggest that the IAS probationers should be assigned to carefully chosen senior Collectors who are known for their interest in training and whose methods of work are considered worthy of emulation. Further, it will be worthwhile to spell out in detail for the benefit of the probationers, what they are supposed to do and are expected to learn during their training in the States. It

is also necessary that the Central Government should evolve a common pattern of field training which may be adopted by States, with modifications suited to their local conditions. During the Sandwich period of field training the probationers should be in constant touch with a tutor at the IAS Staff College, who should set specific tasks, exercises, and writing of reports on particular problems. The training diaries of the probationer should be scrutinised by the Collector and also sent to the tutor of the probationer, who may give him such guidance as may be necessary.

As regards the institutions for the training of Class I Services other than the IAS, several of them exist as pointed out above. We recommend that similar institutions may be set up for other Services, if the number of trainees is large enough.

Only those staff members of the concerned service who have a flair for training should be selected as trainers. The tenure of Government servants deputed to training institutions should be long enough to enable them to be effective as trainers. Further, they should not be placed in a disadvantageous position in the matter on promotion. The Central Training Division should formulate an overall policy for training of trainers and help the training cells in different Departments and Ministries to prepare and organise the needed training schemes.

Recommendation 33

We recommend that:

1. The Central Government should evolve a common pattern of field training for the IAS probationers, which may be adopted by the States with modifications suited to their local conditions. During their training in the States the IAS probationers should be assigned to carefully chosen senior Collectors who are known for their interest in training and whose methods of work are considered worthy of emulation.
2. For Class I Services other than IAS, training institutions may be set up where they do not now exist, if the number of trainees is large enough.

TRAINING FOR MANAGEMENT

Junior Management

Under our proposals for staffing of the Secretariat outlined in an earlier chapter, the Under Secretaries will be drawn from the functional cadres and the Central Secretariat Service. The Under Secretaries promoted from the Central Secretariat Service will require some grounding in the techniques of programme planning and review. Normally, this group would have already received training in headquarters work in the course given for the Section Officers by the Central Secretariat Training School. All that they would therefore need is a refresher course in this area. Some of the Under Secretaries drawn from the functional cadres may also require training to prepare them for headquarters work. We would, therefore, suggest that a 12-week course should be organised by the National Academy of Administration when it moves to Delhi. This course should cover. (a) introduction to concepts and tools of management, with special emphasis on mathematical aids, staff organisation and control and coordination needs and devices, (b) the machinery of the

Government of India and its procedures of work; (c) relations between Parliament, Ministers and civil servants; (d) Five-Year Plans, planning methods and the Planning Commission; (e) systems, procedures and rules of financial management and personnel administration and the Centre; (f) techniques of programme planning and review; and (g) some practical exercises in correspondence handling, writing reports and policy memoranda. Participation in the course by Under Secretaries coming whether from the CSS or the functional cadres, should depend upon the actual needs of the individuals.

Recommendation 34

We recommend that a refresher training course for Under Secretaries from CSS cadre and a 12-week training course for other Under Secretaries may be formulated.

MID-CAREER MANAGEMENT TRAINING

Under our overall staffing scheme, the middle-level administrators in the Secretariat (Deputy Secretaries and their equivalents) will come from two main sources: (1) "policy and management pool", and (2) "functional cadres". The entry to the "policy and management" pool in the Secretariat will be by a test. This pool will comprise eight specialisations of administration, viz., (1) Economic, (2) Industrial, (3) Defence, (4) Agricultural and Rural, (5) Social and Educational, (6) Financial, (7) Personnel administrations, and (8) Planning.

The Deputy Secretaries in substantive-work divisions dealing with developmental work will have to shoulder the responsibility for programme planning, coordination and review in an area or sub-sector, of administrative activity. The main focus of middle management training should, therefore, be to develop knowledge, abilities and skills which will enable the administrators to mobilise resources (organisation, men and materials) to achieve effectively, certain policy or programme goals/sub-goals. Training required for middle level management should, we feel have the following three broad elements: (a) training in headquarters work (8 weeks); (b) special courses (8 weeks) in each specialisations; (c) sub-area specialisation training (6 weeks). The first two parts of the training should be completed before an officer assumes charge as a Deputy Secretary, while the third part should be undergone in the light of actual needs while working in an headquarters assignment.

Training in headquarters work may be common to all specialisations. Broadly, it may include the following foundational subjects: (i) basic management concepts like organisation, delegation, control, direction, communication, coordination, supervision and motivation; (ii) basic economic concept and their use in Government; (iii) policy-making, programme planning, implementation and review, and modern tools of administration; (iv) machinery and procedures of the Government of India, including financial and personnel rules, regulations and review procedures, budgeting, financial control, accounts and audit; (v) relations with Parliament, Ministers and citizens. This course may also be attended, depending upon the need, by Deputy Secretaries in the functional areas.

In devising courses for training in each specialism the object in view would be to achieve a deep and intimate knowledge of the theo-

retical concepts, techniques, systems and procedures connected with the specialism. In particular, under the term 'Planning' techniques connected with the formulation of Plans and evaluation of performance will receive attention. This will, of course, involve a study in greater depth of the subject of planning than what is required under item (iii) mentioned in the previous para which only envisages an elementary knowledge of programme planning.

As regards the organisation for arranging middle management training programmes, the responsibility should be entrusted to the National Academy of Administration. The Academy may also give the general course in headquarters work for Under Secretaries. As suggested earlier, the Academy will also be responsible for organising foundational courses for direct-recruits to all Class I Services, Central as well as All-India.

We would like to add that the Academy need not attempt to operate directly all the courses required for middle management. The special courses in the eight specialisations and their sub-specialisations should, as far as possible, be farmed out, particularly where professional organisations with the needed competence already exist, e.g., the Institute of Economic Growth, the Institutes of Management (at Ahmedabad and Calcutta) and the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the Defence Services Staff College.

Similarly, the facilities provided by professional institutions may be used for sub-area specialisations, e.g., National Institute of Health Administration and Education, National Council for Educational Research and Training, Central Labour Institute, the proposed Bankers' Institute and the Indian Statistical Institute. The attachment of the middle management trainees to various professional institutions either for a general course in theory practice and techniques or a specialised course in techniques and procedures will have the special advantage of broadening the horizons of their knowledge.

Recommendation 35

We recommend that:

1. Training for middle-level management in the Secretariat (for Deputy Secretaries and other officers with equivalent status) should have the following three broad elements: (a) training in headquarters work; (b) special courses in each of the eight broad specialisms; and (c) sub-area specialism training.
2. Training in policy and planning should be provided as a part of training for all specialisms.
3. The responsibility for arranging middle management training programmes should rest with the National Academy of Administration. The special courses in the eight specialisms and their sub-specialisms should, as far as possible, be farmed out to professional organisations which have the needed expertise.

We have already stressed the importance of developing personnel for senior management positions on a planned basis. At the entry level to senior management, what is needed is not formal training but opportunities for self-study with a measure of guidance, exposure to discussions at a high professional level, and a deep study of a few chosen policy problems in the broad area of work. We consider that

all probable entrants to senior management should take a programme of advanced study for 16 weeks which will help prepare them for higher responsibilities. We would not like to set out any rigid pattern and would like the programme of study to be tailored to meet the needs of the individual and the functional group concerned.

Senior management training should be divided into two parts as follows:

- (A) A general study and orientation supplemented by group discussions, seminars and syndicates, with the object of:
 - (a) enlarging the ability to examine a problem realistically in the broader context of the national goals, Five-Year Plans, and inter-relationships between the community and the Government, and
 - (b) increasing the capacity for coordinating diverse programmes into an integrated whole, developing controls and information systems for alerting Ministers and senior officers to impending problems and initiating new programmes.
- (B) Specific studies of a set of policy problems or a detailed study of the entire policy-making process in a segment or area of administrative activity, with a view to widening and deepening the understanding of the policy-making process. The purpose of this study should be to develop the capacity to distil and integrate their past experience into meaningful learning by analysing what policies, programmes and techniques worked well or badly and why, and how new concepts, tools and insights could help to remove the existing drawbacks and deficiencies.

The development of different abilities and skills needed at the senior level requires an atmosphere which does not inhibit critical thinking and is conducive to problem-solving. The need is for an environment where sectional views and attitudes and the accustomed patterns of thought are challenged, and free association of ideas and exercise of imagination is encouraged. Preparation for senior management also calls for close interaction with senior administrators, political executives, people's representatives and distinguished scholars in different subjects. We feel that such an open climate for self-development and opportunities for inter-action can be better found in a professional organisation. Therefore, education and preparation for senior management should not, in our view, be entrusted to a Government institution. Further, the hands of the National Academy of Administration would be pretty full with organising foundational courses and training for middle management which we have earlier proposed for it.

We would, therefore, recommend that the persons who are marked out for senior management should be attached to professional institutions for pursuing the programmes mentioned above. For Part A of the programme, the services and the expertise of the Indian Institute of Public Administration may be utilised. Part B may be arranged in other professional institutions like Institutes of Management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta. Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad,

Institute of Economic Growth, etc., which specialise in the area which would be of interest to the official concerned.

Recommendation 36

We recommend that:

1. Senior management education and preparation should be largely oriented towards policy-making, programme planning and review, and problem solving. It should be divided into two parts: (a) A general study and orientation supplemented by group discussions, seminars and syndicates; (b) Specific studies of a set of policy problems or a detailed study of the entire policy-making process in a segment or area of administrative activity.
2. Persons who are marked out for senior management should be attached to professional institutions for pursuing the programmes of advanced study. Part A of this programme may be arranged with the assistance of the Indian Institute of Public Administration; and Part B of other institutions like the Institutes of Management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, the Institute of Economic Growth, etc., which specialise in the area which would be of interest to the official concerned.

REFRESHER COURSES

A number of programmes of refresher training have come up in the last decade. During 1961-65, the National Academy of Administration organised five refresher courses of 5-6 weeks for officers of different services with 8-12 years service. The programme was discontinued on account of shortage of accommodation, among other reasons. It is being revived this year by organising refresher courses on economic decision-making and modern aids to administration. The Railway Staff College operates a well-organised programme of refresher courses for senior personnel, both technical and non-technical. The National Police Academy organises an advanced course for IPS officers with 6-8 years service. Several professional institutions in the fields of health, agricultural extension, community development and cooperation (e.g., National Institute of Health Administration and Education, National Institute of Community Development and Vaikunth Mehta Institute of Cooperative Management, Poona) also hold refresher courses.

The administrative Staff College, Hyderabad conducts a ten weeks programme for senior executives of both public and private sectors, as also special courses on selected management problems. A few officers of the Central Government are deputed to the senior executives' course every year. The Indian Institute of Public Administration has, during the last few years, organised several executive development programmes for government officials, both of the Centre and States. A few civilian officers of various services are also detailed every year by the Government to the National Defence College, New Delhi, and the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington. Advantage is also taken by the Government of the different foreign assistance schemes to send out officials for advanced study and observation abroad.

The Estimates Committee underlined, in 1966, the need for placing,

on a more systematic basis, the present scheme for refresher courses for the officers of the all-India and Central Services, Class I. The refresher courses may be divided into two categories: (i) those meant to increase the technical or functional knowledge, and (ii) courses for improving managerial, problem-solving and policy-making abilities and skills. We would urge that the statement of training policy of the Government (vide para 2 above) should lay down clear guidelines for organisation of refresher courses. Participation in seminars and conferences also serves as a training medium. Here too, there is the need for laying down some standards, so that such participation is not over-done or this facility is denied to those who really need it. A programme of refresher courses should then be drawn up for each functional services group by the cadre administering authorities. The duration and nature of each refresher course will have to be related to actual needs and the career development plans which are evolved.

Recommendation 37

We recommend that a programme of refresher courses should be drawn up for each functional service group by the cadre administering authority with due regard to actual needs and the career development plans which are evolved.

TRAINING OF CLASS III AND CLASS IV PERSONNEL

Class III and Class IV employees constitute about 91 per cent of the Central Government personnel. It has been roughly estimated that about 70 per cent of the Class III and 90 per cent of Class IV personnel are at present untrained.

Class III employees, whose work is mainly of a routine character, however, render great assistance in implementing policies and programmes in the field. Many of them may, at times, have to take decisions on matters which, though not a major importance, nonetheless may affect the citizen in his daily life. Many Class IV personnel also come in contact with the citizens. Except for certain categories of personnel, there is, at present, neither any clear overall policy nor any extensive programme of training. We would, therefore, recommend that a review should be made of the training needs and existing facilities available for Class III and Class IV staff, and a phased programme for improve training for these categories of personnel be drawn up. Such training should aim at not only improving job skills but also developing proper attitudes towards the public. The recommendations we have made earlier in connection with the foundational course for placing special emphasis on building right values and attitudes and developing service-orientation apply equally in this case.

Recommendation 38

We recommend that a review should be made of existing facilities for training available for Class III and Class IV staff and of the actual training needs, and a phased programme for improved training for these categories of personnel should be drawn up. Such training should aim at not only improving job skills but also developing proper attitudes towards the public.

TRAINING METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The effectiveness of any training programme depends considerably on the choice of right methods and techniques. The lecture method is appropriate mostly for increasing knowledge; group discussions, syndicates and case studies are more suitable for improving problem-solving and decision-making abilities. It has been the experience in institutions, like the National Academy of Administration that greater benefit would be derived if guest speakers stay on the premises and are enabled to meet the trainees in small convenient discussion groups.

The use of group discussion and syndicates has been on the increase in recent years. Seminars and conferences are increasingly becoming the vogue in administrative training. Their usefulness is, however, limited, in many cases due to the low quality of the working papers, failure to circulate them well in time and the poor steering of discussions. The syndicate method has been found effective only where the trainees already possess some worthwhile practical administrative experience. The case method has great potentiality for promoting a meaningful understanding of the administrative process and enhancing problem-solving skills and policy insights. It is, however, hardly used in the training programmes for the public services. Some cases are occasionally cited, but little effort has been made to develop them into written case material. The Indian Institute of Public Administration has developed recently several case studies, but they have not as yet been put to operational use for training purposes. The Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, has brought out a few case volumes but these cases are mostly concerned with problems of industrial administration.

While programmes of field visits and practical training on the job largely exist for Class I and Class II officers, field projects assignments and writing of research or survey reports are less common. Their proper use can help improve the effectiveness of training of good deal. The use of right methods and techniques of training is in area in which the Central Training Division must take a lead and provide useful assistance. The Division should arrange for appropriate research on various training methods and experimentation in techniques.

The Central Training Division should also promote an extensive programme of development of training materials by various institutions and professional organisations. In this programme, high priority should be given to preparation of clusters of cases on various aspects of administration. The paucity of cases is at present at great handicap in deriving full advantage of discussions in syndicates, round tables, seminars and conferences.

Recommendation 39

We recommend that the Central Training Division should arrange for appropriate research on various training methods and experimentation in techniques. It should also promote the development of training materials.

STUDY TEAM ON RECRUITMENT, SELECTION,
UPSC/STATE PSCs AND TRAINING (MAY 1967)

TRAINING

Training Objectives

Recommendation 1

Formal training should be compulsory for all civil servants in Class I, Class II and Class III and for some categories of Class IV employees.

Recommendation 2

All civil servants who come into contact with the public should be given training in public relations.

Recommendation 3

In the case of Class I officials, the emphasis must move increasingly to imparting conceptual skill.

The Training Organisation

Recommendation 1

The proposed Training Division has our fullest support and should be established with all speed.

Recommendation 2

It should be a part of the Central Personnel Agency.

Recommendation 3

States and Departments of the Central Government should set up Cells exclusively devoted to training and put them directly under the charge of the Chief Secretary or the Head of the Department.

POST-ENTRY TRAINING

At the Centre

Recommendation 1

Institutional training facilities should be provided for the higher technical Services as also for the new All-India and Central Class I Services that are being created in order to provide a foundational course on the lines of the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.

Recommendation 2

The National Academy of Administration should provide only the foundational course common to all non-technical Class I Services. Each Class I Service should set up its own training institution. The professional training for the Indian Administrative Service should also be conducted at a separate institution.

Recommendation 3

'Foundational' type post-entry training course should be given to all direct recruits to the Class II Services.

Recommendation 4

The facilities of the Central Secretariat Training School should be expanded and similar institutions should be set up in areas which have large concentrations of Central Government offices.

In the States

Recommendation 1

The Training Cells in the States should examine and correct the wide divergence of training facilities that now exist in the different States.

Recommendation 2

Where conditions do not justify States establishing their own training institutions, neighbouring States should come together to establish common institutions. The Training Division should actively promote this.

FIELD TRAINING

Sandwich Courses

Recommendation 1

Field training is a very important part of all training programmes. New recruits should be attached for field training to experienced and competent officers, who should be given guidelines on training and afforded enough time to attend to the trainee.

Recommendation 2

To achieve the best results, the training institution should be closely associated with field training.

Recommendation 3

For the IAS, we have recommended a programme where the field training is sandwiched between two spells of institutional training at the Academy. Similar arrangements should be developed, wherever possible, for all the other superior Services at the Centre and in the States.

PROBATIONARY PERIODS AND LANGUAGE TRAINING

Weeding out the Unsuitable

Recommendation 1

Greater care than hitherto, should be exercised in weeding out unsuitable candidates during the probationary period.

Recommendation 2

The Training Division and the Training Cells should lay down a procedure for evaluation of probationers at all levels.

Recommendation 3

The probationer should be assessed on the basis of departmental examinations and his performance in the field, as evaluated by all the officers responsible for the training, including the head of

the training institution.

Recommendation 4

Not more than two chances should be given for passing the departmental examination. Failure to pass the departmental examination should entail discharge from service.

Language Training
General

Recommendation 1

A probationer should not be confirmed till he has passed the prescribed language examination.

Recommendation 2

A system of graded examinations in all the regional languages should be instituted and candidates should be given monetary incentives to pass these examinations, in the language of the region to which they are assigned, unless it happens to be their mother-tongue.

MID-CAREER TRAINING

General

Recommendation 1

All civil servants should be trained for improving their performance and for assuming higher responsibility.

Recommendation 2

This training should be carried out at the training institutions of the various Services and also by conducting short courses in the departments.

Recommendation 3

For Class 1 officers, refresher courses should be compulsory after 5-7 years of service.

Staff Training

Recommendation 1

A Civil Service Staff College should be established for training officers for "staff appointments".

Recommendation 2

Entry into the Staff College will be by competition amongst officers of all Class I Services having not less than nine and not more than twelve years' service.

Recommendation 3

Promotees to Class I will be eligible for the examination between the sixth and eighth years of Class I Service.

Recommendation 4

Staff appointments should, as a rule, go only to those who have qualified at the Staff College.

Recommendation 5

After a tenure in the Secretariat, the field postings of those trained in the Staff College should be so designed as to equip them for higher staff responsibilities.

Training Management

Recommendation 1

Senior Deputy Secretaries, junior Joint Secretaries and equivalent officers in the field organisations should be given higher management training in the Administrative Staff College and the Management Institutes.

OFF-THE-JOB-TRAINING

Recommendation 1

Study leave is an important part of training and Study Leave Rules should be liberalised to induce civil servants to take advantage of them.

Recommendation 2

Fellowships should be instituted by Government in Indian universities for research in social sciences and technical subjects by selected civil servants.

Recommendation 3

Exchange of personnel between Government and industry would be of considerable advantage. To begin with, a few officers may be deputed to organisations of industry and trade. Similarly, managers in private industry may be brought into organisations like the Planning Commission.

RESOURCES--MEN AND MONEY

Recommendation 1

There must be a wellconsidered and wide-based programme of training at all levels.

Recommendation 2

Adequate resources must be allocated for creating the required training facilities.

Recommendation 3

An adequate training reserve must be provided in all sizeable organisations and it should be ensured that it is utilized for the purpose for which it is meant. The Training Division and Training Cells should keep the position under constant review.

**STUDY TEAM ON PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION
(AUGUST, 1967)**

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Recommendation 120

(i) As formal training programmes cannot be a substitute of on-

the-job training and daily work-experience, the cadre management committees should ensure that well-considered on-the-job training programmes are drawn up for all categories of personnel.

- (ii) Training and building up of personnel should be an important part of the duties of senior officers.

Recommendation 121

Every encouragement and facility should be given for self-development. This should include:

- (i) liberal grant of leave for study;
- (ii) facilities of leave for attending seminars and conferences;
- (iii) encouragement of original work; and
- (iv) reimbursing part of expenditure on professional books and periodicals.

Personnel Agencies

Recommendation 127

The following items relating to personnel deserve central attention and should be entrusted to the Central Personnel Agency:

- (i) Personnel Policies;
- (ii) Manpower Planning;
- (iii) Career Development;
- (iv) Over-all aspects of Training;
- (v) Service Rules;
- (vi) Management of all-India and inter-Ministry Services;
- (vii) Postings to key positions;
- (viii) Welfare; and
- (ix) Research in Personnel Management and Problems of Government.

STAFFING OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

Recommendation 175

The officers-in-charge of Employment Exchanges should be adequately qualified in psychology and vocational guidance. They should also be given intensive training in the various aspects of occupational classification.

Recommendation 176

The broad approach to training skilled workmen should be that viable enterprises should work out their own training programmes and the smaller enterprises should explore the possibility of linking their training programmes with the bigger enterprises. The CAPSECS should coordinate these programmes. The establishment of training institutes for middle level personnel should also be on the same pattern.

Recommendation 177

For developing specialised skills: (i) special courses should be devised, and (ii) refresher courses should be instituted with a view to introduce them to new ideas.

Recommendation 178

Special courses for middle management personnel should be worked

out which give them a broader understanding of higher management problems. Appreciation courses and seminars for top management personnel covering modern management techniques should be arranged.

STUDY TEAM ON PROMOTION POLICIES, CONDUCT RULES, DISCIPLINE AND MORALE (DECEMBER 1967)

PROMOTION POLICY AND SALARY ADMINISTRATION

Recommendation 12

Suitable short term training courses should be arranged for officers promoted in order to fit them into their new responsibilities.

All Class I officers should be given a short course of training with, or preferably as Magistrates, to give them a working knowledge of the procedures regarding enquiries, recording evidence, etc.

The supervisory staff should, under a regular procedure, be periodically sent to the Staff College and Management training institutions for short courses in order to develop and refresh their managerial and administrative skills. They should be encouraged to take study leave to equip themselves with additional skills and knowledge.

The Heads of Departments should be called upon to display greater initiative and interest in getting the staff working for them, trained in the various training facilities available to them. They should also encourage them to avail of the study leave facilities to go for advanced or specialised courses in their respective fields of work.

Physical training should also be given a place-though small place-in the scheme of training of officers.

POSITION CLASSIFICATION

An Essential Tool for Better Personnel Management

Recommendation 15

The Central Personnel Agency should have a Cell staffed with competent and trained officers to implement the position classification.

CONDUCT RULES AND DISCIPLINE

Recommendation 18

All higher supervisory staff should be required to have working knowledge of disciplinary procedures, punishments and appeals; Class I Officers, technical and non-technical, who are not now given such training should be given training for three months as Magistrates during the probationary period.

WORK MOTIVATION, INCENTIVE AND PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

Recommendation 32

There should be arranged training courses in achievement-motivation for officials.

STUDY TEAM ON CENTRE-STATE RELATIONSHIPS (Vol I), SEPTEMBER, 1969

THE ALL INDIA SERVICES

Training

Recommendation 7

- (a) the pattern of training of probationers should be reviewed so that it serves basic professional needs;
- (b) the existing advisory council for the National Academy of Administration should be replaced by a smaller and more professional body;
- (c) in addition to the various refresher courses, there should be specialised training in particular specialisations for which the officers are earmarked;
- (d) training in the language of the state allotted should be given greater emphasis in the Academy and afterwards and incentives in the form of advance increments provided for attaining proficiency in them; and
- (e) there should be an Evaluation Committee consisting of Secretary (Personnel), one Chief Secretary, Director, National Academy of Administration and one expert from outside, say, from one of the Institutes of Public Administration or Management to evaluate and review all the existing training courses to assess training needs and to evolve a concrete programme to meet these needs.

REPORT ON PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS (OCTOBER, 1967)

FUNCTIONS OF THE SECTOR CORPORATIONS

Recommendation 3

to promote, provide or coordinate activities relating to:
(a) training of personnel; (b) research and consultancy; (c) sales promotion; and (d) such other common services as the constituent units may agree to be provided by the corporation.

Materials Management

Recommendation 44

Training in materials management should be given greater importance, in addition to having fully trained staff in the materials management organisation it will be advantageous to have short-term training imparted to the personnel of other departments as well.

Personnel Management**Recommendation 47**

The sector corporations and their constituent units should make their own administrative arrangements for carrying out the recruitment and training programmes.

Recommendation 50

Public enterprises need not assume responsibility for basic training in general management, and training in professions. The existing training institutes should be utilised for imparting this type of training.

The Bureau, in cooperation with the public undertakings and the Ministries concerned, should: (a) review the existing training facilities and programmes to avoid duplication of effort; (b) identify areas where training facilities need to be extended or increased; and (c) evaluate the suitability of training programmes to the requirements of the public sector.

Training of specialists and technicians required only by the public undertakings will have to be taken care of by the undertakings themselves. Undertakings operating in the same field of technology should do this in cooperation with each other. Where sector corporations are set up, they should provide common training facilities.

Recommendation 52

Any advanced training programme given during the course of a period of service should be linked to a definite ladder of promotion so that technical personnel after such training can look forward to comparatively early promotions to higher grades.

Persons selected for training should be required to execute a bond to render service for a minimum period of five years after the completion of training. The amount for which the bond should be executed should be a fair proportion of the total amount spent during the training course, and, in the event of infringement, the conditions of the bond should be rigidly enforced. Provision should be made, by a special enactment, if necessary, to enable the recovery of the amount of the forfeited bond in a manner similar to the recovery of arrears of land revenue.

Industrial Relations**Recommendation 54**

Public undertakings should have their personnel managers trained in industrial relations and labour management and should adequately strengthen their personnel departments.

Audit and Appraisal**Recommendation 61**

The staff required for the Audit Boards should be recruited through the Union Public Service Commission. Those who are already

working in the audit offices may also apply for posts in the Audit Boards. The selected staff should undergo a course in orientation for which arrangements should be made. The existing departmental set up of the Directorate of Commercial Audit should be utilised until the new recruits take over the work.

STUDY TEAM ON PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS (JUNE 1967)

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Recommendation 124

Public enterprises need not assume responsibility for basic training in general management and training in professions which are required both by the public enterprises and private concerns. The existing training institutes can be more economically utilised for providing this type of training. Arrangements will, however, have to be made for in-plant training and induction of new recruits.

Recommendation 125

The Bureau, in cooperation with the Ministries concerned, should undertake a survey of the existing training facilities to help avoid duplication and identify areas where training facilities need to be extended or increased. The Bureau, together with the representatives of the Ministries concerned and the public enterprises, should examine the curricula of training offered by different institutes to evaluate suitability of curricula to the requirements of the public sector and the quality of training imparted.

Recommendation 126

The Training of specialists and technicians listed in paragraph 8.56 should be the special responsibility of the public enterprises themselves. In discharging this responsibility, enterprises operating in the same field of technology can coordinate their efforts. This coordination will, of course, become automatic once a multiunit corporation is set up in each field.

Recommendation 127

The draft outline of the Fourth Plan contemplates training programmes in management to be jointly sponsored by the Planning Commission and the Bureau of Public Enterprises, with a provision of Rs. one crore for the purpose. It should be possible to work out with the help of management institutes and specialised agencies concerned the possibility of running training programmes tailored specially to the requirements of the public undertakings. This work and the funds being provided for the purpose should be transferred to the Bureau.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Recommendation 140

Managements of the public undertakings should take steps to have their personnel managers trained in industrial relations and labour management and to strengthen their personnel departments in

this respect. An officer who is professionally qualified or equipped with sufficient experience in labour management should be available at a senior position in the personnel department. The labour officer should have direct approach to the chief executive in case he felt that his advice was being unjustifiably disregarded by any line authority.

MATERIALS MANAGEMENT

Recommendation 177

Training in material management should be given greater importance and the efforts should be to have fully trained staff in the materials management organisation. It will be advantageous to impart short-term training to the personnel of other departments as well, since the management of materials is an integrated programme requiring the co-operative action of all the concerned branches. Adequate permanent facilities should be created to provide both long-term specialised training as well as short-term training course in materials management.

REPORT ON FINANCE, ACCOUNTS AND AUDIT (JANUARY 1968)

THE BUDGET

Performance Budget

Recommendation 1

A suitable training scheme should be devised for those who, at different levels, will be concerned with the introduction of performance budgeting. The Finance Ministry should prepare a manual on performance budgeting, covering the various issues, involved and containing instructions of a practical nature for the guidance of all concerned with the budgetary process.

Accuracy of Budget Estimates-Expenditure

Recommendation 5

During the course of construction of projects, systematic cash flow statements should be prepared and in this connection, modern control techniques like PERT should be made use of.

FINANCIAL CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT

Recommendation 12

The Finance Ministry should help the administrative Ministries to organise well-equipped internal Finance Branches. For this purpose, it will be necessary to: (i) ensure proper training of the junior officers, and (ii) provide for officers in the middle levels suitable opportunities to acquire varied experience and knowledge of public administration.

GOVERNMENTS ACCOUNTS

Maintenance by Department of the Accounts required for Managerial Control

Recommendation 18

Adequate arrangements should be made for imparting suitable training to the accounting personnel at various levels.

STUDY TEAM ON FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION (MAY 1967)

BUDGET ESTIMATES

Recommendation (20.10)

We consider that managerial techniques such as PERT (Programme Evaluation and Review Techniques) and C.P.M. (Critical Path Method) should be introduced as early as possible in Government projects and Government Departments, especially those concerned with the execution of relatively big schemes. Among other things, the adoption of these methods should lead to a much larger measure than at present of calculated control over points of crucial delay and in the same process to a much more reliable estimate than now obtains of the twin factors of time and expenditure.

Recommendation (20.41)

In the matter of creation of posts, we recommend greater overall control. Many of the Work Study Units, on whose advice posts can be treated, have not built up the expertise required for their becoming effective advisers in this respect. We are of the view that this function should be entrusted to a well-trained staff inspection unit composed of officers with adequate training in methods of work study, work measurement, etc. The new unit should be located in the Ministry of Home Affairs or in the Cabinet Secretariat.

STUDY TEAM ON ACCOUNTS AND AUDIT (SEPTEMBER 1967)

AUDIT AND ADMINISTRATION

Recommendation 63

Suitable training facilities in financial administration may be provided for executive officers at various levels and checklists of important points with regard to various types of transactions may be prepared and distributed among the officers and staff. Simultaneously, laxity in following prescribed rules and regulations should be viewed with pronounced disfavour so as to attract suitable disciplinary action.

REPORT ON MACHINERY FOR PLANNING (MARCH 1968)

TRAINING IN PLANNING METHODOLOGY

Recommendation 17

1. It is necessary to make suitable arrangements for training of

- personnel engaged on planning work, in statistical and economic analysis and in techniques of planning.
2. Training for statisticians and economists to be engaged in planning work should be organised in specialised institutions like the Indian Statistical Institute and the Institute of Economic Growth.
 3. The Planning Commission is the most suitable agency for imparting on-the-job training. For other aspects of the orientation and refresher courses, facilities available with professional bodies like the Indian Institute of Public Administration may be made use of.

STUDY TEAM ON MACHINERY FOR PLANNING (DECEMBER 1967)

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING

Staff development has not received adequate attention in the Planning Commission.

It is necessary that there should be an orientation programme for introducing persons newly joining the Commission to the responsibilities which arise as a result of the Commission's role as a leader, coordinator and synthesiser in the national planning process.

A personal exchange programme between the Planning Commission and the sectoral agencies is essential to develop better understanding of each other's role.

To meet the requirements of the changing nature of work, the existing personnel needs to be trained. This will also help to open possibilities of job enlargement.

With the new planning positions in Ministries, State Planning agencies, and District Planning agencies that we envisage, the development of suitable training programme for personnel to fill these positions is essential.

Training in Planning will be two types: (i) Training in economic, statistical and other tools which can be largely imparted through specialised institutions and confined to persons already qualified to such subjects. (ii) Training for persons who are specialised in different aspects of development but are now to work planners: Such persons have to be trained in the objectives, tools and techniques of planning.

We recommend that appropriate training facilities should be created for imparting the latter type of training.

The training agency for such a purpose should be closely associated with the planning agency and its training faculty should be partly drawn from persons who have had an opportunity to study at first hand the working of the planning process. It is necessary to create immediately one such training institution in Delhi.

REPORT ON THE MACHINERY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND ITS PROCEDURES OF WORK (SEPTEMBER 1968)

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS--FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Recommendation 15

The Department of Administrative Reforms should confine itself

mainly to: (a) studies on administrative reforms of a foundational character, (b) building up O&M expertise in Ministries/Departments and training the personnel of their O&M units in modern techniques of management, and (c) advice and guidance to these O&M units in effecting administrative improvements and reforms.

A CENTRAL PERSONNEL AGENCY

Recommendation 17

1. A separate Department of Personnel should be set up, with a full Secretary incharge who should work under the general guidance of the Cabinet Secretary.
2. This Department of Personnel should have the following functions and responsibilities: (a) formulation of personnel policies on all matters common to the Central and All India Services, and inspection and review of their implementation; (b) talent hunting, development of personnel for "senior management" and processing of appointment to senior posts; (c) manpower planning, training and career development; (d) foreign assistance programme in personnel administration; (e) research in personnel administration; (f) discipline and welfare of staff and machinery for redress of their grievances; (g) liaison with the Union Public Service Commission, State Governments, professional institutions, etc.; and (h) staffing of the middle-level positions in the Central Secretariat (of Under Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries) with the assistance of and on the advice of the Establishment Board.

STUDY TEAM ON MACHINERY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND ITS PROCEDURES OF WORK—PART II (VOL. I) (FEBRUARY, 1968)

STRUCTURES AND METHODS: AN OVERALL VIEW

Recommendation 40

For providing training opportunities and developing promising young men as well as giving relief to the chief of a non-staff administrative office either or both of the following two devices could be adopted. One is nomination, wherever feasible, of a "number two"; this need not mean creating a fresh post, as an existing deputy could fill the role. The other is the provision of an aide to the chief in the person of a picked young officer of outstanding promise.

STRUCTURES AND METHODS: A CLOSE UP

Recommendation 91

The development of personnel appointed to the three functional levels in a reorganised wing should be given careful attention by the wing chief in consultation with the personnel side of the ministry. Suitable orientation and training programmes should be devised which extend the capacities and knowledge-content of both directing staff and executives. The training programmes should include short-term fellowship for study in selected areas of relevance to the work of the wing, whether in the country or

abroad. The selected personnel should be sent out for a year or two at a time to executive agencies of the Central Government or to the State Governments. An incentive should be provided to such personnel in the form of special pay of Rs. 200 per mensem.

Recommendation 92

To facilitate undertaking of meaningful training programmes, there should be a development reserve in the sanctioned strength of a wing.

PERSONNEL IN THE MACHINERY

Recommendation 120

There should be programmes for the development of promising middle management personnel for senior management. Selected men from the Non-IAS generalist services should be given opportunities, through an appropriate deployment policy, to gain executive or other experience helpful for development. Selected men from the technical and scientific sources should, similarly, be given opportunities to gain administrative experience. After experience has been gathered in this way, these persons and promising IAS officers at middle management level (not excluding those serving in the States) should be put through specially designed training courses to fit them for senior management.

Recommendation 122

Increasingly, training should become a part of eligibility. In due course, save in exceptional cases, no non-IAS generalist should be considered eligible unless he has had a three years' exposure to development experience and no technologist or scientist unless he has had a similar exposure to administrative experience. No one- IAS, non-IAS generalist, technologist or scientist-should in future be considered eligible unless he has successfully done a training course for senior management. Those who have already entered senior management during the last three years should be made to do such courses now.

Recommendation 123

Actual selection should be based not only on the character rolls of eligible individuals but also on their total biodata, including in particular their academic background and performance during training.

Recommendation 134

There should be a well planned training programme for chiefs, comprising items for individuals like study leave and deputation for training abroad, as well as group items like seminars and short-term courses. The programme should have two objectives: to increase the administrative capacity and vision of individual senior managers; and to promote team spirit based on a common understanding of the administrative problems senior management is required to handle.

Recommendation 137

The device of orientation posts to train secretaries before they

take up new assignments should, as suggested for chiefs, be increasingly resorted to in suitable cases.

Recommendation 153

A comprehensive approach to reform in this field should seek not only to make good the handicaps of limited experience-patterns and the short-comings of 'pool' concept but also develop the requisite specialisations. It must also take into account the variegated sources that feed it. An outline of ideas in this field has been indicated below. If the ideas are accepted, these could become the basis of a plan of reform in this field to be formulated in due course by the government.

Recommendation 156

There should first be basic training, the aim being to impart to promising persons from different sources, not excluding public sector personnel, the basic requirements of headquarters staff.

Recommendation 157

Appointments to headquarters posts should, in due course, be made only from amongst those who have received basic training.

Recommendation 158

There should then be supplementary training aimed at developing substantive and staff specialisations largely among generalists; the former designed to produce a corps of generalist-specialists in three broad sectors of substantive administration, viz., industries, agriculture and social services and the latter to produce a corps of specialists in staff subjects particularly, personnel administration, financial management, planning and O&M. The acquisition of more than one specialisation should not be barred and should, on the other hand, be encouraged.

Recommendation 159

The management of headquarters staff should be primarily the responsibility of the proposed Department of Personnel, with close coordination between the division within its handling this management job and the training division. But it should be necessary to centralise only such tasks as are fundamental to the new approach suggested, leaving others to be looked after by the ministries where the personnel are posted.

Recommendation 160

The performance of centralised tasks in relation to the sectoral and staff corps mentioned in 158 above should be thought of as "corps management". While overall responsibility for this should remain in the Department of Personnel, corps management authorities should be nominated for different corps as indicated in para 6.36(7) (of the Report). Each corps management authority should take responsibility for the training and deployment planning of corps members, under the overall control and guidance of the Department, of Personnel. Where the latter is itself the corps management authority, internal arrangements should be made, perhaps by constituting special cells to see that the detail of corps management is not overwhelmed by the overall responsibility.

ties of the Department of Personnel in regard to headquarters staff management.

Recommendation 164

Powers should be taken to enforce a plan of reform formulated on this basis. Training, in particular, should be made compulsory.

REPORT OF CENTRAL DIRECT TAXES ADMINISTRATION (JANUARY, 1969)

SOME ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

Recommendation 17

Income-tax Officers on promotion to the grade of Assistant Commissioners should be given training in judicial practice and procedure by being attached to a District Judge for a period of one month. This training will be a preliminary to his posting as Appellate Assistant Commissioner.

State Administrative Reforms Committees on Training

[Reproduced from **State Administrative Reforms Committees on Training** (Training Monograph No. 7), New Delhi, Training Division, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1970]

ADMINISTRATIVE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE, BOMBAY 1948

Training

A POTENT cause of administrative inefficiency is the inadequate attention at present given by Government to the training of their staff. Recruitment by open competition will no doubt secure entrants with the requisite standards of intelligence and ability. But they can become skilled administrators only if they are made to undergo a course of training and a period of apprenticeship. Refresher courses too are obviously needed for technical officers to brush up their knowledge periodically. The need of such training courses has never been so urgent as at the present time....It is therefore necessary to organise intensive courses of training and to depute officers for special studies in other parts of the country, and abroad if there are no facilities for such training in this country. Study leave may therefore be freely given to officers during the early part of their career for receiving such training as is likely to increase their usefulness to the State. (para 355).

...In view of the growing complexity and extent of the functions of Government department for social and economic purposes, the need for initial training and refresher course for all grades of Government services ought to be self-evident, and yet the normal departmental mind is so accustomed to the age-long tradition of haphazard acquisition of knowledge by contact with old hands and by making mistakes, that it shuns the idea of a training programme....(para 356)

We are firmly of opinion that the efficiency of the administration can be increased only if all its officers, superior as well as subordinate, are properly trained before they take up their duties. The need for such training is recognised in the case of the Indian Administrative and Police Services and provincial police and forest officers. (para 357).

We would draw Government's special attention to the paramount need for training the large body of clerical staff employed in the Secretariat and other officers of Government. This training will have to be organised at Bombay, and also at divisional centres on account of the differences in regional languages and problems. The course should cover the general duties of a clerk, e.g., precis, drafting, typing and a basic knowledge of account and procedure which are common to all offices. In addition to this common group of subjects, each department and office is interested in promoting a knowledge of its own requirements. For this purpose special experienced staff may be attached to the divisional training schools on a tenure or deputation basis as may be necessary. While special training in the regulations

and procedure of the office in which the trainee is employed is obviously necessary, the advantage of imparting knowledge of the rules and procedures of other offices or departments, with which the trainee will have to deal, should not be overlooked. (para 358).

Acting on our recommendation made in an interim report, Government have already instituted a training course for Secretariat clerks. One such course we understand has already been finished. The proposal to organise similar courses for clerks in revenue offices has been considered by the divisional commissioners and is being finalised. The heads of other departments should also be asked to frame such courses for the clerical staff in their offices. A certificate should be given to those who have satisfactorily undergone these courses. These certificates should not be awarded on the result of a stereotyped examination, but should be based on tests from time to time during the courses. Wherever subordinate departmental examinations are at present necessary for the confirmation of clerks in Government service, such as the sub-service departmental examination in the Revenue Department, these newly instituted tests should be substituted for them, and all clerks before confirmation should be in possession of certificates awarded at the training centres. (para 359).

Where the instruction is not primarily administrative and clerical, but technical as in the case of vaccinators or agricultural kamagars, training will have to be arranged departmentally as is done at present, but on a more systematic basis. While the subjects to be taught in such centres, general as well as special, are for the departments to consider, we would only emphasise the urgent need for Government to extend such training to all departments and to keep it on a practical basis. (para 360).

To facilitate such instruction and study, all available aids should be utilised. Manuals of Acts and departmental procedure should be brought up to date and made available on an adequate scale. In some cases new compilations will have to be prepared so as to suit each course of training. We should regard the expenditure on the preparation of these texts, as on the provision of training staff, premises and equipment as money well spent. (para 361).

The training of officers, which is properly organised in the Police and Forest Departments, is much neglected in the others. We feel that hardly any department can now hope to carry out its work with the requisite efficiency, understanding and enthusiasm unless special training is provided for its officer staff. In the Education Department the large number of supervisory, administrative and inspecting officers for primary education will, we trust, be more efficient workers if they pass through an appropriate course. Periodical conferences of departmental officers are no substitute for such a course, though we realise that these also have their uses. Education is however only on illustration. New policies are being adopted in several departments and considerable extensions of staff and other items of expenditure are being sanctioned to carry these out. To ensure the successful implementation of these policies training courses for supervisory and executive staff are essential. Not all these need a school or an elaborate permanent establishment. Such a training course would be necessary not only in the spending and beneficent departments of Government such as Education, Cooperation, Public Health and Agriculture, but also in taxing departments like those of Revenue and the Sales Tax. Very often the tax and the

service aspects of a department's functions are so inter-related that incomplete comprehension of the purpose of his functions by an official leads not only to inconvenience for the public, but also to loss of revenue to Government. The following extract from the evidence of Mr. M.J.Desai,... who has considerable experience of the administrative system of this Province will speak for itself:

Another point which has struck me is that everybody is doing a limited job without understanding the why and how of it. When I was a collector, I asked a tagavi clerk why he had not disposed of an application for tagavi. He said the delay was due to rush of work. He did not realise that this would result in the cultivator not obtaining a pair of bullocks or seed for that particular season, which meant not only less produce for the community but also loss of revenue to Government. Immediately after recruitment there should be a permanent agency in the district for the training of the subordinate staff, and the recruit should be instructed why he is doing a particular job and how it is to be done....(para 362).

It is, therefore, essential that training in procedure should be combined with training in objectives. The latter has not only to be learned but absorbed, and training and refresher courses are the approved methods of imparting it. In civil life generally too little attention has been paid to training as a factor in efficiency, and where attention has been given, it has tended to concentrate on the instruction of the rank and file in technical skills or of the subordinate supervisory group in the elements of leadership. This rather patronising attitude towards the subject has overlooked the importance of training for officials of all grades, not primarily in order that they may learn new tricks, but that, in studying methods in common they may attain the similarity of outlook and of attack on problems which are essential to true cooperation (L. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration*, pp. 69-70). We are conscious that a Government pressed for funds and faced with a shortage of experienced staff is likely to grudge both the expenditure of money and the diversion of services of its competent staff for these training schemes. But the ultimate advantage both by way of economy and efficiency expected from a well-designed scheme of training is so great that we place the provision of adequate training facilities in the class of urgent and crucially needed improvements. (para 363).

Recommendations

Intensive courses of training should be organised. If there are no facilities in the province for training, officers should be deputed for special studies in other parts of the country and abroad. Study leave may be given freely to officers during the early part of their career. (no. 217).

Efficiency of administration will increase if all officers are properly trained before they take up their duties. (no. 218).

Training of clerical staff in the Secretariat and other officers will have to be organised at Bombay and at divisional centres on lines suggested. (no. 219).

Heads of departments should be asked to frame special courses for the clerical staff in their offices. Confirmation of clerks

should depend on certificates which should be based on tests held from time to time during the course. (no. 220).

Where technical instruction is to be imparted, training should be arranged departmentally on a systematic and practical basis. (no. 221).

Manuals of Acts and departmental procedure should be brought up to date and made available on an adequate scale. New compilations may be prepared where necessary. (no. 222).

Training in procedure should be combined with training in objectives. (nc. 223).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMITTEE, KERALA 1958, VOL. I

Training

The practice of giving training exists now in the case of direct recruits to some executive posts like probationary Deputy Collectors, Extra Assistant Conservators of Forests, Deputy Superintendents of Police, Probationary Deputy Tehsildars, Forest Rangers, Sub-Inspectors of Police, Cooperative Inspectors, etc. Persons selected are appointed as Block Development Officers and Gram Sewaks also are given an intensive course of training in development work. Since 1956, a school for the training of Clerks and Accountants has been functioning in Trivandrum, the trainees being drawn from the several offices, mostly situated in the city. There is a whole time Principal for the Institution who is a Deputy Secretary. Some officials of the State Secretariat and the Controller's Office do part-time work as lecturers in specified subjects. The duration of the course is three months and the intake of candidates for each course is 100. (para 10).

It is the view of the Committee that, quite apart from the general question whether, and if so what kind of, post-recruitment training should be given to clerks and accountants, the purpose served by the present school in Trivandrum is of doubtful value, that the intake is so small that its influence on the "Broad mass of the clerical class" is insignificant, and that to duplicate it in other centres in the State would be sheer waste of money, having regard to the nature and method of training imparted. It is learnt that the Government have since decided to close down the school, and so we do not propose to comment further upon its working. The Committee considered in this connection the relative merits of institutional training and "training on the job" so far as the ministerial service is concerned. The time honoured method of leaving a new entrant "to learn the job by doing it" and to generally flounder about "in the deep and until one has somehow taught oneself to swim" may not be suitable in current conditions. For one thing, officers and their assistants have now an ever increasing workload to handle, and are in practice unable to afford the time required for grooming raw recruits into shape. For another, administration is rapidly becoming a complex and technical matter and a measure of acquaintance with the "basic tools of his trade" derived from the books and manuals, is indispensable to the fresh entrant. It is, however, recognised that mere institutional training, however efficiently and carefully imparted, unaccompanied by a concurrent course of practical on-the-job, learning will be of little use. We, therefore, suggest that institutional training

in general principle be combined with practical training in offices preferably of the departments to which the trainees are allotted. It will be necessary to run such training courses at the Headquarters of each district. Before the recruits selected by the Public Service Commission are posted to the offices, they should undergo training for about three months in a district school during which period they will be attached for practical training to the offices of the different departments situated in the District Headquarters. This period should be counted as part of their probation, and the diligence and attention shown during the training should be taken into consideration in judging whether the allottee has satisfactorily completed his probation. (para 11).

We wish to emphasise that the scope of training should include training in objectives as well. The role of the services in a welfare State is a very important one. They are not merely members of an organisation but a body of persons who greatly influence the day-to-day life of the citizens outside. As has been said often, there is a human problem behind every file, and this profound truth must be recognised in a greater measure by our Government servants, especially of the clerical and the lower executive grades. In the huge pyramidal structure of the Service they form the base. The common man comes into frequent contact with this part of the structure and his impressions of the Service and the Government will be influenced to a large extent by his experience of such contact. (para 12).

Initial training part, it is necessary to organise refresher courses and seminars to enable the officials to exchange ideas and to keep abreast of up-to-date trends in organisations, methods and procedure. Senior Officers of Government should participate in these gatherings and encourage free and frank discussions on matters of administrative importance. (para 13).

Recommendations

1. A period of probation should be prescribed for new entrants and promotees. (para 99).
2. A course of combined practical and institutional training should be prescribed for all recruits to clerical and administrative jobs. (para 100).
3. Refresher courses and seminars should be organised for the benefit of the personnel in service. (para 101).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMITTEE--ANDHRA PRADESH, 1960

Public Services

Study Leave--Study leave on full or half-pay should be given to young employees who intend to proceed on leave for higher studies, particularly in technical departments. (Para 78).

Training of Clerks--(1) There should be training centres for Lower Division Clerks for a total period of three months, out of which six weeks should be institutional training on the lines similar to the training given in the Community Development Organisations, combining the theoretical and the practical aspects.

Office Manuals--The Committee generally endorses here the following suggestion of the Madras Pay Commission (1959-1960) regarding the tests to be prescribed for Lower Division Clerks' when they join services.

We therefore suggest that the Government should take on hand the compilation of a Manual of General Administration which within a short compass of about two hundred to two hundred and fifty pages, will introduce a clerk to the rudiments of administration and equip him with that basic knowledge of the principles and procedures of Government organisation, without which he cannot become a useful civil servant. This manual will be a digest of such manuals already in existence as the District Office Manual, Madras Financial Code, Accounts Code, Service Manuals, etc., but it should be written in a free and easy style. The Manual may also contain a brief descriptive account of the set-up and the working of the different Government Departments as the clerk will then be able to appreciate his own work in a wider setting.

A pass in a test on this Manual of General Administration should be prescribed as a condition precedent to the declaration of probation and the earning of any increment in the time scale, failure to pass the test within two or three attempts should entail discharge from service. At the same time, it will provide a good incentive to the clerks if an advance increment is given on the passing of the test. This test may be prescribed for all Lower Division Clerks and directly recruited Upper Division Clerks including those in the Secretariat. This test should be conducted just like other departmental tests that are being held now.

The preparation of the Manual for each Department should be left to the concerned Head of the Department. Further details of this scheme will have to be worked out by the Government in consultation with the Head of the Department. (para 102).

Recommendations

1. Training Centres for Lower Division Clerks for imparting institutional training should be established. (No. 62).
2. A pass in a test for Lower Division Clerks and Upper Division directly recruited, in the Manual of General Administration to be prepared by Government should be prescribed as a condition precedent to the declaration of probation and earning of an increment. (No. 63).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMITTEE, RAJASTHAN 1963

Training

The principle that a government servant must be properly equipped to discharge the duties proposed to be assigned to him before he is actually appointed to the post is fairly obvious, needing hardly any elaboration. The State government had recently appointed a special committee under the Chairmanship of the Chief Secretary to examine the training programmes of all government services and recommend measures to ensure that these programmes are efficiently organised, properly coordinated, improved in content and brought in conformity with the existing requirements of the state and local administrations. The recommendations of this Committee are fairly comprehensive and cover most of the important aspects of training of government servants, and therefore, we have not examined this matter in detail. (para 5.10.1).

We would, however, like to emphasise that the staff appointed to the training institutions run by the government should be given

proper guidance regarding the manner in which such training should be imparted. Special short-term courses may be organised in conjunction with one of the universities in Rajasthan, or with institutions of the nature of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, for the training of such staff members from time to time. The quality of instruction at the training institutions is likely to improve as a result of adoption of this measure. (para 5.10.2)

Recommendation

Staff appointed to the training institutions run by the government should be required to undergo special short-term courses in which instructions regarding the approach to the training and education may be imparted. (S. No. 104).

STATE COMMITTEE ON TRAINING, RAJASTHAN, 1963

Training--A Continuous Process

As long as man continues to learn, he subjects himself to the process of training. For the average intelligent man there is no end to this process. Similarly, in Government services, if a good standard of performance and efficiency is to be obtained; opportunities for training, study and reflection have to be afforded to all government servants at regular intervals, throughout their period of service. The Committee has given this matter considerable thought and feel that each entrant into the Government services, especially in the higher services, should be subject to the following process of training in the course of his career:

- (i) Post entry pre-service training--To acquaint him with the basic requirements of his profession, and inculcate in him the right attitude of mind towards his work.
- (ii) First Refresher course--In Service institutional training, in the form of refresher course at the age of 30-35 years. This course will enable him to reflect on the experiences gained by him in the initial stages of his service and also to share these experiences with his colleagues. It will also afford him an opportunity to post himself up-to-date with the most recent thinking and researches on subjects connected with his profession.
- (iii) A Middle Management Course--Just before the age of 40 years. The course will be for the officers of a number of different services working in different but related departments. There is always much in common in the work of Government servants who are engaged in common tasks. It is envisaged that this course will give government servants of different departments an opportunity to come together after having gained considerable experience in their own special spheres of activity and to exchange ideas and experiences for the mutual benefit of each other. Certain subjects of common interest such as Personnel Management, some aspects of Public Administration and Human Relations and other problems connected with their work should also be taught and discussed in these courses.
- (iv) Second Refresher Course--Between the age of 40 and 45, i.e., ten years after the first refresher course, there should be a

second refresher course; this will give the officers another opportunity after they have gained more experience to come together and discuss matters of common interest, share their experiences and study subjects connected with their work.

- (v) Higher Management Course--Government servants, on the eve of their appointment to the most important posts in their respective cadres, would do well to collect together and discuss matters relating to State policy, ways and means of bringing about greater efficiency and harmony in the working of different departments and appreciate more intimately the functions and responsibilities of their colleagues engaged in different fields of activity. It may be mentioned here that the State Government should take advantage of similar courses sponsored by the Government of India, especially in the Administrative Staff Colleges, Hyderabad and Simla and in the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

The duration of all the above courses, except the pre-service institutional and field training course, should normally be four weeks.

- (vi) StudyTours--The Committee feels that visits in the nature of study tours to other states in the country, and also to other countries serve a very useful purpose. Not only do they enable the Government to view its policies in a broader perspective and benefit from the experiences of other governments, but also enriches and considerably broadens the outlook of the government servants concerned. It is, therefore, recommended that government servants serving in positions of higher responsibility should be sent to foreign countries, especially to European countries, for specialised studies which would be of utility to the Government, and also of educative value to the Government servants concerned. The period of such study tours should be about six months, half of which time should be spent in the relatively under developed countries and the other half in the more progressive countries. Advantage may also be taken of scholarships offered by various countries to the citizens of this country and also by the Government of India, for such study tours. (Para 1.3.1.)

The Committee also recommends that officers who have put in about ten years of service, should be sent in batches of not less than two and not more than three, to other states in the country, especially to non-Hindi speaking areas, to study specific subjects connected with their work for a period of about one month. Each member of the group should be assigned one subject. Every year, six such groups may be sent so that the senior officers of every department get a chance to participate in these study tours at least once in three years. (para 1.3.2)

It will be noticed from the above suggestions that every member of the important services in the State will be afforded an opportunity about once in five years to spend sometime in retrospection and study. This will enable him to keep himself abreast of the most recent developments in matters relating to his profession, to share his experience with his colleagues and develop a broader and more understanding outlook towards his own work and the work of his

colleagues in sister departments. (para 1.3.3)

Common Training Courses

Keeping in view the broader objectives of the training as already defined, and in order to ensure that Government servants develop a spirit of mutual understanding and an integrated approach to work, the committee makes the following recommendations, with regard to the post-entry pre-service training. (para 1.4.1.).

Centralisation of Training Institutions

As far as possible the training institutions of all general services should be located at one place, preferably in a University town. Apart from a number of subsidiary advantages, the main advantage of such a step would be:

- (a) The new entrants to the general services would become familiar with one another and appreciate each others functions more correctly. They would also develop a community of outlook and a spirit of goodwill towards each other.
- (b) The teaching staff of the Universities may be drawn upon as part-time lecturers for the schools for the teaching of subjects which do not require the services of whole time lecturers.
- (c) A number of lecturers can be common for two or more training institutions where they do not have whole time work in any one institution. This would result in considerable economy to the Government.
- (d) Such extra-curricular activities as riding, swimming, motor driving, motor mechanism, physical instruction and even games and sports, may be organised in common for the trainees of the different services, thus avoiding duplication and unnecessary expenditure.
- (e) With a lesser number of instructors, instructors of higher calibre and better qualifications could be engaged, and this would naturally improve the quality of instructions. (para 1.4.2)

However, the Committee realises that it may be difficult for the Government to give effect to these recommendations straightaway in view of the manifold practical difficulties which may be encountered. It is, therefore, suggested that some beginning should be made in this direction and the centralisation of the remaining training institutions may be brought about in due course in accordance with a phased programme. New training institutions, however, may easily be located at the selected place without much difficulty. (para 1.4.3)

Foundational Courses

The Committee strongly recommends that new entrants into the Government service should, at the beginning of their training period, collect together in a common institution and study subjects of common interest which would be of benefit to all. This course will serve as a foundational course for all these services. For this purpose, the services may be divided into the following categories:

1. All general state services.

2. All general subordinate services, requiring a University degree at direct entry stage.
3. Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service and all technical State Services. (para 1.4.4)

The duration of the course for category one services should be five months; for category two services, three months; and category three services, two months. (para 1.4.5)

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMITTEE--ANDHRA PRADESH, 1964-65

Training

The importance of training of new recruits to Government service is now well recognised. According to the orders in force, clerks newly recruited to the Andhra Pradesh Secretariat Service, Andhra Pradesh Ministerial Service and Andhra Pradesh Judicial Ministerial Service, after selection by the Public Service Commission, have to be given in-service training in the Departments and offices to which they are allotted for a period of three months. Accordingly, during the period of three months recruits are attached in turn to each branch of the Department or office for sometime, so that they may pick up the work of all the branches of the Department or office to which they are attached. This training is in our view neither adequate nor purposeful. The persons to whom these new clerks are attached for picking up work have neither the time nor all of them the capacity to guide and instruct the new recruits. The recruits thus learn little or nothing during the period, they just mark time and complete the training period. The senior officers have even less time to think of the training of these recruits. A few of the trainees may occasionally pick up a little acquaintance with rules and procedure by contact with some of the experienced clerks but this system in which the trainees are left to themselves and pick up a little knowledge here and there through chance cannot be said to be satisfactory. We have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that the in-service training is not useful. (para 3.13).

The previous Administrative Reforms Committee considered that there should be training centres for Lower Division Clerks for a total period of three months out of which six weeks should be institutional training where both theoretical and practical training was to be given. That Committee also considered that a pass in a test in the Manual of General Administration (a compilation to be prepared as a digest of the Office Procedure Manual, Financial Code, Accounts Code, Services Manuals, etc.), should be prescribed as a condition precedent to the declaration of probation and the earning of any increment in the time scale, and that failure to pass the test within two or three attempts should entail discharge from service. The Committee considered that the test might be prescribed for all Lower Division Clerks and directly recruited Upper Division Clerks including those in the Secretariat. Though those recommendations of the previous Committee were accepted by the Government, no specific orders have so far been issued and the compilation of the Manual of General Administration has not also been taken in hand. (para 3.14).

The committee considers that it is essential to impart training in procedures to new recruits. The smooth and efficient working of the governmental machinery demands awareness and devotion to duty from

officers at all levels. As has been said often, there is a human problem in every file, and this profound truth must be recognised by the Government servants, especially of the clerical and the lower executive grades. The average citizen comes into frequent contact with the lower rungs of the administrative structure and his impressions of it and of the Government are influenced by these contacts. Some of the delays that occur in Government offices and inconvenience thereby caused to the public can be avoided if the clerical and lower grade executive staff have a better grasp of rules and procedures and the principles underlying them. We, therefore, recommend that there should be institutional training for a period of three months--two months out of this should be for theoretical training and one month for practical training attached to offices. Office procedure and some of the more important service, financial and account rules and the underlying purpose of these rules should be explained during the institutional training. We also recommend that this period should be counted towards probation. A satisfactory completion of the course of training should be necessary for completion of probation. (para 3.15).

Some of the officials and non-officials, who gave evidence before us, have suggested that there should be a refresher course of training at periodical intervals to improve the efficiency of the staff, both Gazetted and non-gazetted. We agree with this suggestion and recommend that refresher course be organised at periodical intervals, to enable officials--both gazetted and non-gazetted services--to exchange ideas and to keep abreast of up-to-date trends in organisation, methods and procedures. The Organisation and Methods Division in the Secretariat should arrange these courses of training. (para 3.16).

Some of the directly recruited State Service Officers, such as Probationary Deputy Collectors, District Agricultural Officers, etc., are all undergoing practical training in the duties and responsibilities of their offices. Except Deputy Superintendents of Police, the Deputy Registrars of Cooperative Societies, other directly recruited Gazetted Officers do not receive any institutional training. We consider that a common institutional training for a short period, say about three months, will be useful for all direct recruits. It is not enough for a Government servant, particularly at the gazetted level, to know his own work; he should be aware of the points of contact between his department and others and have a picture of his department as part of the whole structure of Government. No Government servant can function in isolation, and unless he shows a spirit of cooperation with and understanding of the activities of his colleagues in different departments, the efficiency of the working of the Government as a whole will suffer. We, therefore, suggest that all those gazetted officers, who are recruited direct should have a common institutional training for a period of three months, prior to the practical training which they are now given. Such training may with advantage take place at a central place like Rajendranagar. (para 3.17).

Recommendations

1. There should be institutional training for a period of three months--two months out of which should be for theoretical training and one month for practical training attached to

offices. This period should be counted towards probation. A satisfactory completion of the course of training should be necessary for completion of probation. (No. 61).

2. It is necessary to organise refresher courses of training at periodical intervals, to enable the officials both gazetted and non-gazetted services--to exchange ideas and to keep abreast of up-to-date trends in organisations, methods and procedures. The Organisation and Methods Division in the Secretariat should arrange these courses of training. (No. 62).
3. All the Gazetted Officers recruited direct should have a common institutional training for a period of three months, in addition to the practical training which they are now having. (No. 63).

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANISATION AND ECONOMY COMMITTEE--KERALA 1965-67

Training

Training of personnel is as important in Government as in business organisations. Since the existing educational institutions are not geared closely to the need of Government, it is not easy to find new employees with exactly the right background for specific jobs. Even if this were possible, new employees must learn through practice. To keep them acquainted with new developments and to help them to correct wrong work-habits, older employees also need training. Again, employees on promotion, especially from positions with no supervisory responsibilities to positions involving leadership of others, need to be trained. (para 6.18).

While pre-service training is now given to some categories of directly recruited officers, the training programmes are generally somewhat ad hoc in nature; except when organised in training schools, pre-service training is considered as an addition to the ordinary duties of Government officers, to whom new recruits are attached for training. There is no general scheme of training for persons already in service and hardly any programme for imparting training to persons promoted to positions involving leadership over others. (para 6.19).

We recommend that a survey of training facilities for Government servants should be conducted by the Q&M Division and a scheme formulated to serve the following objectives:

- (i) Detailed programmes of training should be devised so as to cater for different levels of employees, with due regard to the functions and responsibilities which they are expected to discharge.
- (ii) Training should be given at different stages of service--soon after entry, on promotion to supervisory levels and later, at senior levels, the content and methods of training being adapted to each level.
- (iii) Wherever necessary, field training should be given.
- (iv) There should be a central agency to coordinate all programmes of training. (para 6.20).

Recommendations

A survey of training facilities for Government servants should be

conducted by the O & M Division and training schemes formulated. (No. 134).

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMISSION, PUNJAB 1966

Proper Training for Public Services

Public Services in the State today are handicapped for lack of sufficient, suitable and proper training. In this age of speed and specialisation, more attention should be paid to proper training. Every employee needs, in addition to general educational qualifications and appropriate mental capacity, a thorough knowledge of his job and how to perform it with ease, efficiency and speed. Training usually is of the following types:

- (a) During the period of probation to teach the official the several aspects of his job;
- (b) Refresher courses from time to time. These enable the official to keep abreast of new developments in his sphere of work;
- (c) Combined training of officials from various departments, primarily to study problems of coordination and to provide solutions;
- (d) Training in special subjects, e.g., training for flood-relief, etc.; and
- (e) Advanced or specialised training within the country or abroad (para 13.22).

The Directorate of Administrative Reforms and Training

We have the impression that such programmes of training as are taken up in the State are not properly planned or coordinated, because there is no Centre or Institute to handle this subject. We recommend the creation of such an Institute which may be called the Directorate of Administrative Reforms and Training. The Director should plan programmes for training and arrange the training not only at the directorate but also elsewhere such as the universities, in India and abroad, and established training Institutes. This Directorate will also take notice of administrative difficulties either suo moto or when they are referred to it and after necessary study and research, suggest the remedies. It will organise studies, seminars, etc., on matters concerning administration. Existing training institutions for serving administrative personnel may be placed under this Directorate for general supervision and control. (para 13.23).

Pre-training

Once the Directorate has started to function, other problems concerning the training of public services can be considered by the Director. The first problems will be the selection of the staff, i.e., whether it should be a separate service of teachers or it should be composed of officers from various services, who work in the Institute for specified periods, which may be repeated, thus ensuring a constant interchange of study and work in the field. The Directorate may also undertake the training of prospective recruits to public services and conduct studies from time to time on the educational qualifications that may be considered appropriate for one type of recruits or another. In collaboration with schools and universi-

ties, special classes or examinations might be instituted and employment in some posts restricted to those who have passed such examinations. (para 13.24).

Moral Regeneration

The Directorate should run courses to foster integrity, including intellectual honesty, amongst government officials. This can be done by carrying out studies on the causes of corruption in particular offices and departments and suggesting remedies. Further, prominent national and international figures may be invited to address the trainees. The most effective remedy against corruption in public service is the revival of a sense of pride in one's job. This sense has been lost due to apathy and indifference. The Directorate will serve as a centre for moral regeneration of the public services. (para 13.25).

Out-ward-bound Training

Officers are becoming more and more ease-loving. To offset this, we have in Chapter IX, suggested "Outward Bound Training" courses. These courses should also be organised and run by the Directorate for those classes of government who should have initiative, self-reliance and the ability to endure hardships, face situations and work with the people and officials of other departments. (para 13.26).

Recommendations

- (i) We recommend the creation of an Institute called the Directorate of Administrative Reforms and Training;
- (ii) The Director should plan programmes for training and arrange the training not only at the Directorate but also elsewhere such as the universities, in India and abroad, and establish training institutes.
- (iii) The Directorate will also take notice of administrative difficulties either suo moto or when they are referred to it and after necessary study and research, suggest the remedies;
- (iv) The Directorate will organise studies, seminars, etc., on matters concerning administration;
- (v) Existing training institutions for serving administrative personnel may be placed under this Directorate for general supervision and control;
- (vi) The Director should decide whether the Staff of the Directorate should be a separate service of teachers or it should be composed of officers from various services, who work in the institute for specified periods, which may be repeated, thus ensuring a constant inter-change of study and work;
- (vii) The Directorate may also undertake training of prospective recruits to public services and conduct studies from time to time on the educational qualifications that may be considered appropriate for one type of recruitment or another;
- (viii) The Directorate should carry out studies on the causes of corruption in particular offices and departments and suggest remedies;
- (ix) In collaboration with schools and universities, special classes or examinations might be instituted and employment in some posts restricted to those who have passed such examina-

- tions;
- (x) Prominent national and international figures may be invited to address the trainees;
 - (xi) The Directorate should serve as a centre for moral regeneration of the public services; and
 - (xii) Courses for Out-ward-bound Training should also be organised by the Directorate. (No. 168).

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE--MAHARASHTRA, 1968

Training and Development

A. Training

Though the need for training has been recognised for a long time, a survey of the training facilities for Government servants in Bombay State undertaken in 1958-59 showed that the training facilities existed only for a limited number of services, and in the absence of an agency to supervise and coordinate the various programmes, the training arrangements tended to be somewhat ad hoc in nature. For example, training was not the responsibility of any standing body of instructors but was left to be conducted as an addition to ordinary duties of Government officers; in certain cases, officers otherwise engaged on routine duties of their departments were posted for short periods to run training classes, and were subject to frequent transfers. There was also no systematic approach to determining the type of training and the periods of training prescribed with the result that the variations from department to department were very large and not easily understandable. In some cases the training consisted of a few lectures delivered during or after office hours, the trainees attending to their regular work in addition; in other cases, training occupied the full time of the trainees; in some cases training consisted largely of attachment to various offices. Incentives to satisfactory completion of training courses also varied widely, ranging from termination of employment to disregard of the training results. There were also some lacunae in some of the training programmes. No attention was paid to simple management skills, particularly matter of office management, which are needed at almost every level of Government, and there was inadequate treatment of financial and accounts matters. (para 4.23).

At a very early stage of its deliberations the Committee recognised the need for taking urgent steps to extend the scope of training facilities and to provide for their coordinated development. For this purpose, the Committee favoured the establishment of an Administrative Staff College which would offer facilities for training of officers specially those at higher levels and pave the way for the introduction of training facilities at all levels. The Committee is glad to record that the State Government was quick to act upon this suggestion and an Administrative Staff College was set-up with the object of providing training facilities to direct recruits as well as to officers promoted to higher posts under the State Government for training in administrative problems of a general nature. The College started functioning in November 1963 and has already organised a number of courses of in-service training for senior officers, middle executives and junior officers. The Government has also taken up the question of expanding the activities of the College to provide four-

dational training for direct recruits to Class I and Class II services in the various departments. It is understood that the College also proposes to start functional or special courses in subjects like Personnel Administration, Budgeting, and O&M and Work Study for specified groups of officers. Training in subjects of a departmental nature would be organised by the respective departments of the State Government. To advice the Government in regard to these departmental training programmes and to coordinate such programmes for the subordinate staff, a Directorate of Training has also been set-up. The Director of the Administrative Staff College has been appointed as Director of Training. The Directorate has already taken up the question of preparation of manuals of training and initiated action on organising training for the clerical and supervisory personnel by laying down certain uniform standards regarding the compulsory nature of training, syllabi, duration of training period, conduct of examinations, penalties for failure and rewards for good performance, etc. (para 2.24).

The Committee welcomes the measures recently taken and recommends that detailed programmes of training should be devised so as to cater for different levels of employees with due regard to the functions and responsibilities they are expected to discharge. The programmes of training should cater both for training in departmental subjects and in general administration. Training should be given at different stages of service, i.e., soon after entry, on promotion to supervisory level and later at senior levels. The objectives, the content and the method of training should be adapted to each level. (para 4.25).

The Committee would like to make a special mention of field training which has a significant part to play in certain types of services. A number of departments prescribe field training and/ or attachment as part of the scheme of training new employees. Field training is generally given in the following ways:

- (i) Actual performance of duties;
- (ii) Demonstrations;
- (iii) Instructions in field work;
- (iv) Visits to Projects and institutions of interest; and
- (v) Study tours.

Such field training is a valuable preparation for new entrants. The Committee considers that the wide variation in the use of field training and attachment from one department to another, as well as the general lack of direction, particularly in the practice of 'attachment', detracts substantially from the value of the training given at present. So far as 'attachment' goes, trainees are generally left to the preferences of the officer to whom they are attached; the officer may give them careful attention or practically ignore them, according to his ideas and to the pressure of work on him. For example, a young IAS officer attached to a Collector could derive immense benefit from constant touring with the Collector. Yet it often happens that the young trainee is left to his own devices and is unable to get a real insight into the problems a Collector faces. The Committee considers that there should be provision for effective direction of the field training and attachment phases of a training programme in all departments to be coordinated by a Director of Field

Training who may be a senior member of the staff of the Administrative Staff College. As a rule, all directly recruited executive officers should be attached to senior officers for purposes of training, without extending the probationary period. The recruits attached to a Senior Officer should live and move with the latter during the period of attachment; for example District Agricultural Officers should be attached to Superintending Agricultural Officers and Assistant Registrars of Cooperative Societies to Joint Registrars. The period of attachment should be at least three months. Each trainee should be asked to submit a detailed and actual report of the activities undertaken by him during the period of training.

B. Placement and Career Planning as an Instrument of Development.

One of the recognised methods of developing personnel for higher responsibilities is to give them different assignments from time to time in the early part of their career so that they get a properly varied experience and sufficient challenge to promote growth. In the higher ranks, selective and directed placement is even more essential. Too often placement is done merely by appointing persons who happen to be returning from leave or deputation to posts which happen to be vacant at the time....

In modern organisational structures, personnel is considered to be as well-defined and independent a function as any other. It is an advisory, coordinating and service foundation which helps with all aspects of personnel, such as recruitment, selection, appointments, training appraisal, placements, promotions, etc. It looks at the total personnel of the organisation and helps each of the other departments with their needs and personnel problems.

At present, the work relating to personnel matters is assigned to the General Administration Department and is under the charge of the Chief Secretary. The Committee considers that the authorities in charge of personnel administration are so heavily burdened with other pressing responsibilities that they are unable to find enough time to do full justice to the personnel matters. Though the personnel function is being looked after by the Chief Secretary in fact, it is being carried out by the Deputy Secretaries. We feel that in view of his pre-occupations, the Chief Secretary is not in a position to devote adequate time to personnel matters. As already observed above, the personnel function is an important and well-defined function; it suffers when it is subordinated to other functions. It is also necessary that an officer of a very high status should be in charge of this function, so that the Chief Secretary should be able to rely on him. For all these reasons the Committee considers that there is a need to have a full-fledged Personnel Department in the Secretariat under an independent Secretary.

The Personnel Department should deal with recruitment, training, promotion, placement and welfare of Government employees. It will be its function to plan well in advance the requirement of personnel in the Central and the State cadres for the next few years, to set standards of recruitments to State cadres to provide for training and staff developing etc....

As we have recommended in our chapter on the Sachivalya, the Chief Secretary will have to keep in touch with important service matters, such as transfers, appointments and promotions of Heads of Departments and senior gazetted officers. It should be possible to specify

the matters in which a reference to the Chief Secretary is necessary. All other personnel matters should be handled by the Personnel Secretary functioning under the Chief Minister. The creation of an independent Personnel Department will also give a sense of security to the services who will have the assurance that their grievances will be attended to by an officer of a very high status whose entire time and attention are available for this type of work. The Committee, therefore, recommends that a full-fledged Personnel Department under an independent Secretary should be created in the Secretariat.

There should also be a Central Personnel Unit in the office of the Head of each Department whose concern it should be to watch over the development of each employee to the extent appropriate to his level. Unless special attention is bestowed on personnel development, personnel do not grow efficiently to be able to discharge higher responsibilities as they rise to higher posts. (para 4. 29).

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

1. At a very early stage of its deliberations the committee favoured the establishment of an Administrative Staff College which would offer facilities for the training of officers specially those at higher levels and pave the way for the introduction of training facilities at all levels. Government has since acted on this suggestion and set up an Administrative Staff College as well as a Directorate of Training to look after the training programmes for the subordinate staff. The Committee welcomes these measures and recommends that detailed programmes of training should be devised so as to cater for different levels of employees. The programmes of training should cater both for training in departmental subjects and in general subjects. Training should be given at different stages of service. The objectives, the content and methods of training should be adapted to each level. (para 4.14).
2. There should be provision for effective direction of the field training and attachment phases of a training programme in all departments to be coordinated by a Director of Field Training who may be a senior member of the staff of the Administrative Staff College. As a rule, all directly recruited executive officers should be attached to senior officers for purposes of training, without extending the probationary period. The recruits attached to a Senior Officer should live and move with the latter during the period of attachment, which should be at least three months. (para 4.15).
3. One of the recognised methods of developing personnel for higher responsibilities is to give them different assignments from time to time in the early part of their career so that they get a properly varied experience and sufficient challenge to promote growth. The authorities in charge of personnel administration are so heavily burdened with other pressing responsibilities that they are unable to find enough time to do full justice to the personnel matters. There is a need to have a full-fledged Personnel Department in the Secretariat under an independent Secretary.
The Personnel Department should deal with recruitment, training, promotion, placement, welfare of Government employees and

absorption of the surplus staff in the event of retrenchment and connected matters.

There should also be a Central Personnel Unit in the office of the Head of each Department whose concern it should be to watch over the development of each employee to the extent appropriate to his level. (Para 4.17).

Recruitment, Training and Career Management.

[Reproduced from U.K., *The Civil Service, Report of the Committee 1966-68* (Chairman: Lord Fulton), Vol. I, Chapter 2 entitled "Recruitment, Training and Career Management", London, HMSO, 1968, pp. 24-42.]

59. We have so far discussed the tasks of the Service and the professional skills they call for in its members. We turn now to the problems of recruitment, training and career development.

60. We begin by considering where the main responsibility for recruitment to the Service should lie and how far it should be delegated to individual departments or establishments. In this context we make general recommendations designed to reduce the present length of the recruitment process. We go on to the principles and methods that should apply to the recruitment of the various types of men and women the Service needs. Finally, we turn to the question of post-entry training and career management.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECRUITMENT

61. The central responsibility for recruitment is at present divided. The Treasury is responsible for recruitment policy. The running of competitions, the selection of successful candidates and (in large part) their initial allocation to departments is in the hands of an independent body, the Civil Service Commission. In addition, some very large categories of staff are recruited initially by departments. But in all cases the Commissioners must issue a certificate for a civil servant to achieve permanent status.¹ The Commissioners hold their appointments directly from the Crown and are appointed by Order in Council. The justification for this independence has been the need to ensure that all appointments to the Service are made strictly on merit and are clear of political or other patronage. We consider, however, that the present arrangement is in need of fundamental revision.

62. We regard recruitment, training and subsequent career development as parts of a single process to be as closely integrated as possible. We believe accordingly that recruitment should be in the hands of those who also share a direct responsibility for the individual's subsequent training, deployment and development. As a consequence, assessments of performance will be much more fully and directly fed back to those responsible for recruitment. These in turn will be better placed to adjust their criteria and methods as necessary; they will also have a much closer knowledge of the changing work and needs

*The Committee was appointed on February 8, 1966 to examine the structure, recruitment and management including training of the UK Civil Service.

of departments. In our view the Service suffers now from the separateness and consequent remoteness of the Civil Service Commission, which under the existing arrangements cannot know enough of the needs of individual departments and is too little connected with the training and early management of those whom it appoints.

63. We recommend, therefore, that the Civil Service Commission should cease to be a separate and independent organisation.² It should become part of the new Civil Service Department, and its staff should be integrated with it. Some of its functions should be shared with the various employing departments in ways we discuss below.

64. The selection of recruits should be, and should be seen to be, independent of any form of patronage. But this is not incompatible with a much closer association between the selectors and both the central management of the Service and the employing departments. We believe that the tradition of making appointments solely on merit is now well enough established to survive without keeping the Civil Service Commission as a separate organisation; independence in selection can be assured by other means. We do not wish to make a detailed recommendation; one such means, however, might be to designate an individual senior officer in the Civil Service Department as First Civil Service Commissioner, and to give him the formal responsibility for final decisions on the selection of recruits. It should be accepted no less clearly than in the past that the First Commissioner would not be subjected to ministerial or parliamentary questioning over individual appointments.

65. We have expressed the view that some of the Civil Service Commission's present functions should be shared with the various employing departments. This is desirable because recruitment should be directly related to the needs of individual departments. They know the tasks they have to perform and are best placed to indicate the qualifications, training and experience needed. Therefore, we wish to see departments play a larger part in the recruitment process in two ways.

66. First, in drawing up the annual manpower budget for discussion with the Civil Service Department, each department should indicate as exactly as possible its needs at all levels, both for the various kinds of specialist staff and also for the different types and groups of administrative staff referred to in Chapter 2. These needs (allowing for the necessary interdepartmental movement) would determine the pattern of recruitment. Essentially this would be recruitment for specific ranges of jobs.

67. Secondly, we think departments should have a greater influence on the selection of individuals. We considered the case for handing all recruitment over to the departments; but we rejected this on the grounds that it would encourage wasteful competition, place the less glamorous departments at too great a disadvantage and break up a Service which in our view, should remain unified. We think, however, that a higher proportion than at present should be recruited directly by departments, and that the employing departments should be better represented in the recruitment process where it continues to be central. We return to these proposals in more detail later in this chapter.

RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES AND THE PROBLEMS OF DELAY

68. Another serious criticism of the present methods of recruitment is that they are too slow in operation. This criticism has arisen partly because the Civil Service Commission has until recently interpreted the principle of competitive examination as obliging it to wait until the whole of a very large field has been examined and put in order of merit, no matter how outstanding a particular applicant may be. Various modifications made in recent years have led to considerable improvements. These have included "continuous competitions" for a number of important groups, e.g., Tax Inspectors and the relatively small number of Experimental Officers who are recruited centrally. But the process is still apt to take too long. It takes too long between application and the announcement of the result of the examination; and between the result of the examination and the time when successful candidates are able to start work. Lengthy periods of waiting and suspense are undesirable for those still attending school or university. For those who have left and who feel under pressure to start earning, they may be decisive in causing them to turn to other employment. For those already in jobs who are candidates for late entry (often scarce specialists), they cause serious embarrassment, because of obligations to existing employers.

69. The Service will continue to face severe competition for talent. It cannot allow the survival of traditional procedures to place it at a disadvantage with industry and commerce, the nationalised industries and local government. We recognise that when there are many well-qualified applicants for a small number of posts, competitions must continue. But we think that the procedures of formal competition should be restricted to posts for which they are indispensable; even then it should be made possible to offer outstanding candidates rapid appointment. Wherever qualified applicants are relatively scarce, and it is in practice certain that there will be posts for all suitable candidates, these should be brought in without delay, once it is clear that they are up to the required standard; this is especially important in regard to the recruitment of those with scarce specialist skills.

70. We hope that the absorption of the Civil Service Commission within the Civil Service Department will assist bringing about these improvements. The need to reduce to the minimum the interval between the results of competitions and the time when those who have been declared successful actually start work will partly be met by the proposals about establishment that we make in the next chapter. In addition, we recommend that a review of the processes of recruitment should be put in hand; besides seeking ways of reducing the time they take, it should examine the problems of methods of selection to which we refer in paragraph 82 below and Appendix E.

THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

The Recruitment of Graduates, Post-Graduates and their Equipments

71. Our proposals in Chapter 2 mean that graduates, post-graduates and their equivalents should be employed, in their early years at any rate, either as specialists (architects, scientists, engineers, etc.) or in one of the new groups of administrators. In either case, men and women should be recruited for a specified range of jobs.

72. This does not involve any basic change in the recruitment policy for specialists. They are at present recruited for a clearly defined range of jobs, and clearly defined, relevant qualifications are therefore demanded. It would be an advantage if more of them were already grounded in management and administration and could be equipped with the confidence and prestige of the French polytechnicians. Some university courses are now beginning to recognise this need. In this connection we have noted the development of courses that combine engineering with economics, and science with economics; and we welcome the sandwich courses at some universities that give scientists and engineers experience in industry and a grounding in economics and business administration as well as a purely scientific or specialist qualification. This however is only a start; and for the time being it must be the task of the Service to equip its specialists with the additional administrative, managerial and other skills they need; we discuss this in our later paragraphs on training.

73. Many specialist staff are now recruited direct by the department or establishment that is to employ them. We think that this should become the normal rule. Recruitment should be by interview before a board. The board should normally include a kindred specialist from outside the Service and a representative of the Civil Service Department. But the majority should be from the 'user' department or establishment. For certain specialists recruitment may conveniently be done by departments acting together in groups or by the Civil Service Department on their behalf. This is matter for decision from time to time between the Civil Service Department and the other departments. But the essential need where scarce specialist skills are concerned is for speed; grouping and coordination should not be allowed to lead to time-consuming formality.

74. Our proposals in Chapter 2 for grouping administrators have important implications for the direct recruitment of graduates, post-graduates and their equivalents for administrative work. They mean that in future men and women should not be recruited for employment as 'generalist' administrators and intelligent all-rounders to do any of, and a succession of the widely differing job covered by the "generalist" concept. Instead, they should be recruited to do a specified range of jobs in a particular area of work, at any rate during their early years. In Chapter 2 we distinguish two broad categories of administration--the economic and financial, and the social. It follows that the Service should aim to recruit those with the best qualifications, aptitudes and qualities for the jobs falling within one of these broad groups; for the later entrants relevant experience will also be an important consideration.

75. Clearly, most recruits who come straight from their university will not on entry have the full range of knowledge and skills required for work in one or other of the administrative groups. They will require in-service training and experience. But a majority of us⁴ consider that the relevance to their future work of the subject-matter of their university or other pre-Service studies should be an important qualification for appointment.

76. To give preference for relevance is to adapt to the needs of today the old principle that the Service should seek to recruit those it believes best equipped for work in government. When the aim was to recruit men and women to be intelligent all-rounders, the Service naturally drew heavily on courses like classics and history at Oxford

and Cambridge, which by their prestige have always attracted young people of the highest abilities. These courses give an insight into the conditions of historical change and because for the most part the material they use is remote from the here and now they provide a 'disinterested' intellectual training. Today, when the tasks or government have changed, the Service should seek to recruit those equipped for the new tasks. First-degree courses based on the study of modern subjects especially attract many young people with a positive and practical interest in contemporary problems, political, social, economic, scientific and technological. These problems will yield their solutions only to the most concentrated assaults of minds equipped through rigorous and sustained intellectual discipline with the necessary apparatus of relevant ideas, knowledge, methods and techniques. We therefore wish the Civil Service to attract its full share of young people motivated in this way, with minds disciplined by undergraduate (and post-graduate) work in the social studies, the mathematical and physical sciences, the biological sciences or in the applied and engineering sciences.

77. There is also evidence that most undergraduates want jobs in which they can make direct use of their university studies.⁵ In recent years the Service has not properly recognised this, giving the general impression that it is more concerned with the quality of a man's degree than its relevance to the work of government. This, in our view has discouraged applications from graduates whose interest and studies are focused on modern problems. Thus post-war recruitment to the Administrative Class has run counter to the increased trend in the universities towards the study of the problems of the modern world. Therefore, to be attractive to this growing number of graduates, the Service should declare its special interest in the relevance of their studies. In this way, too, the Service would be attracting its recruits from a wider range of degree subjects than those from which administrators have traditionally been drawn.

78. Though the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge have played their part in this growth in the academic study of the problems of contemporary society, it has been most characteristic of the universities founded in this century. The date and circumstances of their foundation have ensured that their courses have been mainly designed to prepare their undergraduates for work in a modern industrial society. To draw more fully on this source of manpower, trained in these subjects, would have many advantages for the Civil Service. Our suggestions about possible ways in which this principle of preference might work are set out in paragraphs 24-25 of Appendix E.

79. We do not intend that our emphasis on "preference for relevance" should be read as a sign that we wish to discourage applications from those men and women of outstanding ability who have studied 'irrelevant' disciplines. The Service needs to recruit outstandingly able men and women whatever the subject of their university degree. Our fundamental aim is to secure for the Service the best man or woman for the job, with the education, training and attitudes appropriate to it. It follows that those appointed to the Service without a 'relevant' qualification should be required either to:

- (a) take a special training course at the new Civil Service College⁶ in addition to that provided for all graduate direct-entrants to one of the two main groups of administra-

- tors;
- (b) take a relevant post-graduate degree or course of study at the Service's expense at some university or other appropriate institution.

The choice between (a) and (b) should be determined by what is most suitable for the individual concerned in the light of the various courses available.

80. A minority of us⁷ take a rather different view. We fully agree that all administrators at the graduate level need a thorough grounding in the subject-matter of their work--whether they enter direct from university or are promoted within the Service. But we do not place the same emphasis on the relevance of studies taken before entry. On practical grounds, three of us support the proposals made in paragraph 82 below for a revised Method I competition based on examination in relevant university studies. All four think however that the alternative selection procedure (Method II) should be impartial as between different academic backgrounds. It is essential that the Service should attract to administrative work a large number of young men and women of outstanding ability and character. Such people are naturally in short supply. We believe that if both methods of entry give preference to those with relevant studies, field of selection will in practice be unnecessarily narrowed, and that this will involve a serious risk of defeating the essential aim. Our reasons for this are :

- (a) We believe that many able young men and women start their university course without having decided upon their future career, or change their minds in the course of it; and that many select their subject not for career reasons but because they like it and are good at it.⁸ We do not think that the attractions of the Civil Service as a career are so outstanding by comparison with the other employments open to graduates that the Service can afford to discourage any source of supply.
- (b) At the moment, it is often necessary, in practice, for a grammar school boy or girl to decide as early as 13 years of age which subjects he or she wishes to specialise in at the university. A decision to give a preference to graduates with 'relevant' university subjects could therefore tend to narrow still further the range of educational courses at a time when efforts are being made to postpone final and irrevocable choices between them.
- (c) Many of the Service's main competitors for graduate talent in this country recruit graduates on grounds of general ability and reckon to give them the necessary training after entry. Apart from not wishing to improve their competitive position at the expense of the Service, we find it hard to believe that they are mistaken or that different considerations should apply to the Civil Service.
- (d) We do not at all decry the advantage of a previous grounding in a relevant subject. But we think that it can be overrated. A rigorous and disciplined habit of mind, which can be imparted by 'irrelevant' as well as by 'relevant' studies is no less important. At the same time, we are impressed by the

evidence that the best of the Assistant Principals who have not read economics at the university show up very well by the end of the course at the Centre for Administrative Studies as compared with those who have. We believe that administrators can achieve professionalism in their chosen field of work (the need for which we wholly accept) by means of the grouping we have recommended in Chapter 2 and the thorough post-entry training courses recommended later in this chapter.

- (e) We are doubtful both about the proposals for the special training of those with 'irrelevant' studies made in paragraph 79 and about the method of giving preference for relevance set out in Appendix E. Both, in our view, will puzzle and may well discourage potential recruits.

81. We are all agreed, however, that there is an increasing need for administrators handling the problems of modern government and the techniques associated with their solution to be numerate. Senior managers in departments will have to be able to handle problems with variables that can be expressed only in numerical terms. This need is general in all kinds of management throughout the country. We recommend that over the years an increasing importance should be attached to the requirement that graduates seeking appointments to administrative posts should understand the use of numerical techniques and be able to apply quantitative methods to the solution of their problems. We hope that curricula in schools and universities will gradually be modified to make this possible. We also wish to emphasise the value of familiarity with major modern languages. An increasing number of civil servants are employed in work in which their effectiveness and understanding are hampered if they are confined in practice to English.

82. In general we think that all non-specialist graduates and their equivalents should be recruited centrally by the appropriate section of the new Civil Service Department. A majority of us consider that there should be two main methods of entry :

- (a) Method I should, as at present, be primarily a written examination. The papers candidates can offer, however, should be restricted entirely to those with a direct relevance to the problems of modern government. In any event, as we show in Appendix E, it is not practicable to maintain Method I in its present form. We think it important to maintain a method of entry by written examination because we think it likely that some good candidates will come forward to compete by such a method who would not choose to enter if the only method open to them were the extended interview procedure (Method II) which we discuss below; and that the former will offer some of them a way of showing their real merit more effectively. We recommend however that Method I should be retained, in the modified form we propose, on a trial basis only. If it fails to attract a sufficient number of good candidates, we would expect the Civil Service Department to abandon it.
- (b) Method II should involve a procedure based on that of the present Civil Service Selection Board. We make recommendations in Appendix E however for changes in the procedure and staffing of the selection process. Briefly, those of us who

recommend preference for relevance offer suggestions about how this might be done. We all propose in addition that there should be a larger representation of employing departments among the selectors; and that their age-distribution should be changed to increase the proportion of younger people. We also recommend an inquiry into the methods of selection, to include such matters as the part played by the Final Selection Board and possible ways of making the process of selection more objective in character.

83. These proposals should not be taken to imply that separate entry competitions should not in future be held for appointments to such groups as Tax Inspectors and Ministry of Labour Cadets. These should continue wherever they are found to be most appropriate, selection being made either by the department concerned or by the Civil Service Department on its behalf.

84. A minority¹⁰ of us consider that Method I should cease to exist altogether, for the following reasons:

- (a) A written examination in the subjects studied by the candidate will be a repetition of the testing by his university.
- (b) Many candidates will be reluctant to sit two examinations of the same kind.
- (c) It is hard to see how the Civil Service Department would be able to examine better than the university the wide range of subjects we consider relevant.
- (d) Advances in recruitment procedures are likely to bring steady improvements in Method II. It is here that techniques of selection should improve fastest.
- (e) To retain Method I would be to keep a separate system of entry which in 1967 produced 18 successful applicants from 54 candidates. These numbers are likely to decline still further.
- (f) If a certain number of entrants with very high academic attainments are required, Method II can provide for this by weighting the university record of the candidate. Method I provides no adequate test of other qualities.
- (g) The new Method I, because it is designed to cover in a few papers a very heterogeneous field, cannot hope to examine candidates in depth and is bound to come close to the broad test of knowledge of the modern world which the written papers of Method II, proposed in Appendix E, are intended to provide. We can see no purpose in keeping both.
- (h) The argument for Method I is that Method II will deter applicants who lack confidence in their ability to compete in the social atmosphere of Method II. If this argument is sound, Method II should be revised.

85. We have said that each department should assess in detail the numbers and types of staff it needs. This poses a special problem in the recruitment of graduates, both specialist and non-specialist. We think it likely, for reasons we discuss in Chapter 8 and Appendix F, that the Service will employ more graduates than at present, although the number of top posts in the Service may not show a

proportionate increase. It would be wrong for a large employer like the Civil Service to seek to recruit more of the best graduate talent than it can make proper use of now or in the future. Matching graduates to jobs and prospects requires that departments should decide, in consultation with the Civil Service Department, on the level and kind of ability they require for particular types of appointment; the intake should be adjusted accordingly. All however should enter the same training grade (see paragraph 95 below), so that their fitness for different kinds of work can be fully tested after they have entered the Service. We attach great importance to ensuring that the early decisions which may shape a man's career in the Service (e.g., about different kinds of post-entry training or allocation to differently graded jobs at the end of the training period) should be based on post-entry performance rather than pre-entry promise. We discuss this in more detail in Appendix F.

86. To underline the concern of the Service to recruit men and women of the highest calibre, we consider that those judged outstandingly able and well-qualified on entry should be given a starting salary two or three increments above the basic for the entry grade. This should apply to specialists as well as to the different groups of administrators. This should not, however, carry the implication that senior posts should be reserved for those who start their careers with additional increments. The careers of all entrants to the Service should be determined by performance on the job.

RECRUITMENT OF NON-GRADUATES

87. For most specialist posts, relevant educational and technical qualifications will also be needed by those who are not graduates. Men and Women with such qualifications as the HNC (which may have been gained after entry to the Service) or with "A levels" in scientific or technical subjects should normally be posted to jobs for which their qualifications are relevant, whether those jobs are purely specialist or in a related area of management. For administrative staff recruited at this level, specific qualifications and the relevance of the subjects they have studied are clearly less important. Their "A level" qualifications may be pointers to the direction in which they should specialise. More important, however, for all those recruited at this age (specialist and non-specialist) is that they should be given jobs that match and stretch their abilities; they should also be given the opportunity of developing the skills and specialisms the Service needs, including the ability to use quantitative methods. Departments have a special responsibility for ensuring that the best of this age-group are picked out for early advancement and for appropriate further training. We make proposals for this in later paragraphs of this chapter.

88. We recommend that non-graduate specialists should be recruited by similar procedures to those recommended for graduate specialists in paragraph 73. For the non-specialist entry, we recommend different procedures depending on their age and educational level:

- (a) The 18-year-old entry (school-leavers with "A levels"), corresponding to the present entry to the Executive Officer grade, should continue for the most part to be recruited centrally by the new Civil Service Department on the basis of

"A level" results and interviews--though there is scope for decentralisation on a regional basis. We do not think that direct recruitment by departments is at present desirable at this level because:

- (i) the non-specialist 18-year-old can have only a vague idea of the work that different departments do and of the various career opportunities open to him in the various administrative groups. He will need general guidance and advice on a wider basis than could be available to him at departmental level.
- (ii) To ensure a fair distribution of talent over all departments, the Civil Service Department must play a major role in the allocation of these new recruits. Individual departments should, however, be as closely associated as possible with the recruitment process.
- (b) The 16-year-old entry (school-leavers with "O levels") should continue as at present to be recruited by individual departments, though ad hoc grouping arrangements, particularly on a regional basis, have obvious advantages.

LATE ENTRANTS AND RECRUITMENT FOR SHORT-TERM APPOINTMENTS

89. So far in this chapter we have been outlining a recruitment policy for young people entering a career service; as we recommend in Chapter 4, most of its members should enter the Service when young with the expectation, though not the guarantee, of making the Service their life-time career. But the Service should look for and encourage a considerably larger number of late entrants and temporary appointments for fixed periods than in the past. For late entrants of all kinds the prime factor in their appointments must clearly be the relevance of the skills, qualifications and experience they already possess for the job or range of jobs in which it is proposed to employ them. We envisage that some would be appointed by one or other of the processes recommended in paragraphs 73 and 82 above; but it will be for the Civil Service Department to authorise special procedures where these are needed to attract recruits of high standing or with scarce skills.

THE MANAGEMENT OF NEW ENTRANTS

90. Those who enter the Service at young ages should be properly looked after and their development carefully planned. In our view, the present arrangements are unsatisfactory, especially at Executive Officers and Clerical Officer levels.

91. Our Management Consultancy Group found that young Executive Officers were sometimes confined to routine, undermanning work of a lower quality than their educational qualifications justified. A Treasury study has found that 46 per cent of Executive Officers under the age of 40 believe that their work does not fully use their capabilities or enable them to develop their potential (Volume 3, No.8). Not surprisingly, therefore, there is a comparatively high wastage rate among newly-recruited Executive Officers. A similar situation is to be found among young Clerical Officers. The Management Consultancy Group drew attention to the fact that many young Clerical Officers and Clerical Assistants are grossly under-utilised

at present in jobs scarcely demanding the minimum educational qualifications for their grades. The same Treasury study has shown that 53 per cent of Clerical Officers under the age of 40 consider that their work does not fully employ their capabilities or enable them to develop their potential. We have seen no evidence on the extent to which similar problems may afflict young people in comparable employments outside the Service. But the evidence that the Service is seriously mis-using and stultifying potential talent at these levels is disturbing, and urgent steps should be taken to find remedies.

92. At both these levels, the Service faces the problem of a wide age-spread. The young Clerical Assistant or Clerical Officer entering at about 16 finds himself a member of a grade that contains many older men and women, many of whom have entered the Service in middle age. Similarly the young Executive Officer entering at 18 enters a grade that consists as to 60 per cent of promoted Clerical Officers. The numbers involved in a large department are very considerable, and it is a major problem of management to make sure that the very different types of Clerical and Executive Officer are posted to the right kinds of job, and that young entrants are kept interested and their potential developed. The Service has in our view failed to solve this problem.

93. A necessary step seems to us to be a complete review of grading at these levels designed to separate the jobs that are appropriate to the older civil servant whose aptitudes and experience fit him for the supervision of clerical and similar work, from those appropriate to the young entrant who with training and experience should be capable of rising in the Service. We believe that there are at present too few grades for this purpose, and that an increase in their number (which need not be great) should also help to reduce the length of the Clerical Officer and Executive Officer pay-scales--at present a deterrent to the recruitment and retention of capable young men and women. The proposal we make in Chapter 6 for a common grading system based on more rigorous methods of job evaluation should be a major factor in bringing about this necessary change.

94. In addition, however, we think that departments will need to put much greater effort into personnel management at these levels. New entrants should be regarded as being under training for their first three or four years. They should receive more substantial induction training. It should be the duty of the personnel management of the department to watch them all, assess their progress, encourage the good ones and admonish the indifferent. They should be guided to take additional qualifications appropriate to their field. More specialised training should be provided as aptitudes and potential begin to emerge; the best of them should join the training grade we propose in the next paragraph by the time they reach their mid-twenties.

95. For the graduate entry, and for those who have shown the highest ability among non-graduate entrants, we propose the introduction of a training grade. Its object should be to create a fast promotion route for the most promising young men and women; to test these young civil servants in jobs at different levels of responsibility; and to provide a sufficiently extended period for their training. The time spent in the training grade would be variable; it might well differ as between a non-graduate entrant promoted from below, a direct entrant to one of the groups of administrators referred to in Chapter

2, and a directly recruited specialist; depending on individual circumstances, it could be anything from two to five years. We give further details in paragraphs 106 to 108 below.

96. In each case the destination of the trainee when he leaves the training grade should be determined by his ability and performance without regard to the claims of seniority; it is essential to the concept of a training grade distinct from the general grading structure that trainees should go straight from it to the level justified by their performance. Our proposal for a training grade does not however imply that a recruit should not have a fully responsible job while he remains in the grade. On the contrary, it is partly intended as a device to enable him to be given the maximum responsibility he can shoulder, to try him out in different jobs, and at the same time to see that he gets the training and opportunities appropriate to his case. We see it and the proposals we have made in paragraphs 93 and 94 as an explicit affirmation of the Service's intention to give special care and early training to those young men and women who are capable of rapid advancement.

TRAINING

97. Great efforts have been made in recent years to increase the amount of training that civil servants receive. The total training effort is now, therefore, impressive--particularly vocational training. There are very thorough courses, for example, for those who have to be schooled in the intricacies of the social security regulations or for those who have to be taught particular skills such as contract procedures or computer programming. But, these apart, there is little certainty that the subjects and techniques people are taught on training courses will actually be relevant or applicable to their work. This is hardly surprising when, as we have pointed out, the practice of the Service hitherto has been to move staff at frequent intervals from one field of activity to another. Moreover as our Management Consultancy Group makes clear, many administrators and specialists have received inadequate training (or none at all) in techniques of modern management.

98. We have said that in the more professional Civil Service of the future it will not be enough for civil servants to be skilled in the techniques of administration: they must also have a thorough knowledge of the subject-matter of their field of administration and keep up to date in it. Thus training should be designed to equip administrators to operate in one or other of the broad groups we have referred to in Chapter 2. Similarly, specialists need to be equipped to an appropriate degree for administration and management in addition to their normal skills in their specialism.

99. In order to achieve this objective, we propose the creation of a Civil Service College. We see the College as fulfilling three main functions.

100. First, the College should provide major training courses in administration and management. These should include:

- (a) courses for specialists (e.g., scientists, engineers, architects) who need training in administration and management both early in their careers and later;
- (b) post-entry training for graduates directly recruited for ad-

- ministrative work in the economic and financial or social areas of government;
- (c) additional courses in management for those in their 30's and 40's moving into top management;
- (d) refresher courses in the latest management techniques; and
- (e) courses for the best of the younger entry to help them to compete with the graduates.

Some of the courses should be wholly or partly residential.

101. Secondly, the College should provide a wide range of shorter training courses for a much larger body of staff. These shorter courses should be in both general management and vocational subjects; they should be designed for all levels of staff and particularly for the more junior. We think it likely that such central courses could train civil servants more economically and to a higher standard in some fields than can be achieved by separate departmental training; we recommend, therefore, a review of the balance between central and departmental training to assess the possible extent of such a change.

102. Thirdly, we think that the College should also have two important research functions. It will be uniquely placed to conduct research into problem of administration and those of machinery of government. In addition, however, we hope that the Planning Units in departments, which we recommend in Chapter 5, will commission the College to undertake specific research into problems of present or future policy on which they need assistance. Publication and open discussion are important to research; the College should encourage this to the greatest possible extent.

103. This combination of major teaching and research functions should enable the College to fulfil a role that we believe is greatly needed. It should become a focus for the discussion of many of the most important problems facing the Civil Service as a whole--discussion in which we hope that many outside the Service will share.

104. We do not attempt to prescribe exactly where the two kinds of training courses should be provided. We think it important however that the major courses, including those that are residential, should be concentrated in a single establishment large enough to be the natural centre of training and research within the Service. It need not necessarily, as we see it, be in London--indeed, there would be some advantage in its being outside. But it should be close enough to London to be accessible without difficulty for leaders in many walks of life. The shorter courses for the larger student body on the other hand will need to be provided in London within easy reach of Whitehall and the main range of government offices. A large, non-residential centre will be needed. It may well be that this will have to be physically separate from the main establishment, because of the difficulty of providing teaching accommodation for a very large total student-body in one place; unless the residential establishment is quite near the centre of London, the other should in any case be separate.

105. It would not be appropriate for us to try to lay down the exact scope and content of the courses to be provided by the Civil Service College. In the next three paragraphs, however, we give a broad outline of the way training in the future should in our view assist, both in providing the new professionalism we have sought to prescribe

and in giving ample opportunity for every civil servant fully to develop his talent.

106. Young graduates recruited into the training grade for one of the administrative groups referred to in Chapter 2 should, after an appropriate induction course, spend an initial period of up to two years in their departments, either at headquarters or, wherever possible, for some of the time in local or regional offices. During this period they should be placed in one or two different jobs selected to test their ability and aptitudes and develop their capacity to take responsibility. We attach importance to giving as many as possible the experience--more than can be gained from sight-seeing visits--of working in the places and at the levels at which the Civil Service meets and deals with individual members of the public. Once they have passed probation (see Chapter 4, paragraph 143), they should embark upon their main formal training. This should last for up to one year, but it may well be appropriate to divide it into two or three approximately equal parts. We think that the course should contain four main elements:

- (a) Further training in the subject-matter of the various administrative groups, designed to relate the concepts of the fields concerned (economic and financial or social) to the practical problems of government. The course for Assistant Principals at the Centre for Administrative Studies now gives such training in economics; there should also be courses to cover the social field. As far as possible both, should be adapted to the needs of the individual, by taking into account the qualifications he already possesses in his chosen field and by providing in whatever way is most appropriate for special study of subjects handled by his particular Department.
- (b) The techniques of modern management, including staff organisation and management and the uses of numerical analysis as a tool for dealing with management problems.
- (c) More advanced and specialised training in the application of an individual's specialism to his particular field of activity.
- (d) The machinery and practice of government and administration including relations with Parliament, public corporations, and local authorities.

We expect that the weighting and timing of these four broad elements will vary between individuals. Not all will be of the type to get most benefit from advanced theoretical training. Equally, not all will need to make the same detailed study of the machinery and practice of government. Some will need training at relatively greater depth in management techniques. We do not wish to lay down any rigid pattern in what should essentially be a flexible process designed to meet the needs of the individual, the administrative group in which he is working, and the requirements of his department. Between the parts of his training course, and after it is over, the graduate should spend, some further time in his department, still under training but undertaking more responsible work. During this period also, as many as possible should gain experience of work outside Service--in local government or private or nationalised industry, as

is most appropriate. We discuss this further in Chapter 4 and Appendix G. At some stage, too, all should have practical experience in the supervision and control of staff. For some there may also be a spell in a Private Office. The whole process should take up to 5 years, after which the graduate should be posted to the grade and level of job commensurate with the ability he has demonstrated since joining the Service. The outstandingly able graduate who has entered without a relevant qualification for his administrative group should start the process after one of the additional courses of academic training outlined in paragraph 79 above.

107. We are proposing for the graduate entrant to administrative work a crowded programme of training--on the job, in formal courses, and on attachments designed to broaden his outlook. We recognise that this involves the risk of trying to do much in too short a time and of preventing young entrants from settling down to a sustained job of work. To counter this, the programme should be flexible. We do not wish to insist that every entrant should go through the whole of the process we have outlined before he leaves the training grade; in some cases it may be appropriate that attachments and loans should take place at a rather later stage. But such variations should not be allowed to upset the general objective of giving the graduate entrant his professional training as soon as possible after he enters the Service, so that he can make a fully effective contribution in the field of his specialisation during the early years of his career.

108. The arrangements for young graduates recruited to the training grade as specialists should not follow any single pattern. Much will depend on their particular field of expertise--whether, for example, they are scientists, engineers, architects or economists. Much will also depend on the requirements of the job they have been recruited to do. In any event, after an initial introduction to the work of the department or establishment, most will be put on the particular job for which they have been recruited. We think that in most cases they will wish to concentrate on their particular line of specialist activity for sometime. It may, however, become clear after a period that an individual is more suited to a different types or level of job; the fact that he is in a training grade will facilitate his transfer to this. It may well be, too, that the requirements of a particular profession involved obtaining further qualifications or experience; some may be obtainable in the Service, some not. In any event we envisage that many specialist graduates should, after a few years in the Service, go to appropriate management courses at the Civil Service College. For some the emphasis will be on the organisation and control of staff, for others on the techniques of management and financial control. After the completion of such courses, and in any case within three or four years, the specialist should be posted to the grade and level of job commensurate with the ability he has demonstrated since joining the Service. Thereafter we think that many should be selected to return to the Civil Service College at the appropriate stage for longer and more general courses in administration and management, to qualify them for the wider role we have proposed they should play.

109. The 18-year-old entry, both administrative and specialist, should be encouraged to take additional qualifications appropriate to their work (diplomas, HNC, etc.). Many of the training and further educational facilities needed for this are available in the

general educational system of the country. We recommend that bursaries and paid leave should be made available for those attending such courses. These should be supplemented as necessary within the Service through the shorter non-residential courses we have proposed. In addition to this, however, those of them who are engaged on, or are expected to go on to, management work will need training, and we recommend that the best of these should be picked out to join the graduates on the courses proposed in paragraph 100 above. Short central courses could be a useful aid to selection for this purpose.

110. The proposals we have made so far relate to the new entrants of the future. The Civil Service College will also need to provide immediately for the present generation of civil servants, many of whom have had little training since they first entered the Service. This constitutes a major transitional problem which must be energetically tackled if the professionalism the Service needs is to be achieved, and to prevent the older and younger members of the Service from being separated by a damaging gap. Besides building up its courses for new entrants, therefore, the College will need to put in hand a rapid and large-scale programme for the further training of the present generation, and especially of those who entered the Service before recent improvements in the training programme began.

111. The course provided by the Civil Service College should not be restricted to civil servants. Indeed we hope that on many of its courses a proportion of the places will be set aside for men and women from private industrial and commercial firms, local government and the public corporations. In our view, the College has an important part to play in laying the foundations for a greater understanding between civil servants and the outside world.

112. At the same time, the Civil Service College should not attempt to provide the total amount of training required by civil servants. First, departments should continue to run their own courses, though the College will have a part to play in giving advice and guidance. Secondly, we think it most important that more civil servants should attend courses at universities and business schools, not only because of the intrinsic value of their curricula but also again to help ensure that civil servants are not isolated from their counterparts in other employments. Many courses, especially those designed for the particular needs of the Service, must always be mounted internally. But wherever appropriate course are to be found outside the Service, we hope that full advantage will be taken of them.

113. A College operating on the large scale we propose will obviously need its own full-time teaching and lecturing staff. But in our view the College should also use on a part-time or ad hoc basis civil servants and a substantial number of teachers and instructors drawn from a wide range of institutions of higher education (including the new schools of business administration). They should also come from industry and commerce, nationalised industry, and local government. We hope that the Service will associate with the work of the College the widest possible range of interests that can contribute something of value to the training of civil servants.

114. The Civil Service College should be under the general direction of the Civil Service Department which will be responsible for the training policy of the Service as a whole. We consider, however, that the College should have its own governing body, consisting not only of civil servants but also of men and women drawn from a wide

range of interests outside the Service—from the universities, polytechnics and business schools, from private and nationalised industry, and from the trade unions and local government. This will help it to remain outward-looking and keep it in touch with the needs of the rest of the country.

CAREER MANAGEMENT

115. During the early years of a man's career we expect him to remain within the specialism or group for which he is trained. This does not mean that he must stay in one job in one department; he should move between jobs and perhaps between departments but usually within the area of his specialism. As far as the administrator is concerned, he should move at much less frequent intervals than he does now. While there will be a great variety of individual career patterns, the basic principle of career management should be a progressive development within a specialism and between fields of activity that are related to each other. While the needs of the Service must come first in this, nevertheless the personal interests and wishes of the individual should be taken into account more positively than appears to be the usual practice at present. This increased attention to personnel management and individual career planning should apply to specialist no less than to administrative staff; in our view much too little of the limited effort that has been put into personnel management in the past has been devoted to the specialists. This will clearly place much greater demands on the personnel and organisation branches of departments, which will need to be expanded to meet them. And, as we explain in Chapter 7, it will also mean that the Civil Service Department must play a much bigger role in this respect than the management side of the Treasury does now.

116. The right promotion at the right time is an essential part of the process of developing to the full the talents of the men and women in the Service. In our view, the present promotion system has serious weaknesses.

117. First, at the middle and lower levels there is too much emphasis on seniority. Seniority is given much less importance at higher levels. But to the extent that this does occur there, it is correspondingly serious. It is in our view of the greatest importance that those who are really able should be appointed to Assistant Secretary and parallel ranks at an early age. There is evidence that there are civil servants, both administrators and specialists below these ranks who are now frustrated by being given too little responsibility; this is particularly true from the salary level of about L 2,500 downwards. Seniority will doubtless always count for promotion in the Civil Service as it does elsewhere; this is right when it reflects experience that will be of value in posts at higher levels. But there should be more opportunity than at present for the exceptionally able to move rapidly up the system. We believe that the pressure to give undue weight to seniority within a given field of work should be relieved by the widening of career opportunities, and that there should be a change of emphasis in the assessment of staff so that more weight is given to performance on the job measured against set objectives. We think that the proposals we make in Chapter 6 for a new structure based on job evaluation will facilitate this change.

118. The second main criticism we make of the present system is that it does not allow promotion to be sufficiently closely linked to the individual's ability, aptitude and qualification to do a particular kind of job at a higher level. The main reason for this is that promotion is based on, and restricted, by the civil servant's membership of his class. We develop this point further in Chapter 6.

119. A system in which promotion is based on past performance and suitability for specific jobs should also help to ensure that undue importance is not attached to the candidate's performance before a promotion board. It should be evident to all that this is not the decisive factor. The primary job of a promotion board should be to produce a fair and uniform judgment of individuals' promise and performance based primarily on the assessment by their different superior officers of their performance in their present jobs.

120. We also recommend a change in promotion procedures. Promotion boards at present deal with promotions up to chief Executive Officer and equivalent levels, but promotions above these levels are the result of informal consultations. We consider that for promotions to posts at the level of Assistant Secretary, Under Secretary, and their equivalents, the Permanent Secretary of the department should be assisted by a small committee (i.e., a "paper board"). We think that the Committee should always include one of the specialists in the department.¹¹ We also recommend in Chapter 7 that a representative of the Civil Service Department should be a member of this committee when promotions to Under Secretary level are being considered, to help to ensure as far as possible that policy and practice are uniform across the Service. In Chapter 6 we distinguish a senior policy and management level for this purpose.

121. Two final points about the status and staffing of the branches responsible for personnel management and organisation. The first is a matter of terminology. These branches are generally called "establishment divisions" and their work is known as "establishment work". This word now carries implications of stuffiness and we believe it to have bad effects both on the status of the work and on the way it is done. We recommend that it should be used no longer. In the rest of our report we refer to "personnel and organisation" divisions or branches; the Service may be able to find a better name.

122. Secondly, these branches and those who have served in them have suffered, both because the work has not generally been regarded as an avenue to promotion to the highest posts in the Service, and because the staff have not developed sufficient expertise. Our proposals, if accepted, will enlarge their future responsibilities and thus improve their status. This should help to attract those who are capable of rising to the highest posts. At the same time this work will call for high expertise and thus for greater specialisation. We welcome this prospect. We wish to add two riders. Those specialising in personnel work should from time to time get experience of work in this field outside the Service. They should also have experience of working in 'operating' divisions and of the effect of personnel and organisation work upon them.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. It is to be established. Where recruitment is central, estab-

lishment is a part of initial recruitment. Where it is departmental, establishment comes later.

2. The Commission now also recruit staff for the Diplomatic Service, the House of Commons, the Government of Northern Ireland and a number of 'fringe' bodies whose staff do not form part of the Civil Service. The Civil Service Department could, perhaps, continue to act for them on an agency basis.
3. The following examples have been provided by the Civil Service Commission:
 - (a) Candidates for the Method II competition for the Administrative Class, applying by the end of November, get their results between early March and May depending on when they go to the Civil Service Selection Board. (Most must then wait for their degree results in June or July before the offer of an appointment becomes certain.)
 - (b) Candidates for the competition for direct entrant Principals (age limits 30-35) know their results between 9 and 19 weeks after the closing date for applications. The average period between the notification of results and being able to start work is $5\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, ranging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 weeks.
 - (c) For recruits to the Executive Class the average total period (on the basis of a sample taken in 1966) between application and being able to start work is 69 days, ranging from 30 to 88 days. Within this the average period between the notification of results and being able to start work is 23 days, ranging from 11 to 43 days.
4. Lord Fulton, Mr. W.C. Anderson, Sir Edward Boyle, Sir William Cook, Dr. Norman Hunt, Mr. Robert Neild, Mr. Robert Sheldon and Sir John Wall.
5. See Section 1.2 of the survey of undergraduate attitudes by the Psychological Research Centre, entitled "The Recruitment of Graduates to the Civil Service", which we publish in Volume 3.
6. See paragraph 99 below.
7. Sir Philip Allen, Sir James Dunnett, Sir Norman Kipping and Lord Simey.
8. Evidence for this may be found in Section 2 of "The recruitment of graduates to the Civil Service", published in Volume 3.
9. Lord Fulton, Sir Philip Allen, Mr. W.C. Anderson, Sir Edward Boyle, Sir James Dunnett, Dr. Norman Hunt, Lord Simey.
10. Sir William Cook, Sir Norman Kipping, Mr. Robert Neild, Mr. Robert Sheldon, Sir John Wall.
11. One of us (Dr. Norman Hunt) also recommends that a Minister of State or Parliamentary Secretary should be a member of this committee. His presence is necessary for two reasons. Ministers should be more closely associated with these senior-level promotions which will do much to determine the tone and attitudes of the department. Secondly, it is particularly important that promotions at these levels should not become too much based on "in-bred" Civil Service values and attitudes; the Minister will be able to contribute the 'outside' detachment which can do something to check this danger.

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. XXXIV

October-December 1988

No. 4

Subscription { Inland--Annual : Rs. 60.00, Single Copy : Rs. 20.00
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EDITORIAL

Placement of a civil servant anywhere in a job to make best utilisation of his/her potentialities in the interest of both administration as well as the incumbent is perhaps yet largely a distant, though ideal, goal. But we, in India, have even failed to make intelligent use of the tool of transfers in gainful management of our civil services. Unfortunately, very often transfers have been used as a vindictive or penal measure.

David C. Potter in his earlier article on IAS Mobility Patterns, published in October-December 1987 issue of IJPA, showed that in majority of the cases studied by him, the stay of an officer in one post was less than 12 months. He also discussed what the rapid transfers could lead to in terms of what he called "orchestrated organisational effort, continuity of expertise and motivation", the three key elements of administrative leadership. In the process, in the article included in this issue, Potter has examined stay of IAS and State Civil Services Officers in certain departments in Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa and West Bengal to present a comparative picture.

Potter has found that, out of 37 departments of the four state governments, in only four did civil servants stayed in a post for two years. This certainly is not a happy position. Among these officers also, Potter found that high level officers were transferred more quickly than officers of other levels. He, however, found no disparity between 'generalist' administrators and 'technocrats' in this regard. Potter concludes, "It seems likely, on the face of it, that such circumstances made it difficult for state governments as a whole to achieve orchestrated effort and continuity of departmental expertise. At least it seems plausible that administrative performance in state governments might be

better if movement of departmental personnel was not so rapid".

As Potter points out, mobility patterns of Indian Civil Services have neither been described nor related to aspects of administrative performance. Hopefully, researchers and academics will look into this neglected area to gather useful information and insights in an overall bid to devise a strategy for raising the level of productivity of our civil servants. Amidst all talk of wide ranging administrative reforms, training and accountability, it is sad to see that in actual practice this vital aspect of imaginative and purposive use of placement policy as a creative tool of personnel management and HRD is paid scant attention at different levels within Government.

Kamal Nayan Kabra discusses decision-making in the process of nationalisation of general insurance business in India that took place in 1956.

In his article, Kabra examines the take-over process focusing on enactment on the subject and determination of objectives of the exercise and that of compensation provision and their effect in terms of socio-economic content of the take-over and the alternative policy options that were attempted or considered before deriving his conclusion about the significance of the take-over.

Kabra concludes that the economic impact of the take-over "was likely to be limited, and not too injurious to private enterprise, while its political dividends in terms of meeting electoral pledges of a 'radical' variety were fairly clear. This nationalisation was a kind of last flicker of the apparently radical trail blazed during the first half of 1970s." Apart from any ideological orientation, the article provides some important insights into economic decision-making process.

Redressal of public grievance has always been lauded as being very important in the systems ranging from monarchy to democracy. Legends abound about kings moving in cognito to acquire first-hand knowledge about the plight of common man. In both developed and developing countries, irrespective of political complexion, for decades the debate about the mechanisms for redressal and their efficacy continues among the common people as well as in the academic world of law, jurisprudence and politics. M.L. Malhotra, in his essay, covers the situation as it exists today in India in this regard since 1964, when Santhanam Committee in its report first emphasised the need for evolving a mechanism for efficient

redressal of public grievances, till 1985 when a separate department was set up for this purpose at the Central Government level. He also discusses the steps that have been taken by state governments and even the initiatives taken by individual officers at the district level.

As is evident from the survey of Malhotra, though lot of ground has been covered in this very important area of public administration, yet it is hardly sufficient to drown lack of faith and the persistent cynicism resulting therefrom in the minds of common man. The least that can perhaps be done, as Malhotra also concludes, is to tie the loose ends in the existing arrangement and smoothen administrative angularities in order to ensure flow of desired results. This is an area where action does not seem to follow even the limited research that exists.

Organisation Development (OD), as a subject of study, gained importance due broadly to the complexities in modern organisation caused by the stresses and strains flowing from increasing developmental demands made on the organisation. R. Anuradha, in her article, takes a look at the changing perspectives of this subject during the past two decades since 1969. She discusses briefly the contributions made by eminent authors in this area of study which have helped OD in gaining the status of a complete systems concept.

True that, despite advancements in this field of study, there is no agreed upon set of instruments on organisational diagnosis, yet one can legitimately endorse author's conclusion that OD is "one of the few recent educational programmes on all aspects of organisation as well as managerial responsibility. It has the potential to create an institution capable enough to cope with turbulent future".

Dhirendra Krishna, in his article, analyses the role of press in improving public administration. He shows how it helps in bringing about openness, educating masses to assume righteous postures in events of failure, analysing and appreciating all aspects of related problems, exposing scandalous behavior of political executives and bureaucracy alike, promoting accountability, imparting legitimacy to governmental actions, etc. Truly, in a democratic system, press has an important role in giving voice to the true feelings of the masses if the system has to be perpetuated as a participative democracy. Press wields enormous influence in policy-making process and checks erroneous behaviour of the functionaries.

As Dhirendra Krishna concludes, despite its inherent

limitations and constraints, press should be nurtured to fulfil its social purpose to enable it to act as a catalytic agent for administrative reforms and also as a watchdog on behalf of the people. In a democratic system, it should not be difficult to reconcile the claims of openness in government for public purpose and claims of right to individual privacy.

Girish K. Misra, with the help of findings of a micro study conducted by him in Ranaghat-II block in Nadia district of West Bengal, discusses, through applying cost-benefit analysis, agriculture-related problems and bottlenecks faced by farmers which hamper the raising of income of these farmers. Within the framework of administration of plan for agriculture development in the block, he examines utilisation of agricultural inputs; crop rotation; irrigation facilities, including phasing of agricultural development under (proposed) tubewell irrigation; application of seed, fertilizer and insecticides; cashflow; etc.

Misra suggests a comprehensive package of various remedial measures, like assured irrigation and assured supply of other agriculture related inputs, including power, equipment and machinery; imparting training to farmers in utilisation of equipment and water management; help in marketing and storage; etc. It is now well recognised that if benefits of Green Revolution are to be made more broad-based, suggestions flowing from studies, like those of Misra, merit consideration so that the valuable information so gathered by official and non-official agencies could be utilised properly in the policy-formulation process.

As the challenges of development grow, the need for professionalisation of public services also grows. This is quite logical and natural. Kofi Ankomah, in his article, discusses professionalisation of public administration and management in Africa highlighting the benefits thus achieved as also what possibly can be done further in days ahead. In the process besides common problems and some pitfalls, he also discusses various methods that are available in Africa to attain professionalisation. Before concluding, he also identifies some desirable directions for future in this regard, including organising of joint programmes for teaching of public administration with the help of regional institutions, particularly for specialists, who remained deprived of such training during their professional training.

Kofi Ankomah rightly suggests forming of an association of schools and institutes of public administration and management to harmonise and standardise curricula in public administration

and management in African continent in order to make optimum use of scarce training resources. He also suggests that African Regional Organisations should facilitate establishment of centres for policy studies/strategic studies for the benefit of policy makers. These suggestions certainly deserve fullest consideration not only in Africa but also in other continents and at global level too.

Ali Haidar, in the next article, applies three types of ideal dominations--legal, charismatic and traditional--identified by Max Weber, in the budget formulation process in an organisation to understand the validity of this formulation in the field of resource allocation in a Westminster model of cabinet government, that is the Government of New Zealand.

In this interesting empirical study of modes of functioning within an organisation, Haidar discovered that despite contrary claims, "there did exist a set of rules and an authoritative hierarchy in the resource allocation....It was also found that for major part of budgeting, actual process conformed to the formally established mode." Based on his findings, Haidar concludes, "the actual process of New Zealand budgeting was a mixture of bureaucratic and charismatic elements" which do not in any way "invalidate Weberian formulation of modes of functioning in organisation in terms of ideal types". Haider's indeed is a pioneering and interesting attempt and would hopefully be followed up by others to provide useful empirical evidence as input for future attempts at theory building.

Ram Jas, in the next article, gives a review of empirical evidence that has been generated by scholars over the years regarding the impact of trade unionism on productivity. Against the prevalent negative image about trade unionism, Harvard scholars have maintained that unionism, being a collective voice of work force, is a positive trait and helps in raising productivity. However, their conclusions have been strongly contested by others.

Ram Jas, after analysing briefly the contributions of individual researchers, points to a number of methodological and other limitations with which these are afflicted. These limitations apart, as Ram Jas also endorses, their's are pioneering contributions in the area of industrial relations and labour economics.

In the last article of this issue, B.K. Raina discusses the working of Panchayati Adalats in Jammu and Kashmir with special reference to criminal jurisdiction over minor

offences.

Raina shows with certain amount of empirical evidence that these Adalats, set up with formal statutory authority, function on the broad principles of natural justice. They "hold proceedings at the very place, as far as possible, where disputes arise, enabling sense of efficacy among the villagers and speed and economy in their adjudication work" which contribute significantly to their popular acceptance. He further adds, on the basis of the findings of his study, that wherever in existence, "they are serving a real felt need of villagers by disposing of the cases more expeditiously and with minimum inconvenience and expenses to the parties". His study also reveals that over 75 per cent of the cases were filed in writing and over 98 per cent of respondents endorsed that the cases were instituted by the victims themselves.

This indeed makes an impressive reading about the performance of these adalats in Jammu and Kashmir. It would be fine if more studies of this kind are undertaken before any definitive conclusions are derived in this regard. The subject being of considerable social significance, it is high time that legal experts and social scientists try to explore similar kind of judicial innovations in other parts of the country.

Besides articles, the issue has a document section as well as one on book reviews.

Mobility Patterns in State Government Departments in India

DAVID C. POTTER

ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERS in India move (or are transferred) from one post to another very frequently. A majority of them between 1977 and 1986 held a post for less than one year before moving on. I analysed this phenomenon, with specific reference to the IAS (Indian Administrative Service), in an article published in this Journal last year¹. In the present article, I extend the analysis of mobility patterns by attempting to delineate them for lower-level administrative personnel within various departments of state government. Most of the evidence comes from Karnataka and Kerala, although there is also some reference to mobility patterns in Orissa and West Bengal.*

The high turnover of officials in India has been a subject for some discussion and comment in the literature. For example, Gillespie's unpublished study in the 1960s found that the all-India average tenure of Collectors was 20 months;² in the 1970s Bhatnagar and Sharma found that the tenure of Rajasthan Collectors was 14 months;³ Sheshadri showed that Collectors in the IADP (Integrated Agricultural Development Programme) District of West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh, stayed on an average for 18 months;⁴ Muttalib's analysis of rural development administration in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra found that transfers of officials were increasing in frequency;⁵ in the 1980s Gupta reported very rapid transfers in Dharampur Taluka (a tribal area in Valsad District, Gujarat),⁶ Sharan and Narayanan

*The research, on which this article is based, was made possible by grants in 1987 from the Nuffield Foundation and the Open University (UK). I am grateful for their assistance. I also wish to express my gratitude, for their friendly assistance, to: Librarian and Staff of the Secretariat Library, Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore; Librarian and Staff of the Secretariat Library, Secretariat Building, Trivandrum; and Librarian and Staff of the Secretariat Library, Writers Building, Calcutta.

showed that Collectors, SDOs, Tehsildars and BDOs in the districts of Banswara (Rajasthan), Jhabua (Madhya Pradesh) and Panchmahals (Gujarat) rarely stayed in post for even the minimum period specified in official regulations⁷ and Singh reported sensationally that in the 26 days between June 20 and July 16, 1988, some 30,000 of the six lakh employees of the Madhya Pradesh Government were transferred.⁸ It is noticeable that nearly all such studies are either rather general or about the IAS only or about Collectors and a few other categories of personnel in one or two particular districts. There has been no systematic attempt to describe mobility patterns in state government departments from the level of the state capital to lower level personnel within districts. Having some idea of such patterns in departments enables one to form a more complete picture of mobility within the bureaucracy as a whole.

It turned out to be exceedingly difficult to obtain data on mobility patterns in state government departments. I knew that annual Civil Lists for the IAS were routinely published each year, and assumed that similar lists would be available also for state government departments. I was wrong. There were, in Spring 1987, only a few lists for certain years in the secretariat libraries in Bangalore and Trivandrum, almost none in Calcutta, none in Jaipur. (I found the 1977 Orissa Civil List, referred to below, in the Indian Institute of Public Administration Library, New Delhi.) It would be interesting to know whether other state governments publish Civil Lists more regularly. It may be possible for other researchers to compile more complete mobility data from unpublished personnel records, although I was informed in Jaipur that doing this would be by no means easy given the state of the records.

There are various possible ways to present the data I did obtain. After consideration, I have set them out in 13 tables appended to this article. In Table 1 mobility data for a number of departments in Karnataka as on January 1, 1979 have been given. There were more departmental Civil Lists for 1979 in the secretariat library than for any other year. In Table 2 I have recasted Table 1 in a different way for another purpose. Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 contain Karnataka mobility data for other years between 1976 and 1984. Tables 7 and 9 show mobility patterns in Kerala based on Civil Lists as on January 1, 1976 and 1st January 1971. There were no more recent lists available in Trivandrum. Table 8 is a recast of Table 7 for a different purpose. Table 10 presents some mobility data on Orissa, and Table 11 some data on West Bengal. Table 12 indicates mobility patterns in several departments in the Province of Bengal in the 1930s, for purposes of historical comparison. In Table 13, comparison of mobility patterns in the IAS cadres of Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa and

West Bengal has been made during the years 1980-1985.

The presentation of the data in 13 separate tables at the end of the article is perhaps a rather clumsy arrangement for the reader, but there is no better way to do it, for two main reasons. First, presenting these data separately for each state and each department is the clearest way to show mobility patterns for the departments or other organisations involved as on a certain date. Constructing larger tables combining these data might have been possible in some cases, although the tables would have been, in consequence, exceedingly complicated. In many cases, however, combinations were not possible because some groupings in the Civil Lists are not mutually exclusive, e.g., Karnataka Secretariat, Karnataka Administrative Service, and a Karnataka department. Secondly, it is important to try to distinguish roughly, where possible, within each department or entity between three categories of personnel. The first category includes people at the very top, like Chief Engineers, Directors, Joint Directors, Registrars. The second includes people at district level and above like Deputy Directors, Deputy Registrars, Executive Engineers. The third category includes all those people within government departments working within one district below district level, like Assistant Directors, Assistant Registrars, and Assistant Executive Engineers. In many cases, making these distinctions can only be done separately for each department or entity because staffing patterns and titles/nomenclature in each case are different.

The data in the tables showing mobility patterns of civil servants in government departments have been obtained by frequency analyses of information on postings of individual officers as reported in annual Civil Lists. Each Civil List normally lists all (or most) officers in a department or entity on a certain date (usually January 1 of a particular year), and normally gives an indication of when each officer took up his or her present post. By going through the list and classifying each entry, one can arrive at the percentage of officers in the department who have held their present post for less than one year, the percentage who have held it for between one and two years, and so on. It is the nature of Civil Lists that they give the date when an Officer took up the post they were holding as on 1st January each year. It is, therefore, impossible to discover, using such Lists, those (fairly unusual) instances where an officer moved two or more times within the previous year. To that extent, the data in the tables may slightly underestimate the speed of movement generally.

Despite the fact that I could find only a few civil lists in Karnataka, Kerala and West Bengal (and for Orissa), there was enough to enable five broad inferences to be drawn about mobility patterns

in these states. It also seems reasonable to suggest as hypotheses that these five broad features of mobility patterns indicated in this article may be found in other state governments as well.

Speed of Movement Varies from Department to Department

First, patterns of movement in any state government vary considerably from department to department. The evidence in the Tables is clear on this point.

In Karnataka, as on January 1, 1979 (see Table 1), movement was quicker in the departments of Agriculture, Cooperation, Forests, Commerce and Industries, than in the departments of Public Works, Horticulture, and Motor Vehicles. Tahsildars in the Revenue Department moved nearly twice as quickly as Assistant Commercial Tax officers in the Finance Department.

In Kerala, as on January 1, 1976 (see Table 7), movement was very quick in the Industries Department and amongst tahsildars and land revenue personnel in the districts more generally. It was much slower in the departments of Health, Forests, Animal Husbandry, and (somewhat erratically) Cooperatives. However, as on 1st January 1971 in Kerala (see Table 9), movement was slow in the Industries Department and the middle ranges of the secretariat, much quicker in the Land Revenue Department generally and amongst district medical officers.

In Orissa, as on 1st January 1977 (see Table 10), mobility patterns varied between the Orissa Administrative Service, the Orissa Agricultural Service, and the Orissa Veterinary Service. Limited data on West Bengal as on 31st July 1970 (Table 11) also suggest that quite different patterns of mobility obtained in different government departments. Such differences between departments as regards speed of movement appear also to have obtained in the Province of Bengal during the days of the raj (see Table 12).

The data show that speed of movement varied from department to department in any one year. They also suggest that mobility patterns over time varied from department to department. Such variations within any one state government confirm what is already widely known--that despite formal regulations laid down by state governments regarding frequency of transfer, individual departments rarely adhere to them. Each department has tended to go its own way.

Speed of Movement Fluctuates Through Time

Secondly, the data in the tables suggest that speeds of movement for different departments of other organisations in any one state government fluctuate through time. I use the word 'fluctuate' with care. There is no clear indication of a gradual increase or decrease over an extended period of time. Furthermore, rates of movement in

some departments (or other organisations) fluctuate more than in others.

The most complete data in support of this finding relate to the IAS. Table 13 shows rates of movement in the IAS cadres of Karnataka, Kerala, Orissa and West Bengal between 1980 and the end of 1985. By rate of movement, I mean the per cent of officers who took up their present post within the previous year. The data in Table 13 show that movement in the Karnataka cadre as on 1st January 1981 and annually up to 1st January 1986 was quite erratic. It oscillated from 73 per cent as on 1st January 1981 to 40 per cent as on 1st January 1985. At the same time, there is no indication of a gradual increase or decrease over time. The rate has remained consistently high and has fluctuated around that high point. The data in Table 13 show that in the other IAS cadres (Kerala, Orissa, West Bengal), the rates of movement also fluctuate from year to year, although they are not as erratic as the Karnataka cadre. Fluctuating mobility patterns for the IAS are even more clearly seen upon examination of other data on the IAS for longer periods of time.⁹

Fluctuation over time seems to have been the dominant tendency also in the Karnataka Administrative Services (see Table 5), although the data are less complete. Between 1976 and 1984 the per cent of the Service who had held their post for less than one year moved from 37 per cent as on 1st January 1977 to 73 per cent as on 1st January 1981, with intervening percentages reported for other years during the period. Data on the Karnataka secretariat for 1977, 1979, 1981 and 1984, which partly include IAS and KAS officers, also show fluctuation through time (see Table 6).

As for such fluctuations in state government departments, the data in the tables are clearly insufficient to establish the points with any certainty. There are, however, suggestive examples. The data in Table 4 show that in one year in Karnataka in percentage of personnel in the departments of Motor Vehicles and Commerce and Industries who had held their post for less than one year was roughly the same (around 44 per cent), and then the following year the percentages jumped more than 20 per cent but in opposite directions. Also, in Karnataka, speed of movement in the Public Works Department varied between 1st January 1979 and 1st January 1982 (see Tables 1 and 3), although the data are insufficient to suggest fluctuation. Such change over time is also suggested in the Kerala data (see Tables 7 and 9), where different speeds of movement can be seen by comparing the data for 1971 and 1976 in relation to the departments of public works, industries, cooperative, animal husbandry, health and land revenue.

It seems reasonable to suggest as a working hypothesis that speed

of movement of state government civil servants fluctuates through time. The data on the IAS (Table 13) and on the Karnataka Administrative Services (Table 5) are clear on this point, although the data on state government departments are only suggestive. This hypothesis, as with the previous one, underlines the absence of any settled policy regarding tenure in postings applied consistently by state governments over time.

High Level Officers Tend to Move More Quickly than Others

Thirdly, the data in the tables show convincingly that speeds of movement within a department or organisation differ depending on the location of the officer within the hierarchy. More especially, the data suggest that mobility tends to increase as one ascends the hierarchy, or, conversely, officers at lower levels in the hierarchy move less frequently than officers near the top. This was found to be true of a majority of the departments or organisations considered.

In Karnataka, as on 1st January 1979 (see Table 1), the data show that lower level officers moved more slowly from post to post than high level officers in the departments of Agriculture, Horticulture, Public Works, Forest, Commerce and Industries, Mines and Geology. Mobility patterns in the Karnataka secretariat for that year also emphatically underline the main point. Appointment data on Section Officers were added to complete the picture in the secretariat, although strictly speaking Section Officers has a rather different status since they were rarely 'transferred' (they were appointed to the post in a particular year and a number either were eventually promoted out or successfully applied for a different post elsewhere in government). The data on the Karnataka Administrative Service were general consistent with the secretariat data (although these two sets of data were not mutually exclusive). The main exception was the Department of Cooperatives, where the mobility rates ran in the reverse direction (i.e., the lower the position in the hierarchy, the higher the mobility rate). This was probably a misleading case anyway, because it appeared that a number of co-operatives in the districts had only recently come into existence (I was unable to confirm this). The Motor Vehicles Department was the other exception.

The data in other tables show that 1979 was not an exceptional year in Karnataka, and indeed may be considered fairly representative. In the Public Works Department, as on 1st January, 1982, for example, Chief or Suprintending Engineers moved more quickly than Executive Engineers, and far more quickly than Assistant Executive Engineers (see Table 3). In the secretariat, the data show that in 1981 and 1984 the same general mobility pattern prevailed. The figures for 1977, however, seem to run to some extent in the reverse

direction (see Table 6). There were other examples of Karnataka departments where, according to the relevant Civil Lists, officers lower down the hierarchy moved more slowly than their superiors, e.g., the departments of Motor Vehicles, Commerce and Industries, and Mines and Geology, as on January 1, 1978; but I have not included that data here.

The same general tendency is noticeable in the data on departments in Kerala (see Tables 7 and 9). In the Public Works Department the Civil Lists for 1st January 1971 and 1976 show Chief and Superintending Engineers moving more quickly than Assistant Executive Engineers. The same difference between top and bottom appears to be the case for both years in the departments of Industries, Cooperatives, and Animal Husbandry, although not by a lot. Other instances are the Agriculture Department and the Forest Department as on January 1, 1976, and the Development Department and the secretariat as on January 1, 1971. The overall pattern is reversed, or at least mixed, only in the cases of the Health Department for both years and the Land Revenue Department for 1971.

The data for Orissa (see Table 10) show two out of the three examples conforming to the main tendency. As on January 1 1977, the Orissa Administrative Service Class I moved more quickly than Class II, and similarly the Orissa Veterinary Service Class I moved more quickly than Class II. As for the Orissa Agriculture Service, the figures run clearly in the opposite direction. The only other examples in the tables are from Bengal in 1936 (see Table 12); the Police and Forest Departments conformed perfectly to the main tendency, and Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries in the secretariat also moved more quickly than Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries. In the Excise and Salt Department, however, the mobility pattern was somewhat mixed although tending to move in a direction counter to the main tendency.

The data in the tables clearly show differential speed of movement within hierarchies, and more particularly that in most departments or organisations officers at lower levels in the hierarchy moved less frequently than officers near the top. Similar findings have been reported in Rajasthan.¹⁰

Mobility Patterns Tend to be Similar for 'Generalists' and 'Specialists'

Fourthly, the data in the tables suggest (no more) that speed of movement for 'specialists' and 'generalists' at roughly the same level within state government tend to be similar, broadly speaking. There is insufficient comparative evidence to confirm the point, but there is enough to suggest it as a working hypothesis requiring

further research. The hypothesis is something of a surprise, since it is frequently assumed that generalists consistently move more frequently than specialists. The distinction between generalists and specialists is never easy to make; by generalist I mean those who have had broad managerial training for positions of general administrative leadership, e.g., officers in the IAS and the state administrative service, and by specialist I mean those who have had to undergo extended technical and/or scientific training for positions requiring people with such specialist expertise, e.g., engineers, horticulturalists, surgeons, etc.

The hypothesis rests mainly upon evidence derived from Table 1 (Karnataka, 1979) and Table 7 (Kerala, 1976). Other data in other tables are too incomplete to be of much use. In analysing these two tables with reference to the hypothesis, I have distinguished between top level and lower level officers (both specialists and generalists) in terms of their annual rates of movement, that is, the per cent of each category of officers shown in the Civil List as having taken up their present post within the previous year. The evidence suggests that generalists and specialists do not move at significantly different rates at broadly similar locations within hierarchies. The details are set out in Tables 2 and 8.

In Karnataka, as on January 1, 1979 (Table 2), the annual rates of movement for top level officers, for whom data were available, varied between 80 per cent for Directors and Deputy Directors in the Department of Mines and Geology and 33 per cent for Chief and Superintending Engineers in the Public Works Department. Both these categories of officers would normally be considered specialists. The most obvious generalist categories are the Karnataka cadre of the IAS and the Karnataka Administrative Service; their rates of movement were 53 per cent and 71 per cent respectively. Other specialist and generalist categories also fell between 80 per cent and 33 per cent. As for lower level officers, the data show a similar picture. Annual rates of movement varied from 75 per cent for Assistant Registrars in the Co-operative Department to 18 per cent for Assistant Agriculture Officers, Class II, in the Agriculture Department. The most obvious generalist categories at this level are Tahsildars, with 69 per cent, and Under Secretaries in the Secretariat, with 39 per cent. The rates of movement for other lower level specialists and generalists fell randomly between 75 per cent and 18 per cent. In short, there is no indication that, at either higher or lower levels, generalists consistently moved more quickly than specialists, or vice versa, in Karnataka.

The same general picture is found upon examination of data for Kerala, as on January 1, 1976 (Table 8). The annual rates of movement

for top level officers varied between 85 per cent for Commissioners in the Industries Departments to 13 per cent for Directors in the Health Department. Other categories of specialists and generalist officers, including the Kerala cadre of the IAS, fell between these two extremes. As for lower level officers, the rates of movement ranged from 72 per cent of Assistant Directors and others in the Industries Department to 21 per cent for Assistant Registrars and others in the Cooperatives Department. Other specialists and generalists, including Block Development Officers, fell randomly between these two. Again, the data appear to suggest that amongst both top level and lower level officers no clear distinction can be made between specialists and generalists as regards these annual rates of movement.

The data for Kerala, as on January 1, 1971 (Table 9), show a similar pattern (although I do not discuss these data here). The limited data for Orissa, as on January 1, 1977 (Table 10), hints at a similar picture; the 'Class II' category of the three Services listed in the Table show the following spread of annual rates of movement: Orissa Administrative Service 41 per cent, Orissa Agricultural Service (Specialist) 24 per cent, Orissa Veterinary Service 20 per cent, and Orissa Agricultural Service (General) 15 per cent. Again, one does not see here any clear distinction between generalists and specialists.

Although the data in the tables are skimpy on this point, yet there is enough to suggest, at least as a hypothesis, that generalists and specialists do not move at significantly different rates at broadly similar locations within the hierarchies of state governments.

Mobility on the Whole is Rapid

The fifth and final feature of mobility patterns is more general in character than the other four. If, so to speak, one stands back from individual tables and the variations they show between and within departments, then what is striking about all of them considered together is the overall speed of movement from post to post.

Mobility is certainly rapid if one considers it in relation to official norms. Each state and the centre has had regulations on the matter.¹¹ There is no need here to go into the details of the regulations; it is enough to note that all of them have made the stipulation that persons should normally remain at one post or 'station' for **not less than two years**. It is massively apparent from the evidence in the tables that state government personnel remaining in one post for not less than two years is the exception rather than the rule. Of 37 departments or other organisations for different years in the four

states analysed in the tables appended to this article, in only four did a majority of the personnel stay for two years or more--the Karnataka Horticulture Department as on January 1, 1979 (Table 1), and the Kerala Secretariat as on January 1, 1971 (Table 9), and the Orissa Agriculture Service and Orissa Veterinary Service, as on January 1, 1977 (Table 10). [The West Bengal Commerce and Industries Department as on July 31, 1970 and the Motor Vehicles Department as on January 1, 1976 may also fall in this category (Table 11), but the data are inconclusive on this point]. These exceptions hint at the possibility that mobility rates may have been generally swifter in some state governments than in others (e.g., swifter in Karnataka than in West Bengal or Orissa), but the data in the tables are insufficient to permit the point to be advanced even as a hypothesis. On the main finding, however, the data are clear: apart from a few exceptions, mobility patterns in state government departments and other organisations have been at variance from what state government regulations say they ought to have been. More particularly, mobility has been far more rapid than state governments have defined officially as desirable.

Are such rates of movement unusually swift in comparison to what obtains in other countries? Recent evidence on mobility patterns in the higher reaches of the British Civil Service is available. A fairly comprehensive report in 1986 from the Treasury and Civil Service Committee on the movement of civil servants between departments during the 1970s and up to 1985 suggests that Permanent Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries remained in one post on average about four years.¹² There were variations between departments, e.g., the average length of tenure for Deputy Secretaries in the Inland Revenue was about four years, whereas the tenure of Deputy Secretaries in the Northern Ireland Office was nearly seven years. These sorts of figures seem to suggest that civil servants in India at comparable levels within the bureaucracy were moving, on average, quite rapidly indeed.

It is important to emphasise that such rapid movement in India is not some new or temporary phenomenon. Evidence on movement of the ICS in the 1920s and 1930s shows that they moved as quickly as the IAS does today.¹³ Data on mobility of departmental personnel in the Provinces of Bengal as on January 1, 1936 (Table 12) suggest that mobility patterns then were similar to what one tends to find in state governments in the 1970s and early 1980s. Rapid movement of civil servants at all levels, but especially at higher levels within hierarchies, appears to be deeply embedded in the Indian administrative tradition.

CONCLUSION

The data reported and discussed in this article are hardly conclusive as an indication of patterns of movement generally in state government departments. There is enough, however, to support the statement that it is likely that, broadly speaking, between the early 1970s and 1984, patterns of mobility were characterised by five main features: (1) speed of movement varied from department to department in any one year; (2) speed of movement fluctuated through time; (3) civil servants at lower levels within hierarchies moved less frequently than civil servants near the top; (4) generalists and specialists at broadly similar levels within hierarchies moved at broadly similar speeds; (5) mobility was, on the whole, rapid.

These findings are consistent with earlier research on mobility patterns within the IAS, which showed: (1) overall rapidity, (2) variation from one state cadre to another, and (3) fluctuation through time.¹⁴ The data in the tables here add to these findings by suggesting two things: first, speeds of movement further down hierarchies in state government are not quite as quick as IAS speeds; and second, IAS and other generalists do not move any more quickly (or slowly) than specialists at roughly similar levels within state government. The earlier article on the IAS also essayed the possible consequences of rapid movement in terms of orchestrated organisational effort, continuity of expertise, and motivation. All three are key elements in what administrative leadership entails. The article ended by asserting that 'we don't know' what the consequences of rapid and erratic movement are for administrative performance, and suggested that it was important for students of public administration in India to analyse relationships between mobility and performance. A similar conclusion follows from the findings reported here. The picture presented is one of civil servants at all levels of the hierarchy moving quickly even though some move more quickly than others. It seems likely, on the face of it, that such circumstances make it difficult for state government departments as a whole to achieve orchestrated effort and continuity of departmental expertise. At least it seems plausible that administrative performance in state government departments might be better if movement of departmental personnel was not quite so rapid.

It is not enough, however, to try to assess the administrative performance of a government department only in terms of internal organisational requirements like orchestrated effort, continuity of expertise, and motivation.¹⁵ Equally important is the general satisfaction with the department's activities on the part of the clientele or people in the area the department is aiming to serve. From this

point of view, a system where departmental personnel in your areas move on fairly frequently may be preferable, on balance, to one where virtually no mobility occurs. I learned this while discussing mobility patterns with a group of village people in Bengal.¹⁶ They reasoned as follows: mobility of departmental personnel means that over time we will get one or two outstandingly good officials and one or two really awful ones, the rest being officers about whom we are comparatively indifferent; if there was no mobility, we might be stuck with a bad officer; so it's better to "take the rough with the smooth" and try to move along the bad officers as soon as possible and hold on to the good ones as long as possible; mobility avoids the risk of 'permanent disaster'!

These wise remarks suggest that some mobility of lower-level administrative personnel in state government is desirable. At the same time, it seems reasonably certain that too-rapid mobility of departmental personnel may be detrimental to departmental performance. I believe that mobility rates in India are indeed too rapid for effective administrative performance, and that this single phenomenon contributes significantly to noteworthy pathologies in Indian administration. Such an assertion, however, can be no more than an assertion because we are still woefully ignorant of what constitutes 'too-rapid' mobility in this context. It is remarkable that the general literature on public personnel administration virtually ignores the subject. I have tried in this article (and the previous one) to make a start on describing mobility patterns generally and relating them to aspects of administrative performance, but there is no doubt that the whole subject cries out for further research and analysis.

Appendix
TABLES SHOWING MOBILITY PATTERNS

Table 1 MOBILITY PATTERN OF HIGHER LEVEL AND LOWER LEVEL CIVIL SERVANTS IN KARNATAKA, AS ON JANUARY 1, 1979

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Percent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Public Works Department					
Chief and Superintending Engineers	86	33	66	1	0
Executive Engineers	145	17	46	15	23
Asst. Executive Engineers	901	20	28	12	41
(No information = Executive Engineers 13, Asst. Exec. Engineers 61) (1978 recruits and non-graduate supervisors recently promoted to posts of Assistant Executive Engineers not included)					
Agriculture Department					
Director, Addl. Directors, Joint Directors	18	56	22	11	11
Deputy Directors	89	44	20	25	11
Asst. Directors & others, Class II	315	18	33	32	7
(No information = 16)					
Horticulture Department					
Director and Joint Director	2	50	0	50	0
Deputy Directors	12	0	33	17	50
Asst. Directors & others, Class I	101	36	26	20	19
(No information = 15)					
Cooperative Department					
Registrar, Addl. & Joint Registrars	20	60	35	5	0
Deputy Registrars	66	67	33	0	0
Asst. Registrars	171	75	11	8	5
(No information = 7)					
Forest Department					
Director & Joint Directors	30	60	10	20	10
Conservator & Deputy Conservators of Forests, Class I	78	51	23	17	9
Deputy Conservators of Forests, Class II	78	40	38	12	10
Commerce and Industries Department					
Director, Jt. & Dy. Directors	32	72	16	6	6
Assistant Directors	41	63	20	7	10

Department of Mines and Geology

Director	1	100	0	0	0
Deputy Directors	4	75	0	25	0
Senior Geologists	10	50	40	10	0
Geologists	25	60	8	12	20
Chief Chemist, Chemists	6	0	17	33	60
Drilling Engineer, Geophysicist, Mining Engineer	4	0	0	0	100

Motor Vehicles Department

Commissioners	15	13	47	27	13
Regional and Assistant Regional Transport Officers	36	28	36	28	8

Asst. Commercial Tax Officers

(Finance Department),	288	36	26	25	13
Nearly all at Taluka/circle level (Asst. Commercial Tax Officer on probation included)					

Tahsildars in the Revenue

Department	106	69	20	10	1
(No information = 2)					

Karnataka Administrative Service, Part I

(Dy. Secy., Jt. Director, Managing Director, etc.)	47	81	13	4	2
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Karnataka Administrative Service, Part II

(Under Secretary, Assistant Commissioner, etc.)	188	69	19	8	5
(No information = 1)					

Secretariat

Chief Secretary, Secretaries					
Addl. & Jt. Secretaries	27	70	26	4	0
Deputy Secretaries	44	45	39	5	11
Under Secretaries	113	39	36	14	11
Section Officers	218	7	28	29	37
(No information = 5)					

NOTE : 1978 recruits, those on probation and under training are not included.

SOURCES: Compiled from separately published Lists: **Karnataka Civil List**, corrected up to 1st January 1979, for the Public Works and Irrigation Departments, pp. 1-64; Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Department, pp. 1-28 (Agriculture), pp. 29-36 (Horticulture); Rural Development and Cooperation Department, pp. 17-31; Food and Forests Department, pp. 1-13; Commerce and Industries Department, pp. 1-7; pp. 8-10 (Mines and Geology); Home Department (Motor Vehicles), pp. 11-14; Finance Department, pp. 11-22; Revenue Department, pp. 5-10; Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms (Secretariat), pp. 13-37, and (Karnataka Administrative Service), pp. 58-70.

Table 2 TOP LEVEL AND LOWER LEVEL OFFICERS OF KARNATAKA, WHO HELD THEIR POST FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR AS ON JANUARY 1, 1979

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Per cent
Top level officers		
Director & Deputy Directors, Mines and Geology	5	80
Director, Joint & Deputy Directors, Commerce and Industries	32	72
Karnataka Administrative Service	235	71
Registrar, Addl. & Joint Registrars, Co-operatives	20	60
Director, Joint Directors, Forests	30	60
Director, Addl. & Joint Directors, Agriculture	18	56
Karnataka cadre IAS	158	53
Chief & Superintending Engineers, Public Works	86	33
Lower level officers		
Assistant Registrars, Co-operatives	171	75
Tahsildars, Revenue	106	69
Assistant Directors, Commerce & Industries	41	63
Deputy Conservators, Class II, Forests	78	40
Under Secretaries, Secretariat	113	39
Assistant Commercial Tax Officer, Finance	288	36
Assistant Directors, Horticulture	101	36
Assistant Executive Engineers, Public Works	901	20
Assistant Agriculture Officers, Class II	315	18
(Section Officers, Secretariat)	218	7

SOURCES: The Civil Lists referred to in Table 1. The IAS figures are compiled from the IAS Civil List for 1979.

Table 3 MOBILITY PATTERN OF OFFICERS IN PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT OF KARNATAKA AS ON JANUARY 1, 1982

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Chief and Superintending Engineers	104	54	35	6	6
Executive Engineers	225	40	31	20	10
Asst. Executive Engineers	1099	18	28	21	32
(No information = 75)					

SOURCE: Compiled from Karnataka Civil List, Public Works and Irrigation Departments, corrected up 1st January 1982, pp. 1-65.

Table 4 PERCENTAGE OF PERSONNEL IN TWO DEPARTMENTS OF KARNATAKA GOVERNMENT, WHO HELD THEIR POST FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR

Year (As on January 1)	Industries and Commerce Department		Motor Vehicles Department	
	(N)	per cent	(N)	per cent
1978	(54)	43	(39)	44
1979	(73)	66	(51)	24

SOURCES: Compiled from **Karnataka Civil List, Commerce and Industries Department**, for 1978 and 1979, and **Karnataka Civil List, Home Department**, for 1978 and 1979.

Table 5 PERCENTAGE OF KARNATAKA ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE OFFICERS, WHO HELD THEIR POST FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR

Year (As on January 1)	No. of Per- sonnel Listed	Per Cent
1976	260	50
1977	246	37
1979	235	71
1981	265	73
1984	306	62

SOURCE: Compiled from **Karnataka Civil List, General Administration Department** (1976), pp. 10-29; **Karnataka Civil List, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms** for 1977, (pp.11-35); for 1979, pp. 58-70; for 1981, pp. 67-82; and for 1984, pp. 75-91.

Table 6 PERCENTAGE OF PERSONNEL IN KARNATAKA SECRETARIAT, WHO HELD THEIR POST FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR

Category of Personnel	As on 1st January			
	(N) 1977	(N) 1979	(N) 1981	(N) 1984
Chief Secretary, Secretaries, Additional and Joint Secre- taries	(31) 29	(27) 70	(30) 83	(43) 65
Deputy Secretaries	(45) 49	(44) 45	(44) 57	(57) 39
Under Secretaries	(110) 54	(113) 39	(135) 53	(153) 37
Section Officers	(226) 19	(218) 7	(249) 29	(311) 20

SOURCES: Compiled from **Karnataka Civil List, General Administration Department**, corrected up to 1st January, 1976, pp. 10-29; **Karnataka Civil List, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms**, for 1977, pp. 11-35; for 1979, pp. 13-57; for 1981, pp. 14-41; and for 1984, pp. 15-40.

Table 7 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF PERSONNEL
IN VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT OF KERALA,
AS ON JANUARY 1, 1976

Category of Officers	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Public Works Department					
Chief and Superintending Engineers	25	60	12	16	12
Executive Engineers	100	43	24	23	10
Asst. Exec. Engineers and others below District Level	308	45	27	20	8
(No information = 97)					
Industries Department					
Industries Dev. Commis- sioner, Addl. Commissioners, Jt. Dev. Commissioners	13	85	8	0	8
Deputy Dev. Commissioner	19	74	5	11	11
Asstt. Dev Commissioners/ Asstt. Directors and below	57	72	16	7	5
(No information = 33)					
Cooperative Department					
Registrar, Addl. Registrars, Joint Registrars	11	36	27	0	36
Deputy Registrars	37	62	16	8	14
Asstt. Registrars, others below district level	197	21	25	36	18
Block Development Officers, 123 in Dev. Department (No information = 4)					
Agriculture Department					
Director, Addl. Directors, Jt. Directors	15	53	40	0	7
Deputy Directors	25	28	44	12	16
District Agri. Officers	113	42	34	10	15
(No information = 5)					

Animal Husbandry Department

Director, Joint Directors	3	67	0	0	33
Deputy Directors	3	33	0	33	33
Assistant Dir., District Veterinary Officers	42	45	19	7	29
Veterinary Surgeons-Grade I	65	42	20	22	17
Veterinary Surgeons-Grade II	356	45	24	23	8
(No information = 22)					

Health Department

Director of Health, Addl. Directors	3	0	0	0	100
Deputy Directors	5	20	40	20	20
District Medical Officers, District Family Planning Officers	20	20	10	40	30
Civil Surgeons, Grade I	261	59	15	18	8
Dental Surgeons	46	30	24	24	22
(No information = 13)					

Forest Department

Chief Conservator, Conservators	13	46	23	0	31
Deputy Conservators	13	38	38	23	0
Assistant Conservators	43	30	49	16	5
(No information = 6)					

Collectors, Deputy Collectors,**Tahsildars in Land Revenue**

Department, for 10 districts:

Trivandrum	50	64	14	10	12
Quilon	31	94	6	0	0
Kottayam	43	84	12	2	2
Alleppey	51	71	18	8	4
Ernakulam	43	74	16	7	2
Trichur	40	80	5	8	8
Palghat	62	85	10	3	2
Kozhikode	66	82	14	3	2
Mallapuram	58	76	17	7	0
Cannanore	72	78	7	13	0
(No information = 16)					

NOTES:

1. Only data for these districts were mentioned and even these data were difficult to classify. Hence the figures cannot be relied upon as exact.)
2. The 1975 recruits are not included.

SOURCE: Compiled from Government of Kerala, **Keral State Civil List, as on 1st January 1976** (Government Press, 1977); for Department of Public Works (pp. 1004-1052), Industries (pp. 744-759), Co-operative (pp. 360-390), Development (pp. 408-420), Agriculture (pp. 120-133), Animal Husbandry (pp. 160-193), Healthy (pp. 550-738), and Land Revenue (pp. 812-876).

Table 8 DISTRIBUTION OF TOP LEVEL AND LOWER OFFICERS OF
GOVERNMENT OF KERALA, WHO HELD THEIR POSTS FOR LESS
THAN ONE YEAR AS ON JANUARY 1, 1976

Category of Officers	No. of Personnel Listed	Per cent
Top Level Officers		
Commissioner, Addl. & Joint Commissioners, Industries	13	85
Director, Joint Directors, Animal Husbandry	3	67
Kerala cadre, IAS	100	62
Chief and Superintending Engineers, Public Works	25	60
Director, Addl. & Joint Directors, Agriculture	15	53
Chief Conservator, Conservators, Forests	13	46
Registrar, Addl. & Joint Registrars, Co-operatives	11	36
Director, Addl. & Deputy Directors, Health	8	13
Lower Level Officers		
Assistant Directors & others, Industries	57	72
Civil Surgeons, Grade I, Health	261	59
Veterinary Surgeons, Grade II, Animal Husbandry	356	45
Assistant Executive Engineers, Public Works	308	45
District Agriculture Officers	113	42
Block Development Officers	123	42
Assistant Conservators Forests	43	30
Assistant Registrars & others, Co-operatives	197	21

SOURCES: The Civil Lists referred to in Table 7. The IAS figures as compiled from IAS Civil List for 1976.

Table 9 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF PERSONNEL
IN VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT OF KERALA,
ASON JANUARY 1, 1971

Category of Officers	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Public Works Department					
Chief and Superintending Engineers	22	55	23	9	14
Executive Engineers	63	37	29	16	19
Asst.Exec.Engineers and below	252	41	27	19	13
(No information = 29)					
Industries Department					
Director, Addl.& Jt. Directors	9	44	11	22	22
Deputy Directors	27	37	7	19	37
Asst. Directors and below	49	39	31	10	20
(No information = 1; on deputation = 18)					
Cooperative Department					
Joint Registrar	1	0	100	0	0
Deputy Registrars	4	50	25	0	25
Assistant Registrars and others below district level	155	30	40	14	17
Development Department					
Officers at District level and above	10	50	20	20	10
Officers below district level	126	43	22	10	25
(No information = 4)					
Animal Husbandry Department					
Directors, Joint Directors	4	0	25	25	50
Deputy Directors	5	60	40	0	0
Assistant Directors and others below district level	383	40	32	16	11
(No information or on deputatin = 146)					
Health Department					
Director, Joint Director	2	100	0	0	0
Deputy Directors	5	20	80	0	0
District Medical Officers	27	70	26	4	0
Civil Surgeons, Grade I	80	38	31	16	15
(No information = 11)					

Secretariat (Administrative)

Joint Secretaries	13	46	15	8	31
Deputy Secretaries	19	37	11	42	11
Under Secretaries	56	16	11	13	61
Section Officers	152	14	9	13	64
(Secretaries were not included in this listing)					

Land Revenue Department

District level and above	22	59	32	5	4
Below district level (excluding Tahsildars)	63	40	17	11	32
Tahsildar	229	60	14	9	17
(No information = 8)					

NOTE: The 1970 recruits are not included.

SOURCES: Compiled from Government of Kerala, **Kerala State Civil List, as on 1st January 1971** (Government Press, 1972); for departments of Public Works (pp. 954-1015); Industries (p. 736-745); Co-operative (pp. 422-453); Development (pp. 464-482); Animal Husbandry (pp. 174-225); Health (pp. 616-730); Secretariat (pp. 32-58); and Land Revenue (pp. 790-837).

Table 10 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF PERSONNEL IN
IN DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA,
AS ON JANUARY 1, 1977

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1 - 2 Years	2 - 3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Orissa Administrative Service:					
Class I	110	48	25	15	11
Class II	759	41	35	13	11
[Class II: No information = 60; Number officiating (also no information) = 180; under suspension = 11]					
Agriculture & Co-operative (Agriculture) Department					
Orissa Agriculture Service:					
Class I	51	12	35	18	35
Class II (General)	97	15	20	26	39
Class II (Specialist--including horticulturists, entomologists, agronomists, botanists, and chemists)	76	24	21	16	39
(No information = 64)					
Forest, Fisheries & Animal Husbandry Department					
Orissa Veterinary Service:					
Class I	30	30	10	27	33
Class II	524	20	31	13	36
(No information = 58)					

NOTE: The 1976 recruits are not included.

SOURCE: Compiled from Government of Orissa, Political and Services Department, **Orissa Civil List**, corrected up to 1st January 1977 (Government Press, 1977); for OAS (pp. 37-125); Agriculture and Cooperative Department (pp. 626-644); and Forests, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry Department (pp. 653-689).

Table 11 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF PERSONNEL IN DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL, 1970, 1976

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1 - 2 Years	2 - 3 Years	More Than 3 Years

AS ON 31ST JULY 1970

Commerce and Industries Department

District level and below
(Specialists)

189	14	20	10	56
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Electricity Department

Asst. Engineers (Electricity)

75	44	12	9	35
----	----	----	---	----

West Bengal Subordinate

Veterinary Service

259	37	22	35	15
-----	----	----	----	----

Classes I and II

(520)

AS ON JANUARY 1, 1976

Home (Transport) Department

Motor Vehicles Inspectors:

Non-technical

71	21	14	32	32
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Technical

38	2	47	16	34
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NOTES:

1. A 'transfer' = moving to a different Block/District or to or from Calcutta, or to a quite different post in Calcutta. 2. Commerce & Industries Dept. Specialists included a great variety of types of work, e.g. Mining Officers, District Industries Officers, Supdt. of Sericulture, Handloom Development Officers, Soil Chemists, Geologists, Asst. Quinologists, Paint & Varnish Technologist, etc.;
3. West Bengal Subordinate Veterinary Service data are based on 50 per cent sample, i.e., first half of the list (alphabetical), from Acharya to Ghosh.

SOURCES: Compiled from Government of West Bengal, **History of Services of Gazetted and Other Officers**, Corrected up to 31st July 1970, Vol. I (Government Press, (1975), pp. 439-588, 589-679, 687-723; and Government of West Bengal, **The West Bengal Civil List (Volume 1)**, Corrected as on 1st January 1976 (Government Press, 1980).

Table 12 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF PERSONNEL IN
DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
AS ON JANUARY 1, 1936

Category of Personnel	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Secretariat					
Chief Secretary, Secretaries, Addl. Secretaries, Joint Secretaries,	13	69	8	15	8
Deputy Secretaries	11	91	9	0	0
Under Secretaries, Asst. Secretaries	18	50	17	11	22
Forest Department					
Conservator of Forests	1	100	0	0	0
Deputy and Assistant Conser- vators of Forests	22	59	5	32	5
Excise and Salt Department					
Commissioners of Excise & Salt	1	100	0	0	0
Deputy Commissioners	2	0	0	0	100
Superintendents	16	25	44	13	19
Inspectors	54	41	13	20	26
Police Department					
Inspector General	1	100	0	0	0
Deputy Inspector General	7	71	14	0	0
Superintendents of Police	45	47	36	4	13
Inspectors of Police	228	25	18	11	46

SOURCE: Compiled from **Quarterly Civil List for Bengal, Corrected up to 1st January 1936** (Calcutta, 1936), filed as V/13/413 in Secretariat Library, Writers Building, Calcutta.

Table 13 DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION IN POST OF IAS CADRE PERSONNEL
IN DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS IN GOVERNMENTS OF KARNATAKA, KERALA,
ORISSA AND WEST BENGAL DURING 1981-86

State and Year (As on January 1)	No. of Personnel Listed	Duration in Post (Per cent)			
		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	2-3 Years	More Than 3 Years
Karnataka					
1981	179	73	17	5	6
1982*	176	53	38	6	4
1983*	180	59	26	13	3
1984	198	71	20	6	3
1985*	194	40	45	10	5
1986*	197	58	25	16	1
Kerala					
1981	115	57	25	9	10
1982	111	49	32	15	5
1983	133	60	19	9	12
1984	131	53	31	6	10
1985	130	44	38	12	6
1986	130	50	22	19	9
Orissa					
1981	162	63	20	7	10
1982	160	49	33	10	8
1983	175	46	27	17	10
1984	179	58	25	11	6
1985	175	49	27	14	10
1986	178	54	24	12	10
West Bengal					
1981	193	51	18	19	12
1982*	212	46	31	10	14
1983*	215	44	28	18	13
1984*	215	45	26	15	14
1985	238	35	33	18	13
1986	233	51	23	15	12

* The figures for these years have been adjusted because there were more than 20 IAS for whom no information in the Civil List was available (Karnataka 1982: 56; 1983: 24; 1985: 55; and 1986: 26. West Bengal 1982: 42; 1983: 52; and 1984: 52). In these cases, I have placed the number of IAS beyond 20 in the 'less than one year' column and then worked out the percentages accordingly. This seemed a reasonable procedure, for purposes of estimation, bearing in mind other evidence in the Civil Lists.

NOTE: IAS recruits under training are not included, e.g., the figures for 1986 do not include the regular recruits of 1984 and 1985; the figures for 1985 do not include the regular recruits for 1983 and 1984, and so on.

SOURCE: Compiled from the IAS Civil Lists for the years mentioned.

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11. Transfer policies and procedures at the centre are described in P.R. Dubhashi, "The Establishment Officer", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXVI, No.4, October-December 1981, pp. 975-980. Placement and transfer policies in Rajasthan, for example, were ably discussed years ago in "Discussion Paper on Placement", in *Proceedings of the Higher Management Seminar on Personnel Administration*, September 29-October 1, 1969, Jaipur, HQM State Institute of Public Administration, pp. 147-155. The seminar was attended by 43 civil servants and senior political leaders, including the Chief Minister.
12. Compiled from UK, Treasury and Civil Service Committee, Session 1985-86, Vol.11, *Seventh Report*. I am grateful to Dr. John Bourn for drawing these data to my attention.
13. D.C. Potter, *India's Political Administrators, 1919-1983*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, Chapter 1.
14. D.C. Potter, "IAS Mobility Patterns", *op. cit.*
15. One of the few general discussions of the difficulties involved in assessing administrative performance is Robert C. Fried, *Performance in American Bureaucracy*, Boston, Little Brown, 1976.
16. For the ideas reported here, I am indebted to some local people I met, and from whom I learned much, in Gaighata, 24-Parganas (North) District, West Bengal on February 5, 1987. The village is in a CADC (Comprehensive Area Development Corporation) Project. I am grateful to Biplab Dasgupta, Sumit Sengupta and Partha Debroy for arrangements in connection with the visit.

Nationalisation of General Insurance :

A Case Study in Decision Making

KAMAL NAYAN KABRA

NATIONALISATION OF insurance business took place in two stages, separated by a period of 17 years. At the time of nationalisation of life insurance in 1956, despite many demands and arguments for covering it in the purview, general insurance was allowed to continue in the private sector. Even in the case of composite insurance companies, the general insurance business was left in the hands of private insurers. Two reasons were officially given for excluding general insurance. One, it was argued that the wrongs and malpractices in general insurance do not affect the ordinary citizens (they impinge on private traders, businessmen, industrialists, etc.). Second, the exclusion was meant to reassure the private sector that take over of life insurance represents no general stance against private enterprise as such.¹

PROCESS OF TAKE-OVER

In May 1971, the first preliminary step towards nationalisation of general insurance was taken when the General Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance was promulgated.² The ordinance provided for transfer to the government of the management of all undertakings of general insurers, Indian as well as non-Indian, who stood registered during six months prior to May 17, 1971, but excluding that of the general insurance business of the LIC. It provided for management compensation to the former management of the insurance companies which was at the rate of over Rs.30 lakh per month to all the insurers taken together³ for the period such management vested in the government. The management compensation amounted to Rs.6.60 crore.⁴ The compensation was computed on the basis of one-twelfth of the average annual profits distributed during 1967, 1968 and 1969 or Rs.2.50 for every thousand rupees or part thereof of the net premium income of the undertaking of the insurer during 1969, whichever is greater. For all others, including foreign insurers, the latter

basis was used.⁵ The ordinance was replaced by an Act in 1971.⁶

The number of insurers, whose management was transferred to custodians appointed by the government came to 107; 63 of these were Indians and the rest non-Indians, of which 38 were British.⁷ The value of the assets of Indian insurers, as on December 31, 1972, amounted to Rs.319.13 crore and of the non-Indian insurers Rs.47.64 crore; i.e., a total of about Rs.367 crore. The paid up capital of 61 Indian insurers, whose balance sheets were reported, came to Rs.13.91 lakh.⁸ It shows that the insurers controlled assets hundreds of times larger than their paid-up capital. The share capital plus free reserves for the Indian insurers (for 55 reporting in 1969) amounted to Rs.32.71 crore.⁹ Custodians were not appointed for four insurers and the authorised persons continued to discharge their managerial functions.¹⁰

The bill to convert management take-over into nationalisation (i.e., either shares take-over or take-over of undertakings) was moved a year after in May 1972. The presentation of the General Insurance Business (nationalisation) Bill, 1972 was delayed, it appears, in order to avoid possible complications over the compensation issue in view of the Supreme Court ruling in the Bank Nationalisation Case, maintaining that so long as article 31(2) contained the word 'compensation', the compensation provision of the law could be questioned in a court of law. Thus, presentation of the nationalisation law on general insurance awaited enactment of the Constitution (Twenty Fifth) Amendment Act, 1971, which substituted the word 'amount' for 'compensation'.¹¹ This amendment tended to rule out litigation over the issue of compensation. The general insurance nationalisation law was the first relevant law to follow this amendment.

The Act provided for the take-over, i.e., acquisition and transfer to the Central Government of all the shares in the capital of Indian insurance companies and for the take-over of the undertakings of others, including foreign insurers.¹² A government company, the General Insurance Corporation of India, was to be formed for the purpose of superintending, controlling and carrying on the business of general insurance with an authorised capital of Rs.75 crore of which Rs. five crore were to be initially subscribed.¹³

The objectives of nationalisation of general insurance, as stated in the Act, were two-fold: (a) "to serve better the needs of the economy by securing the development of general business in the best interests of the community", and (b) "to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth to the common detriment..."¹⁴ It was specifically asserted that the Act was legislated in order to give effect to the specific Directive

Principles of State Policy laid down in clause(c) of article 39 of the Constitution.¹⁵ Thus, it is clear that apart from the sector specific objectives of putting general insurance on a sound footing, consistent with the broader needs of the economy, this nationalisation was statedly meant to strengthen the antimonopoly countervailing forces in the economy. The changed statutory context following the 25th Amendment to the Constitution was, at an abstract level, a helpful factor in this respect. We shall, at a later stage, examine the de-concentration objective in terms of various provisions of the nationalisation law.

The Bill was referred to a joint committee of both the Houses of Parliament. The committee's main contribution consisted of making some amendments to the compensation provisions, particularly with respect to Indian insurance companies, the net effect of which was to raise the amount from about Rs. 33.03 crore to about Rs. 38.05 crore. This 'extra' amount of Rs. five crore was to benefit some 33 companies.¹⁶ The compensation issue turned out to be very controversial and as many as six notes of dissent by eight MPs were appended.¹⁷ Generally, there were four points of contention: (i) the volume of the compensation amount, which was considered excessive by many who gave their notes of dissent; (ii) non-disclosure of the basis for computing the amount, particularly the discriminatory nature of the proposed amounts in favour of the foreign insurers vis-a-vis their Indian counterparts; (iii) "the last minute amendment to the schedule of the Bill", specifying the compensation amounts, in order to raise the amounts given to insurance companies controlled by the large industrial houses as "a calculated surrender to the big business houses";¹⁸ and (iv) the future set-up of general insurance business, with one corporation and four insurance companies, and the provision concerning the grant of right to Central government to transfer the employees.

The joint committee showed concern at the delay in giving effect to the law and provided a time limit beyond which the implementation of the Act may not be delayed. This was considered essential in view of rather heavy management compensation. For this purpose, it inserted the words "not being a day later than the 2nd day of January, 1973", in the definition of "appointed day".¹⁹ The General Insurance Corporation (GIC) came into existence on January 1, 1973.²⁰ The general insurance business of the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) was also transferred to the General Insurance Corporation in terms of Section 5 of the General Insurance Business (Nationalisation) Act, 1972 (Act 57 of 1972) and an 'amount' of Rs. 2.81 crore was paid to the LIC.²¹

The compensation provisions in the general insurance law are very

important. First, the Act was enacted after the 25th Constitution Amendment which tended to take away this question out of the purview of judicial review and did away with the necessity of the just and fair equivalent view of compensation payment. Second, the amount, of Rs.38.05 crore, following the provisions of Chapter IV of the Act and the Part A and B of the Schedule to the Act,²² was widely considered to be very high.²³ Even the management compensation alone exceeded the total compensation given for take-over of life insurance business which involved transfer of a larger number of companies, with greater value of assets, business, and income.²⁴ The total (management plus take-over) compensation to general insurance companies amounted to about Rs.45 crore, a sum nearly nine times the compensation paid to life insurance companies. The take-over compensation of Rs.38.05 crore consisted of Rs. 2.706 crore for the Indian insurers and Rs.7.352 crore for the foreign ones. We have already referred to the manner in which this amount compares with the paid up capital, assets and business of the general insurance companies.

The compensation principle was not disclosed; parts A and B of the Schedule to the Act specified the amount to be given to each company.²⁵ The shareholders of Indian insurance companies were to be paid the compensation amount directly by the GIC. Except for small shareholders, the rest were to be paid in three annual equal instalments and interest at the rate of four per cent was to be paid to them. The foreign insurer was to be given the amount in cash within three months of the appointed day. On an agreement among the majority of shareholders representing two-thirds of the value of the amount payable, the amount may be paid to any nominated agency.²⁶

Non disclosure of the basis of computing the amount invited adverse criticism. However, a view was expressed that disclosure of the basis of computing the 'amount' might invite adverse judicial intervention and, thus, it was considered expedient not to disclose the basis of arriving at these figures.²⁷ It is worth noting that the danger of annulment at the hands of the judiciary increased the element of 'discretion and negation of open communication on certain crucial issues, like the fixation of compensation amount.

Nevertheless, some attempts were made to uncover the implicit basis of determining the compensation amount. It was made out that the amounts to be paid to each of them (Indian Insurer) appear broadly to equal nine times the average of the dividends paid by each of them during the year 1967, 1968, and 1969.²⁸ If, in the case of any company, nine times the average dividend was found to be less than the company's paid up capital, the amount payable appears to have been fixed at the paid up capital of such a company. Where an Indian insurer was found not to have declared any dividend during the

years in question, the amounts payable to such company appears to have been fixed at their issued capital. Insofar as the mutual insurance companies are concerned, the amounts to be given to them appear to be determined in a wholly arbitrary manner. The amounts payable to the foreign insurers appear to have been fixed broadly at nine times the net profit earned by them during the years 1967, 1968 and 1969.²⁹

It is apparent that there was a discrimination between the Indian and foreign insurers regarding the basis for determining the compensation amount as well as regarding the mode of payment.³⁰ It was maintained that the compensation formula gave "preferential treatment to foreign monopolists or big business houses."³¹ The foreign insurers received about one-fifth of the total compensation amount, the Indian insurance companies over 71 per cent and the LIC and mutual and cooperative insurers a little less than 10 per cent.

The compensation amount was considered excessive by some in view of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution and inevitability of an element of expropriation in an act of nationalisation. It was considered too much also in comparison to the compensation given to life insurance companies in 1956 as also because the beneficiaries from compensation being big business houses and in view of the anti-concentration objective for which nationalisation was undertaken. Even though the investible funds brought under public control by acquisition of general insurance companies was Rs.75 crore, this was mainly notional, because the funds were committed; as much as 75 per cent were invested in government approved securities under the social control over general insurance scheme of 1963. The amount of fresh accruals each year was around Rs. five crore which was "less than the additional deposit growth of an ordinary branch of a leading bank".³² Thus, the compensation amount appears to be on the higher side in comparison to the size of the additional investible resources which became available for governmental control. It was pointed out that the general insurance business was a pigmy as compared to the giant which the life insurance business was.³³

The payment of compensation was highly skewed. About 11 per cent of large insurers numbering six (excluding LIC) accounted for 64 per cent of the about payable to Indian insurers, while 27 insurers, constituting about 45 per cent of Part A, received about 34 per cent of the total compensation payable. As an MP pointed out, "⁵⁷ companies which are getting more than Rs.10 lakh (each in comparison to seven companies which are getting more than a crore (each). The minimum amount given is Rs. 896 and the maximum is Rs. 8,20,37,678".³⁴ Actually, in keeping with the stated objective of anti-concentration thrust, a scheme of graded compensation payment with a ceiling, was

suggested by an MP in the Lok Sabha.³⁵ It was pointed out that there are over 40 thousand shareholders of these companies who belong to the middle and lower income groups; 60 per cent of these persons have invested in shares worth only Rs.2,000 to Rs. 3,000 of their life's savings. The application of an undisclosed formula, presumably a certain multiple of three years average dividend, uniformly applied to all the Indian companies and their shareholders could not give preferential treatment to small shareholders.³⁶

Moreover, the compensation provisions were criticised for being arbitrary and discriminatory. It was pointed out that as a result of irrational compensation, one company gets seven per cent of its net assets, while another company gets 88 per cent of its net assets.³⁷ The memorandum by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the General Insurance (Nationalisation) Bill, 1972 to the Joint Committee said, "while no uniform basis has been adopted, it appears that more efficient companies have been discriminated against. This is clear from the fact that the third group of companies with negative resources have, in fact, been compensated for net worth whereas in the case of the other groups the amount of compensation is generally much less than the net worth."³⁸

The compensation amounts originally proposed in the Bill evoked a strong reaction from the business circles. The memorandum, referred to above, maintained that the schedule appended to the Bill indicates certain fixed amounts to be paid to the insurance companies nationalised by the government which have no bearing on the net worth of the companies which should be the correct basis of any compensation.³⁹ The memorandum was able to show that in some cases the amount payable fell short of paid up capital plus reserves. The revision which was introduced at the Committee stage appeared to bring the amount payable on par with the paid-up capital.⁴⁰ Similar pleas were also made in Parliament.⁴¹ The amount was considered "as a whole grossly inadequate"⁴² and it was suggested that the "payments to Indian Insurance Companies shall be 15 times the average net profits for the years 1969, 1970 and 1971".⁴³

These pleas were based on the ground that since "the right to private property has not yet been abolished"⁴⁴ the expropriatory element should not be built into the compensation formula and, without discrimination vis-a-vis foreign insurers, it is the duty of Parliament following the abrogation of judicial review of compensation, to grant such sums as are generally accepted as fair and just. Apparently, such pleas did not give much heed to the declared intention to use this law as an anti-concentration of income and wealth move. Insofar as the originally proposed sums were enhanced, one may infer that the efforts at an upward revision of the compensation

amounts were to a certain extent successful.

In these efforts at enhancement of the compensation amount, it was mentioned that the Insurance Act 1938, as amended for introduction of social control in 1968, specified the principle of compensation vide Section 52J. This amendment gave enabling powers to the government to take over general insurance companies and specified assests, calculated at market value (which may include the goodwill of the company) net of liabilities as the compensation principle.⁴⁵ Whatever was the intention in 1968 at the time this provision was made, it came handy to the insurers to argue that "so soon after the introduction of new section giving the basis of compensation, the principles enunciated have been completely ignored".⁴⁶ It may be noted that the scheme of social control over banking also brought in the issues of nationalisation on the basis of payment of compensation but without specifying the compensation principle. In any case, it is difficult to say what kind of factors and forces operated in determining the amount and mode of compensation. However, the fact stands out that in comparison to past practices and on other criteria mentioned in the preceding parts, the general insurance companies, particularly the bigger ones and the foreign ones, received too liberal compensation. This acquired somewhat greater incongruity in view of the stated objective in acquiring these companies related to the constitutional mandate concerning prevention of concentration of income and wealth detrimental to common cause. The fortification made available by the 25th Constitutional Amendment was hardly availed of for restricting the compensation liability, particularly, in view of the financial stringency faced by the government, except in doing away with the constitution of a Tribunal to which disputed compensation cases could be referred, as was done in other cases of compulsory acquisition of companies or their undertakings in the past.⁴⁷

It may follow that at least insofar as the direct and immediate countervailing effect of the take-over of general insurance business goes, the limited amount of investible resources transferred to direct public ownership and control (which may well get eroded to an extent since over half a million compensation claims are settled every year by the general insurers)⁴⁸, and large sums paid to erstwhile owners of insurance companies, including non-Indian ones, tended to limit the contribution in this respect. However, much was made of not disclosing the compensation formula. It was pointed out, as seen before, by an MP that a statement of the formula may again invite judicial intervention inimical to the Act.⁴⁹ Thus, the government may have been persuaded to pay a larger amount, at least partly, in order to avoid difficulties in courts of law. In any

case, the conclusion seems to follow that the compensation amounts compromised the undoubted long-term anti-concentration effect of the take-over law.⁵⁰

It is ironical that a person generally as unenthusiastic towards public sector and nationalisation as Babubhai M. Chinal, MP, concluded, in his note dissent, "the Bill is no more than the environmental product which will always seek to prop up the image of the ruling class"⁵¹ and "while seemingly revolutionary, (it) centres round force that seeks to achieve maximum publicity with minimum offence to shibboleths that are cleverly concealed".⁵² However, insofar as the gains which the insurers, both Indian and foreign, were obtaining from their command over these concerns were understated in published accounts figures, as they were getting their main returns by resorting to malpractices and manipulations,⁵³ termination of their control was a factor contributing to the strengthening of counter-concentration forces in the economy.

ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE POLICY OPTIONS

It is appropriate that examination of the law for nationalisation of general insurance is followed by some discussion about the alternative policy choices which were tried and/or discarded and how, in broader politico-economic terms, the nationalisation die was cast.

There was one single Act (enacted and amended in 1912, 1928 and 1938) under which insurance business, both life and general, were sought to be controlled and regulated. Thus, one finds that a dichotomy in the approach towards general and life insurance came about mainly with respect to the question of their nationalisation. In fact, many insurance companies were composite insurers. We have seen in the preceding paras the reasons assigned for adoption of separate approaches to the two branches of insurances.⁵⁴ If one were to examine these reasons given for separating the nationalisation of life insurance from that of general insurance, it would be apparent that these were mainly concerned with the approach towards private sector in general. Too large and sweeping a transformation of private property into public was feared to cause misgivings to the private sector. Given the role expected of the private sector, in evolving strategy of industrialisation, such a step might have queered the pitch for what is called 'investment climate'. The then Finance Minister said, speaking on the LIC Bill, that the exclusion of general insurance was based on the consideration not to alarm the private entrepreneurs too much.⁵⁵

The argument that malpractices in general insurance were of little consequence to the common masses and affected only businessmen, was

not only trivial but rather weak. If an industrial enterprise cannot successfully secure itself against various risks, it affects its workers, consumers, suppliers, creditors, shareholders, etc., quite vitally and directly. The enterprise may be of significance to the national economy and may cause a secondary round of adverse consequence on the general public owing to its inability to secure itself against a great variety of risks and hazards. Apparently, there was a cautious approach towards transformation of property relations during the investible resources held by the general insurance companies and the growth of large industrial houses who controlled the bulk of general insurance business, the take-over of entire insurance business, coming in the wake of the take-over of the Imperial Bank of India, would have adversely affected the availability of funds and surpluses to the large industrial houses. Such a clear and pronounced break in the nature of economic policies and approach was not something for which the ruling circles were prepared for in 1956.

However, general insurance is a business in which profitability is assured (except in times of abnormal national disasters) if it is carried on the basis of actuarially sound tariffs, correct underwriting methods and proper and genuine assessment of claims. Given such an inherently profitable nature of this business, failures--largely owing to unsound general insurance--were related to the ownership structure and motivation of the insurance companies. This business, operating in a healthy manner is an essential prerequisite in order to facilitate the survival of trading and industrial enterprises in the face of risks and uncertainties. Hence, opposition to take-over of general insurance could not go very far, particularly among those businessmen who were not directly tied up with insurance companies.

The analysis of the forces contributing to nationalisation of 14 major commercial banks in 1969 tended to show the emergence of a configuration of political and economic factors favourable to nationalisation. The ten-point programme of the AICC included nationalisation of general insurance and this became a specific plank in the Congress Party's election manifesto in 1971.⁵⁶ The low level of political support to the ruling party, as reflected in the outcome of 1967 general elections, also forced its acceptance as one of the relatively radical programmes for shoring up its political fortunes.⁵⁷ In any case, the take-over of general insurance at this stage when a large number of public financial institutions, both at the Central and State levels, had come up and were eager to promote private investment was not likely to cause any stringency of financial resources for the private sector. Since the compensation amount was larger than the paid up capital and net worth and had already for a long time yielded returns to their controllers, the

loss of property too was unlikely to be of material consequence. Thus, politically, take-over of general insurance was an important part of the strategy to project a radical image of the Congress Party without causing any serious loss to the private sector.

The experience of control and regulation of general insurance was the same as that of life insurance; in fact, the two were subjected to the same controls. Since general insurance was not taken over and malpractices, misdirection of investment, etc., persisted, along with the persistence of pressure for its nationalisation, the general insurance was brought under social control in 1968 in the same way as commercial banking.⁵⁸ The then Finance Minister stated, "Government had undertaken a detailed examination of the proposal for nationalisation of general insurance in all its aspects, including the possibility of achieving the objectives in other ways...the proposed measures (i.e., social control) are a result of this examination."⁵⁹

The scheme of social control was to be implemented by a comprehensive amendment to the Insurance Act, 1938. Its main features, as outlined by the Finance Minister, were as follows: In order to ensure fair premium rates, the existing Tariff Committee, consisting of elected representatives of the insurers, was to be reconstituted with Controller of Insurance as its Chairman, who would have over-riding powers.⁶⁰

For ensuring "complete security" to the policy holders, the existing voluntary code of conduct was to be made statutory and a solvency margin was to be maintained at 20 per cent of the net premium income or Rs.20 lakh, whichever is higher, by each insurer. In addition, the statutory deposit was increased from Rs. three lakh to Rs.20 lakh.⁶¹ Weaker insurers lacking necessary strength were to be given the facility to pool their resources by resort to group working in order to maintain the solvency margin and statutory deposit as a single unit. This provision weakened the stringency of the new provisions with respect to smaller insurers.

In order to reduce private concentration by the use of general insurance funds, which were of a rather small magnitude compared to those of life insurance or banking, approved securities provisions were extended to general insurance. Limits were also placed on the maximum investments in the shares of individual companies. Provisions about maximum shareholding and voting rights in insurance companies, at 10 per cent and five per cent respectively were introduced. The idea was to prevent interlocking between general insurance and other companies.

In order to prevent malpractices and to "ensure that only financially strong units remain in the field" and "function on sound and healthy lines",⁶² the Controller of Insurance was given greater

powers of control and supervision. Regular inspections, surprise inspections and raids, appointment of directors or observers on the boards of the companies, power to scrutinise reinsurance contracts with a view to conserving foreign exchange and provision of prior permission in order to remove the principal officers of insurance companies, were the major components of enhanced and tighter administrative controls introduced under the new scheme.⁶³

This was a fairly rigorous, comprehensive and specific scheme of regulating general insurance business. Some of its results were significant insofar as they resulted in improved profit-making by the insurance companies.⁶⁴ This can be taken to mean that there was a considerable frittering away of the resources which was plugged by the social control scheme. The effectiveness of any such scheme, as the experience with banks showed,⁶⁵ can only be limited. The preventive aspects can go a certain distance, as the increase in profits may be taken to indicate, but the positive aspects pose a far more intractable problem. Probably owing to these limitations, the Finance Minister recognised "Notwithstanding these provisions, there may be insurers who may continue to be weak or whose working is unsatisfactory".⁶⁶ In order to deal with such cases, a scheme of amalgamation was proposed. Probably, in order to produce requisite deterrence, it was also proposed that recalcitrant units may be acquired on payment of compensation by a government notification with the amount of compensation being reviewable by a Tribunal.⁶⁷

While some companies could improve their profits under the social control dispensation, it could not make much impact on the smaller insurers. For instance, in 1971, only 29 of the Indian insurance companies were able to pay dividends to their shareholders and a large majority of them were accumulating losses.⁶⁸ The main reason for the limited success of social control was its inability to overcome the **fragmented nature of general insurance business in India**. For the nature and magnitude of general insurance business obtaining in India, there were far too many companies, some of them being unviably small. Then, this kind of a structure of the business prevented the growth of insurance business commensurate with the potential existing in India. "General insurance has chosen to remain confined to cities and large towns, because it has not moved out to the common man....Agriculture in this country is a gamble of monsoon. But who is there to cover crops against this risk? ...Several insurance companies have been insuring sugar-cane stocks against fire. This could be extended to standing crops, not only commercial crops, but also to foodgrains, maybe in a selected area to start with".⁶⁹ Thus, social control, even with its limited effectiveness in curbing unethical practices was ill-equipped to bring about expansion

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commensurate with the needs of a growing, uncertainties-ridden, risk-prone economy.

The smaller companies were not prepared to yield ground by agreeing to amalgamate. Arguing that the social control measure was unlikely to have worked, it was maintained that its scheme of amalgamations could not succeed owing to resistance by the smaller companies. The reason for reluctance was that the "top management of the smaller companies loathed the idea of losing their positions of supremacy: power and privilege and the formal and informal perquisites that they enjoyed".⁷⁰ In this connection, the case of Ruby General Insurance Company may be cited to illustrate the kind of personal advantage which was derived by the management by means of manipulations. According to the Auditor's report given to the Controller of Insurance in 1960, the books and accounts were systematically manipulated for showing a rosy picture, suppressing claims, payment of extra commission and that the company has been very liberal in settlement of claims, especially with the allied concerns of the management.⁷¹ Thus, if consolidation of the structure of insurance business was to be brought about, there did not seem to exist an alternative to nationalisation.⁷²

The smaller insurance companies (about 40) had a premium income of less than Rs. one crore and had "neither the capacity to compete with the larger units nor the bargaining power to negotiate low rates for reinsurance for which they were invariably dependent on the larger Indian or foreign companies".⁷³ The existence of a number of small insurers giving rise to non-viable fragmented structure of general insurance business can also be inferred from the fact that "28 companies covered 24 per cent of the business of Indian companies".⁷⁴ The inadequate growth of general insurance was despite the fact that it has grown quite fast, in fact faster than the rate of industrial output over 1961 to 1971 as can be seen from the fact that the index number of general insurance business and of industrial production with 1961 as base increased in 1971 to 202 and 174.6 respectively.⁷⁵ The fragmented nature of the insurance business was a significant factor contributing to lack of realisation of its growth potential. In fact, owing to their small size, reinsurance with larger foreign companies used to be a necessity costing them about 25 per cent of their premium income, which was, moreover, paid in terms of foreign exchange.⁷⁶ In any case, demonstration of good profit-earning capacity by some insurers in the wake of the 1968 scheme need not necessarily argue a case for permitting private sector to survive in general insurance. It can also be taken to indicate viability of this branch of business, when it follows the rules of the game defined by the social control scheme and, thus, holds a promise

a *fortiori* to become a going proposition serving the ends of public policy under public ownership.

The take-over of general insurance was not very significant in quantitative terms in an overall perspective, as was brought out by Morarji Desai while announcing the introduction of the scheme of social control.⁷⁷ Therefore, he concluded, "the resources available from general insurance are of such a minor nature that issue like utilisation of these resources for planned development, and appropriate policies for this purpose hardly arise".⁷⁸ However, the important issues were concerning widespread and effective coverage of all the risks other than life which a healthy, viable and expanding general insurance business can provide, particularly to a developing, industrialising country. Since the structural limitations of this business in India were limiting its expansion, despite the inherent potential in the economy and since this was turning out to be intractable by mean of administrative, legal controls, voluntary code of conduct and a package of measures named 'social control', its nationalisation appeared to be the answer worth trying. The fact of its relative unimportance to private sector as, e.g., borne out by total annual profits of about Rs. three to four crore and small size of the control afforded by it over investible resources, made the take-over with the least offence and harm to the capitalists, particularly the larger ones.

Even, with respect to foreign insurers, the majority being British,⁷⁹ there began to appear forces to weaken resistance to their take-over. Michael Lipton has argued that owing to Indian-owned insurance operating in UK in 1964 and 1967, India had a net surplus on the insurance account. But by 1969, this has turned into a net deficit. Thus, the foreign exchange drain caused by the operation of foreign companies, became a matter of concern and "might partly explain India's nationalisation of U.K. non-life insurance companies in India".⁸⁰ In an overall perspective, however, foreign investment in non-life insurance was meagre and was not likely to make areckonable difference to the overall position of foreign investments in the Indian economy. This 'political decision'⁸¹ as, indeed, all such decisions are, had a little more political content and motivation than similar other decisions in at least one sense, i.e., its economic impact was likely to be limited, and not too injurious to private enterprise, while its political dividends in terms of meeting electoral pledges of a 'radical' variety were fairly clear. This nationalisation was a kind of last flicker of the apparently radical trail blazed during the first half of 1970s. It was a transformation of property relations with its undoubted long-term significance but such a one which causes the least hurt or gives the least offence, at

the time of its occurrence, to the economically powerful, who continue to occupy an important place as both agents and beneficiaries of growth by means of national planning.

REFERENCES

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2. Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Report, 1971-72, p.32.
3. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Report of the Joint Committee, *The General Insurance Business (Nationalisation Bill) 1972*, p. xiii.
4. Somnath Chatterjee, M.P., in *Lok Sabha Debates*, Fifth Series, August 18-22, 1972, Column 230.
5. *Commerce*, *op. cit.*, p. 948.
6. Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Report 1971-72, p. 32.
7. M. Lipton, *The Erosion of a Relationship: India and Britain since 1960*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 88-89.
8. Government of India, *Indian Insurance Year Book*, 1973.
9. *Ibid.*, 1969.
10. Ministry of Finance, Report 1971-72, *op.cit.*, p. 34. The four insurance companies are: Oriental Fire and General Insurance Co. Ltd., Indian Guarantee and General Insurance Co. Ltd., Indian Re-insurance Corporation, Ltd; and Jupiter General Insurance Co. Ltd.
11. V. Ramkistayya, 'The Problems Relating to Compensation on Nationalisation of Industry' (A study based on Indian University), April, 1977, p. 272.
12. The Act (No. 57 of 1972), Chapter II.
13. *Ibid.*, Chapter III and the schedule.
14. *Ibid.*, Sections and 2.
15. This Directive principle says that the state shall secure that the operation of the economic system does not result in concentration of wealth and means of production to common detriment.
16. Report of the Joint Committee, *op.cit.*, note of dissent by H.M. Patel, p.xi.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. x to xxx. 1
18. *Ibid.*, Note of dissent by Sardish Ray and Tridib Choudhary, p.x.
19. *Ibid.*, p. vi. The note of dissent by Surindra Mohanty pointed out the need to fix the appointed day earlier in view of huge management compensation and suggested that clause I enable the Government to do so, p. xii.
20. Government of India, *Gazette Extraordinary* Part 2, Section 3, July-December, 1972, p. 1979. Ministry of Finance, Department of Revenue and Insurance Notification No.S.O.724 (E) dated November 24, 1972.
21. Vide Ministry of Finance, Department of Revenue and Insurance Notification No.S.C. 6 (E), dated January 1, 1973 and schedule to the Act.
22. Section II of the Act.
23. Out of 6 notes of dissent, four considered this sum to be excessively high. Babubhai M. Chinai and H.M. Patel pleaded for still higher compensation. They are well-known for their pro-private views, the former was himself an industrialist and the latter was an important member of the pro-business Swatantra Party.
24. 107 companies, Indian and foreign, engaged in general insurance business were to be paid Rs.38.23 crore compared to Rs. five crore paid to 256 companies in 1956. Indrajit Gupta, M.P., in *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op.cit.*, column 242.
25. The Act, Schedule 'A' and 'B' in Joint committee Report, *op.cit.*, pp.16-18.
26. The Act, Sections 13 to 15.
27. A.C.M. Stephen said in the Lok Sabha, "The Government should have told us how they arrived at these figures. They have not cared to tell us the particulars". *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1972, Vol. 18, No. 20, Column 251. H.M. Patel, called the basis on which additional amounts were given at the Joint Committee stage "wholly inexplicable, and arbitrary" *op.cit.*, p. xi. Making this point, Vasant Sathe, M.P., said, "some people, some vested interests precisely want the principles spelt out so that they can later go to the Supreme Court and say "Look, this has not been done in accordance with the principles and there, legislation is bad and strike it down". *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op. cit.*, column 279. The Finance Minister, however, made a very guarded statement about these principles, "The question of divided, the question of assets minus liabilities, question of profitability, all these certain amounts, *Ibid.*, column 192.
28. Report of Joint Committee, *op.cit.*, p. xi.
29. Many MPs observed it in the course of Parliamentary debate (*op.cit.*, columns 266-270) and in the Joint Committee, (*op.cit.*, pp. xi, xii, and xvi) pointed to this aspect. H.M. Patel, said, "it is difficult indeed to understand why it has been decided to discriminate against our own nationals. Never before has a country been known to favour foreigners as against its own nationals", p. xii.
30. *Ibid.*, p. X.
31. J.N. Parimoo, "The Economics of Nationalising General Insurance", *Yojana*, May 16, 1971, p. 11.
32. *Idem.*
33. *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op. cit.*, column 270-275 (speech by Shanbai Daul Singh) and pp. 242-250 (speech by Indrajit Gupta).

34. *Ibid.*
35. Note of Dissent by Babubhai M. Chinai, *op.cit.*, p. xv.
36. *Lok Sabha Debates*, speech by N.K.P. Salve, *op.cit.*, column 237-242. Also Joint Committee Report, *op.cit.*, p. xii.
37. Memorandum by Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta on the General Insurance (Nationalisation) Bill, 1972 (memo), para 2.
38. *Idem.*
39. *Idem.*
40. See note 29 above.
41. *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op.cit.*, H.M. Patel, columns 275-277; V. Agarwal, columns 266-270, and D.D. Desai, columns 265-287.
42. Joint Committee Report, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.
43. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
44. *Ibid.*, p. xii.
45. Memorandum of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, *op.cit.*, para 3.
46. *Idem.*
47. *Idem.*
48. J.N. Parimoo, *op.cit.*, p. 11.
49. V. Sathe in *Lok Sabha*, *op.cit.*, column 279.
50. Such an anti-concentration effect follows from the fact that when general insurance business grows out of business interests as tied business, then it serves monopoly interests. The subordination of insurance business to the commercial and industrial interests adds to its power and propensity to go in for malpractices.
51. Joint committee Report, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.
52. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
53. The Insurance companies are owned or sponsored generally by the big business houses. There is a belief that "these business houses have been getting large amounts as commission under the counter". J.N. Parimoo, *op.cit.*, p. 11.
54. See note No. 1.
55. See note 1.
56. Y.B. Chavan told Lok Sabha that in the Election Manifesto for 1971 elections, the Congress Party committed itself to nationalisation of general Insurance. Thus, the act was a fulfilment of one of the important promises given to the people. *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op.cit.*, columns 167-69. In the New Delhi Session of the AICC in June, 1967, the nationalisation of general insurance was included in the ten-point economic programme, *Commerce*, *op.cit.*, p. 948.
57. It was suggested, "Perhaps, the actual timing was, at least in part, influenced by the reverses of the ruling party in the election to the New (sic) Delhi Corporation", *Idem.*
58. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Fourth Series, Vol. xi-00-30, Column 9291-9295.
59. *Ibid.*, col. 9291.
60. *Ibid.*
61. For those carrying on marine insurance only, the deposit was raised from Rs. 10,000 to one lakh.
62. *Ibid.*, column 9294.
63. *Idem.*
64. According to Parimoo, (*op.cit.*, p. 11), profits have zoomed after social control was imposed in 1968. According to the Babubhai M. Chinai, "After 1968, the insurance companies have been doing better and their performance was much better than in the

- previous year". Joint Committee Report, *op.cit.* p. xvi.
65. See chapter on Nationalisation of major commercial banks in K.N. Kobra, *Nationalisation in India, 1947-80* (mimeo), New Delhi, IIPA, 1985.
 66. See Lok Sabha Debates, *op.cit.*, column 9295.
 67. *Idem.*
 68. "General Insurance: Has Nationalisation Worked" in *Business India*, July 22-August, 1979, p. 33.
 69. J.N. Parimoo, *op. cit.*, p.11.
 70. *Business India*, *op.cit.*, p. 38.
 71. Auditors's report on Ruby General Insurance Co. Ltd. (March 4, 1960) from S. Ghosh and Suresh Mathur, Chartered Accountants to S.K. Vaidyapuri, Controller of Insurance) (mimeo), p. 158. For details, see pp. 8-13, p. 95, pp. 99-111, p. 119-136, and pp.87-91.
 72. *Business India*, *op.cit.*, p. 33, quoting the view of G.V. Kapadia, GICS Chairman.
 73. *Idem.* quoting V.C. Vidya, Chairman and Managing Director of New India Insurance Co.
 74. Memorandum on General Insurance (Nationalisation) Bill 1972 submitted to the Joint Committee of Parliament by eight Insurance Companies (like National, Ruby General, Howrall, Hindustan General, Calcutta Insurance, Concord of India, etc.), p. 2.
 75. Government of India, Controller of Insurance, *Indian Insurance Year Book*, 1972.
 76. *Business India*, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
 77. "The fund available for investment with general insurance companies are modest and amount in the case of Indian to only about Rs. 50 crore apart from another Rs. 10 crore already invested in Government securities. The annual increase is of the order of Rs. 5 crore. This is in contrast to Life Insurance where the investments are about Rs. 1,000 crore and the increase annually is over Rs.100 crore. The profits in general insurance after tax are now only about Rs. 3 to Rs.4 crore, and if the premium structure is rationalised, would be even more modest". *Lok Sabha Debates*, *op.cit.*, column 921.
 78. *Idem.*
 79. Of 106 insurers, 38 companies in 1971 were British-owned. Of the gross premium income written, 17 per cent was by foreign companies, of which seven-tenths was by British Companies. M. Lipton, *The Erosion of a Relationship: India and Britain Since 1960*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 88-89.
 80. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
 81. As termed by Shri B.P. Gujaji, Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Industry, *Business India*, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

Redress of Public Grievances*

M.L. MALHOTRA

Customer is the most important visitor on our premises. He is not dependent on us. We are dependent on him. He is not an interruption in our work. He is the purpose of it. He is not an outsider on our business. He is a part of it. We are not giving him a favour by serving him. He is doing us a favour by giving us an opportunity to do so.

--MAHATMA GANDHI

THIS IS the philosophy which should permeate the thinking of civil servants and ought to become their way of life. It should guide their conduct with the members of the public who constitute the clientele of the public offices. How ardently we wish that this motto should not only be adopted by every public office but should be implemented also.

Columns of newspapers abound with grievances of one kind or the other against the functioning of public offices whether they be the government departments, statutory bodies or para-statal organisations. There indeed were grievances when the country was governed by a foreign power with the primary objective of keeping us in subjugation. Voices were raised against the functioning of government machinery but these were muted and the so called 'mai baap' psyche reigned over the minds and lives of the people.

After independence, setting up of a democratic system of Government raised tremendous hopes and high expectations among the people. From a purely regulatory and police administration, the government came to be entrusted with the responsibility of economic and social transformation and that too in a hurry. The state entered

*It was awarded second prize in IIPA's Annual Essay Competition, 1988.

economic field in a big way and a number of regulations were brought into play to promote socialistic pattern of the society, and to ensure distributive justice. Without going into the question of whether these goals have been achieved or not, the concern of this essay is to investigate what effect this had on the lives of the citizens and the type of interface between the government and the citizens it created. The Gandhian principle that that government is the best which governs the least was substituted by a government which was, as the American saying goes, a 'Big Government' affecting the lives of citizens from cradle to grave, if not from conception itself.

FIRST PHASE

The Committee on "Prevention of Corruption" (popularly known as the Santhanam Committee) in its report gave special attention to create a machinery in the Government which should provide quick and satisfactory redress of public grievances. Accordingly, detailed instructions were issued by the Government on June 29, 1964, providing, inter alia:

1. It is the basic proposition that the prime responsibility for dealing with a complaint from the public lies with the government organisation whose activity or lack of activity gives rise to the complaint. Thus, the higher levels of the hierarchical structure of an organisation are expected to look into the complaints against lower levels. If the internal arrangements within each organisation are effective enough, there should be no need for a special 'outside' machinery to deal with complaints.
2. For dealing with grievances involving corruption and lack of integrity on the part of government servants, a special machinery was brought into existence in the form of the Central Vigilance Commission.
3. For dealing with other grievances, while an outside machinery was not considered necessary or feasible for the present, the organisations and the departments should provide for quickest redressal of such grievances.
4. The internal arrangement for handling complaints and grievances should be quickly reviewed by each ministry, special care being bestowed on the task by those ministries whose work brings them in touch with the public. Every complaint should receive quick and sympathetic attention leaving in the outcome, as far as possible, no ground in the

mind of the complainant for a continued feeling of grievance.

5. For big organisations having substantial contact with the public, there should be distinct cells under a specially designated senior officer which should function as a sort of outside complaint agency within the organisation and, thus, act as a second check on the adequacy of disposal of complaints.

Simultaneously, a demand was articulated in many fora, from time to time, for setting up an independent authority with power and responsibility of dealing with major grievances affecting large sections of the people. It was averred that the hierarchical type of remedy for grievances of citizens should be improved by tightening up the existing arrangements and by providing an internal 'outside' check to keep things up to the mark. Since the main limitation of the hierarchical remedy is that the various authorities act too departmentally, the cure seems to lie in the direction of extra-departmental check system. A proposal was placed before the Cabinet to the effect that this "extra-departmental check" should operate through a Commissioner for Redress of Citizens' Grievances, whose main functions should be to ensure that arrangements are made in each ministry/department/office for receiving and dealing with the citizens' grievances and that they work efficiently. In exercise of this function, the Commissioner should inspect these units, advise those who hold charge of these units and communicate his observations to the Head of Department or to the Secretary as may be necessary. He should also keep the minister informed of how the arrangements in the department under the minister are working. The proposal in essence was that the Commissioner would be an inspector and supervisor under each minister although located outside. The location for the Commissioner was suggested to be in the Home Ministry from where he would provide a common service. The proposal made it clear that the proposed Commissioner would not be anything like an Ombudsman. Firstly, he would be appointed by the government and not elected by Parliament. Secondly, he would only be an inspector and supervisor of the existing hierarchical arrangements for handling grievances within the ministries and departments and not an independent investigating authority, like an Ombudsman. Thirdly, the Commissioner would be very much a part of the Government machinery and not an outside agency although he would be outside the individual ministries/departments.

The Cabinet approved creation of a Commissioner for Public Grievances and an officer of the rank of Additional Secretary was appointed against the post in March, 1966. This arrangement continued for

about a year-and-a-half. However, in 1968, the proposal for creation of the institutions of Lokpal and Lokayukta was brought forward in the form of a Bill. During this period, the incumbent in the post moved elsewhere and as an interim measure, pending deliberations on the Bill, the Secretary in the Department of Personnel was asked to perform the functions of the Commissioner. No decision was taken thereafter. Arrangements of the Secretary in the Department of Personnel concurrently functioning as a Commissioner fell into disuse.

The system introduced as stated above functioned till March, 1985 when a separate Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances was set up.

A review of the functioning of this system at this stage would be relevant.

During the decade 1975-76 to 1984-85 the number of complaints received and disposed of by the Central Government departments is given in Table 1.

Table 1 COMPLAINTS RECEIVED AND DISPOSED OF BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Year	No. of Complaints	
	Received	Disposed of
1975-76	12,27,691	10,07,724
1976-77	9,13,687	8,26,422
1977-78	9,75,606	9,32,809
1978-79	10,64,030	N.A.
1979-80	10,44,198	N.A.
1980-81	11,63,959	N.A.
1981-82	12,49,024	9,31,617
1982-83	11,94,973	9,80,878
1983-84	11,40,024	9,30,472
1984-85	9,49,348	8,68,628

N.A. = Not Available.

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the Ministry of Personnel.

The receipt of complaints hovered around 10-11 lakh and disposal around 9 to 10 lakh, thus, leaving at least one lakh of people every year dissatisfied just on account of non-disposal of their complaints. Despite this, the figures of disposal are not unimpressive.

The crucial point, however, is whether the complaints disposed of led to satisfaction of the people or not. Unfortunately, data on this is not available and, therefore, it is difficult to hazard a guess in this matter.

Reasons of Complaints

Before appraising and pronouncing a judgement on the then existing arrangements, let us first broadly list out reasons due to which grievances normally arise. These can be one or more of the following:

1. Delay in disposal of various matters;
2. Dilatory procedures which do not discriminate between routine and urgent;
3. Observance of rules for the sake of their observance without appreciating their effect on the end results;
4. Administrative orders in exercise of discretion by executive which may be open to question either on the ground of misuse or abuse of power resulting in injustice;
5. Prevalence of corruption and outside influence;
6. Arbitrariness in execution of authority; and
7. Misconduct and misbehaviour.

Though no empirical data and evidence is available yet the perception of the general public of administrative machinery is not at all a happy one. There is an overwhelming feeling that the procedures take precedence over results; there is no time frame to deal with matters; guidance to the public is inadequate; and that officials deny even simple courtesy to the public. The common man feels alienated from the public because grievances--genuine or otherwise--are not answered and remedied by the Government. This situation exists because:

1. Grievance Officers merely act as a passive agency and they are not vested with authority to redress grievances;
2. Considerable time is taken to provide redress (a sample analysis has revealed that the time taken ranged from six months to six years);
3. The present arrangements are mostly ministry-based and deal with only letters and representations;
4. Too defensive an approach is adopted in dealing with complaints and the tendency is to justify the action taken already;
5. In spite of many instructions on the subject, the complainant is not given a 'speaking reply', i.e., indicating why a parti-

- cular matter was dealt within a particular fashion;
6. There is room for more active involvement of senior officers in monitoring of grievances disposal; and
 7. Publicity to make people aware of the channels of redress needed stepping up.

As mentioned earlier, the institution of Commissioner for Public Grievances fell into disuse and there was no central agency to oversee and monitor the working of internal machinery in different organisations. Thus, the scenario described above is indeed not a flattering one for the Government.

Before concluding discussion on this phase, a reference to the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission will not be out of place. The Commission submitted its report on **Machinery for Redress of Public Grievances** in August, 1966. The central theme of this report was to create the twin institutions of Lokpal and Lokayukta with authority to investigate both complaints against corruption and grievances. The Administrative Reforms Commission had recommended that the Lokpal should have jurisdiction over the Ministers (including the Prime Minister). The Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill, as introduced by the Government in 1968, excluded the Prime Minister from the purview of the Lokpal. The Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament supported this stand of the Government which generated considerable controversy. While it is not relevant to the present discussion to go into the merits and justification for excluding the Prime Minister, yet it is important to mention that the Lokayuktas, as established in the states, have chief ministers within their purview.

The Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill had a chequered history. After its consideration by the Joint Committee, it was passed by the Lok Sabha in 1969. While it was pending in the Rajya Sabha, the fourth Lok Sabha was dissolved and consequently the Bill lapsed. An identical Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha in 1971. This also lapsed on the dissolution of Fifth Lok Sabha. A fresh Bill, i.e., "Lokpal Bill, 1977" was introduced in the Lok Sabha in July 1977. A fundamental change was introduced in this Bill over the provisions of the previous one, for the fresh Bill covered only allegations and misconduct against public men (members of the Council of Ministers, etc.). Civil servants have been kept out of its purview. Grievances, as distinct from allegation and misconduct, were also excluded from the jurisdiction of the Lokpal. This Bill, which was considered by the Joint Select Committee, was taken up for consideration in May, 1979 but the discussion remained inconclusive when the Lok Sabha was dissolved subsequently. On August 1985, the Lokpal Bill was

introduced afresh in the Lok Sabha and is now pending before the Joint Select Committee.

The history of the attempts so far made has prompted many people to say that the Government is not serious about this matter. Recently, in the press, it has been voiced that of the three legislative measures, which the new Government promised, only two have so far been brought on the statute book, i.e., the anti-defection and anti-corruption legislation. The third, on which doubts about government's intentions have been raised, relates to the Lokpal.

The states seem to have done fairly well in this field; so far nine states (Maharashtra 1971, Rajasthan 1973, Bihar 1973, Uttar Pradesh 1975, Karnataka 1979, Orissa 1970, Andhra Pradesh 1981, Madhya Pradesh 1975, and Himachal Pradesh 1983) have passed legislation and Lokayuktas have been appointed by them. The other states have also set up related institutions. The assessment of working of these institutions in the states indicates that although the number of complaints is increasing yet the relief provided (qualitatively and quantitatively) is not altogether satisfactory. For example, the picture revealed by the reports of two years (1977-78 and 1978-79) of the Lokayukta of Uttar Pradesh is as follows:

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|--------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Applications received | : 4563 |
| 2. Cases investigated | : 31 (0.68%) |
| 3. Redress given | : 7 (0.15%) |

There has been a debate from time to time on setting up of institutions similar to Ombudsman which originated in the Scandinavian countries.

The principal feature of the ombudsman system is that it is an independent agency which looks into the grievances of the public in specified spheres of Government activity. Although the nature of complaints differ from country to country, yet in terms of jurisdiction of Ombudsman, complaints broadly pertain to:

1. Abuse of power by administrative authorities and courts of law;
2. Administrative actions of arbitrary/unjust nature;
3. Unreasonable action or decision;
4. Irregularity/injustice because due to faulty procedures;
5. Delay in consideration of cases;
6. Malfunctioning of service;
7. Fault in departmental regulations and legislations; and
8. Maladministration.

In all these countries, except the UK and France, complaints are received direct from the citizens. In Sweden, Ombudsman also initiates investigations on his own. Although written complaints are a pre-requisite for investigation, complaints are heard even over phone and investigations initiated pending receipt of written representations (Canada). In the UK and France, the citizen has no direct access to Ombudsman, complaints are referred to him through a Member of Parliament and Senate only. The system has claimed to have worked very well in some of these countries. Reasons for its success are:

1. Smallness;
2. Sound civil service system;
3. Existence of other channels for redress;
4. High level of literacy and economic prosperity;
5. Strong democratic traditions;
6. Personality and character of the office holder; and
7. Attitudinal orientation towards care, concern and sympathy for fellow citizens.

According to information available, the number of complaints received and investigated is very small in these countries. In 1975, the largest number of complaints was 3,202 (Sweden) and the least was 928 (UK). The French Ombudsman received only 3,150 complaints during 1975. Of the cases received, the rate of rejection was also quite large, leaving a small number of cases for investigation. In Denmark, for instance, out of 1,889 cases received in 1975, as many as 1,098 cases (58%) were rejected of which 578 pertained to those cases where avenues of appeal had been exhausted. In Sweden, out of 3,202 cases received, 1,214 (38%) were rejected on the ground of "outside jurisdiction". Complaints received from "outside jurisdiction" were high in the UK (576 out of 928-62%) and France (915 out of 3,519-27%).

Deeper examination of the pros and cons of establishing an institution of Ombudsman in India would seem to indicate that it would not be possible to replicate the system wholly in this country having regard to its vastness and the large staff that may be required to deal with the various types of complaints. There is, however, a near unanimity of view that there is still a need to aim at shifting towards Ombudsman concept eventually. In the transitory period, however, a compromise with the pure form of Ombudsman has to be made.

SECOND PHASE

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajeev Gandhi in his broadcast to the nation on January 5, 1985 referred to the grave deficiencies in the functioning of the public administration and announced a package of measures for administrative reforms of which setting up of effective machinery for public grievances in offices and departments with large public dealings was an important component. The Prime Minister also observed that the Government servants "have no work ethics, no feeling for the public cause, no involvement in the future of the nation, no comprehension of the national goals, no commitment to the values of modern India. They have only a grasping, mercenary outlook, devoid of competence, integrity and commitment".

To give an institutional framework to fulfil the promise held out to the nation by the Prime Minister, a separate department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances was established in March, 1985 by bringing the subject of public grievances together with administrative reforms. This alignment was not without reasons. There is need to know the inadequacies of the administrative system which give rise to grievances.

Soon after the setting up of a separate Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, a thought was given to the manner in which the machinery for redress of public grievances should be strengthened and improved upon. A number of measures were initiated and these included strengthening of relationship between the citizens and government through:

1. reduction in the number of occasions and purposes for which a citizen has come into contact with the government;
2. streamlining procedures so that even when a citizen does come to government his work is simplified;
3. arrangement for issuing literature in simple language for guiding the citizens for various items of work dealt with;
4. provision of public assistance counters;
5. arrangement for monitoring delay in disposal;
6. intensifying supervision; and
7. providing on-the-spot redress of grievances, as far as possible.

For systematising the arrangement in offices and departments having large public dealings, ministries have been requested to ensure that a senior officer is designated as Director of Grievances; supervisory officers in service oriented departments should play effective role for ensuring that complaints are effectively

attended to and disposed of; complaints relating to railways, hospitals, banks, etc., are settled on the spot, as far as possible, etc.

The Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances adopted a new strategy to tackle grievances and it was to identify the causes in the system which gave rise to grievances and remove them. The matter got debated in various fora and the Prime Minister in the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Parliament attached to the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions observed as under:

The most important aspect of resolving public grievances is not redressing individual grievances as such, even though a high degree of priority must be accorded to this work, but reforming the administrative system or those parts of it which throw up individual grievances in large number. We must get to the roots of these grievances and it is at that point that cure should begin. Our endeavour, therefore, has to be not only to redress the present grievances of the people but also to modify the entire system in a manner which will prevent such grievances from arising in the future. It will, therefore, be seen while monitoring and evaluating the performance of grievance redress machinery in government departments and organisations, if they are identifying, analysing and correcting system deficiencies on a continuing and systematic basis instead of merely attending to individual grievances.

The Prime Minister also pointed out that the greatest importance should be attached to informing and educating people, particularly people in the backward and predominantly tribal areas and those from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because many grievances are related to the knowledge or ignorance of what should have happened or what could have been done in a given situation.

The main policy plank of the government thus comprises;

1. Maintaining constant pressure on the internal mechanism of public grievances in different ministries/departments through instructions/guidelines followed by high level meetings between the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances and respective ministries/departments.
2. Identifying given areas in which complaints arise by the process of categorisation and analysis to get to the roots of the problems.
3. Identifying systemic deficiencies and concentrating on bring-

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- ing about such systemic changes as are needed to transform the administrative culture which will result in reduction of the number of grievances.
4. Involving voluntary agencies which could act as forum to guide and educate people and advise government, particularly on points of citizens-administration interface and to supplement government's efforts.
 5. Training of trainers for imparting behaviour training for officers and staff manning public delivery system so as to be able to establish responsive bureaucracy at grassroots.
 6. Conducting reviews of the grievances mechanism in various organisations, both in terms of satisfaction of the people and disposal of cases.
 7. Activating public grievance machinery in the states at all levels--state, district, block and taluka levels--because subjects like irrigation, health, education, police, etc., which bring people most frequently in contact with the official machinery fall within the domain of the State Governments.

As a result of the above mentioned efforts, considerable improvements have been made and the official appraisal highlights the following:

At the Central Level

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1. Public grievances booths have been set up at the main railway stations to provide on-the-spot redress. These normally receive complaints regarding matters like reservations and refunds. The officer-in-charge tries to sort out the problem with the help of the officials concerned at the station.
 2. Single Window System has been introduced in the Department of Telecommunications.
 3. Centralised Customer Service Centres have been set up at various centres to receive and process complaints against nationalised banks. One of the banks acts as a coordinating agency for expediting redress of public grievances.
 4. The Protector General of Emigration holds public hearing for two hours every Monday, Wednesday and Friday to hear emigrants' problems. Where immediate redress cannot be provided, the petitioner is given an entry slip for the following evening. In about 80 per cent of the cases, action is reported to be possible within 48 hours.

In States

The State Governments have been advised to take steps similar to those taken by the Central Government. The machinery for redress of grievances introduced in various States was discussed in the Chief Secretaries' Conferences held in 1985 and 1987 and recommendations were made to strengthen it further. While it is for the State Governments to institute proper arrangements for the purpose, certain guidelines have been given to them by the Central Government. A review of the machinery existing in the States has also been conducted by a team of officers of the Central Government and some of the important findings emerging from these studies include:

1. Innovative measures have been adopted in some of the States. For example, in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh, public grievances are received and disposed of during the weekly Hat. This has proved very effective as officers from all the departments assemble there and the grievances are redressed on the spot, as far as possible.
2. In many States, special committees have been set up, comprising the elected representatives of the public to deal with grievances of public and to provide redress.
3. Special machanisms have been set up in some of the States. For example, in Bihar, a Bureau of Public Grievances has been created under the direct charge of the Chief Minister. The Bureau is headed by a senior officer of the rank of Chief Secretary.
4. Government of Karnataka have not only set up a machinery for redress of public grievances in their Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms but have also codified the instructions on the subject and categorised grievances into 42 categories, like land disputes; police protection; providing of irrigation facilities; grievances of slum dwellers; etc.

Despite these measures, a number of deficiencies have been noticed and these include absence of proper registration and monitoring of complaints, routine disposal, delay in disposal and rejection of requests on flimsy grounds.

Voluntary Agencies

The voluntary agencies can supplement Government efforts and it has been recognised that they act as protagonist of reform and equalisers of life chances in society. Ministries have been asked to indentify voluntary agencies involved in their spheres of

activities and set up Standing Committees of Voluntary Agencies (SCOVA). Such committees have been set up in the Department of Youth Affairs and Sports, Department of Electronics, Department of Woman and Child Development, Department of Pension and Pensioners Welfare, and the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

Use of Media

The media has also been effectively utilised in the process of building social awareness. The extensive reach of media, particularly the TV and the radio, has been used for giving adequate publicity for the innovative experiments in the field of administrative reforms or in the redress of public grievances.

The Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances received 11,647 grievances from the public during the year 1987. The subjectwise and departmentwise distribution of these grievances is given in Table 2.

Point No.20 of Twenty-Point Programme-1986 deals with "Responsive Administration". One of the ingredients of this point enjoins upon the administration to attend promptly and sympathetically to public grievances. A plan of action for implementation of this point by the Central and State Governments has been prepared. This plan of action again emphasises that the main efforts of reforms in administration have to come from within administrative ministries and that the role of external agency can be one of a catalyst and rendering assistance and advice on any particular issue. The plan of action, as far as the redress of public grievances is concerned, incorporates the following:

The machinery to deal with public grievances shall be further strengthened and its efficacy will be periodically monitored. Ministries will give particular attention to deal with grievances-prone areas and to bring out systemic improvements where called for.

THIRD PHASE

After the existence of the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances for about 2½ years, it was considered necessary to review its performance. The conclusion arrived at as a result of this review was the steps taken so far, though in the right direction, have yet to make a perceptible impact. The implementation of various guidelines has been of a sporadic character. While there is some achievement here and there, the processes have not been fully

Table 2 GRIEVANCES AREAWISE/DEPARTMENTWISE

Particulars	Number
Grievances Area	
Delay	706
Service matters	3,628
Appointment on Compassionate grounds	245
Financial assistance	234
Corruption	798
Harassment	638
Civil amenities	77
Claim complaints	277
SC/ST Welfare	60
State Government matters	2,823
Others	2,161
Total	11,647
Department	
Railways	1,090
Defence	910
Labour	529
Posts	384
Telecom	363
Banking	610
Urban Development	246
State Government	3,521
Others	3,994
Total	11,647

integrated with the action plans of the ministries/departments. The culture of the redressal of grievances is yet to take roots within the organisation for building up an environment of care, concern, courtesy and understanding. The review suggested that the entire approach must be reoriented.

It was found that the internal machinery was in place in most of the ministries. But in practice the officer charged with this responsibility did not redress any grievance but merely ensured that the grievance was disposed of by the appropriate officer. In other words, he did not have adequate authority.

As regards the external machinery, i.e., the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, the finding was that it now monitors the grievances pouring into it on rudimentary and random basis. The monitoring system depends heavily on the ministries/departments concerned to which complaints have been sent and the system provides nothing more than 'chase and prod' activity.

A significant feature, highlighted by the review, was that the central agency, i.e., Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances did not have the teeth to get the grievances redressed satisfactorily and promptly by the ministries/departments concerned. A proposal was, therefore, put up and approved by the Cabinet to set up a Directorate of Public Grievances in the Cabinet Secretariat headed by an officer of the level of Secretary to the Government of India. The important features of the role and functions of the Directorate of Public Grievances include:

1. To begin with, its jurisdiction will be restricted to only four ministries/departments, viz., Posts, Railways, Telecommunications and Banking Division of the Department of Economic Affairs (public sector undertakings, nationalised banks, financial institutions and other bodies under the administrative control of these four ministries/departments would also fall within the purview of the Directorate).
2. Only those grievances will be entertained where the complainant fails to get satisfactory redress from the ministries/departments concerned within a reasonable period of time.
3. Complaints would be taken up selectively by the Directorate after fully satisfying itself about the bonafides of the complainant and keeping in view the gravity of the subject matter of the grievances.
4. The Directorate will be given authority to call for and examine relevant files.

Simultaneously, instructions have been issued to strengthen the internal machinery in the ministries/departments so that involvement of the external machinery is limited to as few cases as possible. The broad strategy adopted for the purpose includes:

1. Every Wednesday of the week shall be observed as a meetingless day and three hours (1000 to 1300 hours) of this day have to be kept for grievances redressal. All officers of the level of Deputy Secretary and above will remain in their office and will receive and hear public grievances;

2. The grievance redressal system should be integrated into decision-making process. This means that: (a) Officers at each level should deal with every matter in a fair, objective and just manner; (b) the meetingless day should enable each officer to function as his own grievances redressal agent; and (c) a careful analysis and appreciation of the grievances should be made to identify problem area so as to enable integration of redressal of grievances into the process of decision-making and policy formulation.

Despite the best of intentions and the best of efforts to provide prompt and satisfactory redress of grievance, there has been only marginal improvement. The general perception of the people still continues to be poor and probably below the surface there are ripples of loss of credibility. The results in any case do not match the pronouncements and promises of the government. To illustrate this, three case studies, conducted recently, have been given in Annexures I, II and III.

The first case study shows that the Rules still continue to take precedence over purpose. A citizen had to wait for almost 30 years to get his due and in the meantime he died and his wife had to wage the war. The only stumbling-block was that a particular administrative rule was not fully satisfied and, therefore, the claim was being repudiated on this technical ground despite the pronouncement of the highest court of law in the country to give the benefit applied for.

The second study has highlighted how the nationalised banks instead of having a customer-orientation still stick to fulfilment of some hoary and antiquated banking practices. All over the world, value-dating has become the normal system but here the period ranged from 14 days to 150 days before the credit was afforded to the customer. All along during these months, the money was in the bank but the customer was charged with interest on loan which the remittances sought to liquidate.

The third case study brings out how there is lack of uniformity of approach within the same organisation while dealing with similar issues. The public offices function almost like a 'closed-shop' and the public is not informed of what is due to them and how to get it.

The common finding in these case studies is that the hang-over from the Raj days continues to dominate the thinking and attitudes of public functionaries. Instead of public servants, as they are called, they behave like masters. Therefore, the single most important need of our time is to inculcate new work culture, sense of service, dedication, concern and sympathy for the public among the members of the civil services. This is a very tall order indeed but

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it cannot be wished away. Some beginning has been made by organising training programmes but much more needs to be done particularly in making the people behind the counters, who deal with public, to undergo such training courses not once but at periodical intervals.

Coming back to organisational arrangements, there is a unanimity of view that the primary responsibility for good and just administration should be with the ministries/departments in their spheres of functioning and, therefore, they should bear the responsibility for prompt, satisfactory and, as far as possible, on the spot redress of grievances as and when they arise. Intervention of an external agency, however, is necessary in case of patently hard nature and where the aggrieved citizens have not been able to get relief within a reasonable time-frame from the internal mechanism.

There is a strong feeling that there should be only one external agency instead of there being two as at present, i.e., the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, and Directorate of Public Grievances. The experience of the functioning of the Directorate of Public Grievances seems to indicate that the existing diarchical arrangement has not satisfied either the complainants or those complained against or the public at large or the press.

The objection of the complainants is that if their complaints are to be looked into by those who have been complained against, justice would not be done.

The ministries/departments also are finding difficulties in dealing with two external agencies. Apart from the problems of logistics, they have to decide the priorities in dealing with references received from the two agencies.

The public is basically concerned with redress of their grievances and removal of causes to prevent their recurrence. It hardly matters to them what fine tuning of administrative arrangements has been done by the government in this regard. It is a matter of great perplexity and confusion to the people on whether for their grievances the Directorate of Public Grievances is to be approached or the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances is to be contacted.

In the press also, some comments have appeared on the diarchical system. For example, Ms. Promila Kalhan in her piece entitled "Behind the Scene", which appeared in the "Hindustan Times" of April 25, 1988, had this to say:

...Earlier this month a cell was created in the Cabinet Secretariat. Grievances which have not been dealt with satisfactorily by various Ministries and Departments are examined by it. To begin with, it will deal with the fall-out from four Departments. Hopefully, its work will expand to cover others.

A very interesting feature which an observer of the system of redressal of public grievances notices in the Indian scene is that the traditional corruption prone areas and (not without reasons) much maligned by the press and at the pulpit are not the focus of grievances from the public. For example, grievances against railways regarding poor amenities to the passengers, reservations, refund, etc., run into lakhs but complaints by the contractors are a rare phenomenon. Similarly, complaints against organisations like Directorate General of Technical Development, Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Central Public Works Departments, Import and Export Trade Control Organisation, etc., are almost non-existent. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The persons adversely affected are afraid of being subjected to vindictiveness from powers that be. For example, delays that take place in getting the clearance for an industrial project involving issue of letter of intent, approval of foreign collaboration, clearance for import of capital goods, approval of phased manufacturing programme, etc., cannot be justified by any standard. There are few people who complain against this but why?

Redress of Government Servants' Grievances

So far, we have addressed ourselves to the question of machinery for redress of 'Public Grievances'; in its strict interpretation, the word 'Public' would include general citizenry but exclude government servants. But if the government servants are also the recipients of the public services, the system accepts their grievances as well. Insofar as the complaints of government servants about their service matters are concerned, the existing machinery, however, excludes them. The incidence of such complaints is legion. In fact the number of court cases involving government servants against their employer reached such terrifying proportions that some special machinery became a necessity to settle them.

The Administrative Reforms Commission appraised these problems and having been impressed by the system of 'Administrative Courts' for disposing administrative justice in France, the Commission recommended the setting up of Administrative Tribunals in its report on "Personnel Administration". Recommendations of the Commission were accepted. Article 323 A was incorporated in the Constitution by 42nd Amendment Act, 1976. The Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 was thereafter passed under this Article.

The Central Administrative Tribunal (CAT) was set up on November 1, 1985 with the objective of providing speedy and inexpensive relief to government employees. Up to March, 1988 there were a total of 14 benches of the Tribunal. Another bench is being established in

Ernakulam.

Various benches of the CAT received 17,204 cases from the High Courts and Lower Courts on transfer and up to November 30, 1986, 7,212 cases were instituted afresh. The Tribunal disposed of 8,191 cases.

The provisions of the Administrative Tribunal Act was extended in May, 1986 to employees of five statutory bodies/corporations/ registered societies.

In the first two years of its functioning, the Tribunal successfully met the expectations of speedy relief but with the passage of time the pendency of cases has been showing consistent increase and it takes anything up to two years for a case to come up for hearing. Therefore, there is a case for having a fresh review of the system introduced and to demarcate, as far as possible, the nature and type of cases which ought to be within the purview of the Tribunal. Secondly, it has become important to introduce a system for looking into the grievances by an outside internal agency so that the same authority which rejects the appeal of a government servant does not sit in judgement when a representation against the decision is submitted.

The Directorate of Public Grievances is forbidden to look into the service matters. The Administrative Tribunal takes time for the cases to be heard. The administrative authorities on appeal tend to uphold the earlier decisions. There is a high incidence of extraneous interference to influence decisions and those who are unable and unfortunate to muster such an outside support are thrown on the way side. It is in this context that the suggestion for separate mechanism for looking into grievances of the government servants finds justification.

A pertinent issue which needs to be raised at this stage of discussion is about the effect of intervention by the external agency on accountability of the minister-in-charge of a ministry for good governance of his Ministry. Government of India (Transaction of Business) Rules allocate the business to each Department and the minister-in-charge of the department is responsible for proper discharge of that business. The Government of India (Transaction of Business) Rules provide that except for cases where consultation and concurrence of other ministries is required, the minister-in-charge of a department will take decisions on matters concerning his ministry either himself or in accordance with the general or special orders issued by him. Viewed in this context, it can be argued that intervention by an external agency will be an erosion of the powers of the Minister without absolving him of the accountability. It would have been another matter if the external agency had its roots in

the provisions of the Constitution like the Comptroller and Auditor General of India or was a creature of a Parliamentary enactment. If it is set up by an executive decision, its recommendations cannot but be only recommendatory leaving it to the minister concerned to accept or reject them. If, however, this is to be left to the discretion of the ministers, then the external agency will lose its power and prestige and would be reduced to a toothless tiger. A solution has, therefore, to be worked out to reconcile the accountability part of the minister with the authority of an external agency for enforcement of its recommendations.

The foregoing survey brings out that the processes of redressal of grievances were inspired primarily by:

1. The committee process (report of the Santhanam Committee and the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission);
2. The political process (e.g., pronouncements by the Prime Minister in his address to the Nation on January 5, 1985);
3. The administrative process (e.g., nodal machinery and the internal machinery for redress of public grievances); and
4. Initiatives taken by individual officers (e.g., Ahmed Nagar experiment and the Single Window Service in the Collectorate of Bombay).

All the four processes are necessary and, in fact, these supplement each other. Efforts should, therefore, be made to have a wider participation in this process and to give it political support at the highest level.

CONCLUSION

To conclude:

1. There are still a number of loose ends to be tied up and administrative angularities to be smoothened although many of the efforts made have been in the right direction.
2. There is no substitute for having a machinery for redressal of grievances built into the administrative structure of each organisation itself, so that the occasions for intervention by an external agency are minimised.
3. The importance of properly structured periodical training of personnel, particularly those working at the cutting-edge level of administration in new work culture and attitudes should be given the highest priority.
4. The concern for redress of public grievances should not end

- with the headquarters or the agency but is to be extended to the lowest administrative units because the interface between the administration and citizens is at that level in the real sense of the term.
5. The external agency should have a fair degree of independence vested with powers for enforcement of its recommendations. But its intervention should be on a selective basis. Adequate arrangements would require to be worked out to reconcile the authority and functions of such an agency on the one hand with the accountability of the administrative ministries on the other in discharge of the functions allotted to them. Probably the ultimate objective should be to have an institution like the Ombudsman created by an Act of Parliament.
 6. The public offices should be thrown open to public gaze so that secrecy does not shroud their functioning.
 7. There should be increasing involvement of voluntary and non-governmental organisations to promote their involvement and to supplement the efforts of the Government.
 8. Many of the functions which the Government has taken upon itself may progressively be franchised to increase efficiency and cost-effectiveness.
 9. Involvement of senior officers in the process of redressal of public grievances should be more than what it is now.
 10. While redress of individual grievances received should continue to receive attention, more stress should be laid on identifying the systemic deficiencies which are the causes of the grievances. These deficiencies could be clumsy organisational structures, dilatory and cumbersome procedures, mismatch between the job and its doers, wrong attitudes, etc.
 11. There is clearly an established need to have an adequately empowered machinery in each organisation to deal with the grievances of its employees. This has become necessary because the Central Administrative Tribunal just cannot dispose of cases with speed because of their sheer number and the normal administrative hierarchy tends to justify the original verdict. The Joint Consultative machinery provides forum for discussion only on general matters and not individual complaints/grievances.

Annexure I

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF RULES IN
LETTER AND NOT IN SPIRIT

1. Shri X joined a private Railway Company and was confirmed prior to March 31, 1938. The Company was taken over by the Government of India on January 1, 1942 and the employees of the Company consequently became the employees of the Government Railways.

2. According to the Indian Railways Establishment Code, a ministerial servant who entered government service on or after April 1, 1938 may be required to retire at the age of 55 years but should ordinarily be retained in service, if he continues to be efficient up to the age of 60 years. The Rules were amended in December 1967 stating that only those ministerial railway servants taken from private railways will enjoy the benefit of retention in service up to 60 years if the Rules of the Company had a similar provision. Shri X was retired on attaining the age of 55 years on December 31, 1957 on the ground that the private Railway Company in which he originally joined service did not have the Rule providing for retention up to 60 years.

3. The employees affected by the amendment made in December 1967 went to the court against it and the Supreme Court in its judgement delivered on October 9, 1971 held that once the employees of the Company had taken up service with the Railway Administration and had been treated alike up to January 11, 1963 cannot be classified separately from the other employees of the Indian Railway Administration. Accordingly, the Court struck down the amendment as discriminatory.

4. The Railway Administration in implementation of the judgement of the Supreme Court issued orders on January 10, 1972 incorporating, *inter alia*, that in respect of persons who have already been wrongfully retired will have to be treated as having continued in service from the date of retirement up to the date they must be deemed to have superannuated on attaining the age of 60 years but the claim for pay and allowances would be subject to law of limitation. The orders further stated that the payment of arrears of pay and allowances may be made only for such period to their attaining the age of 60 years (i.e., between the dates when the persons were wrongfully retired and date of superannuation on attaining the age of 60 years) which falls within the period of three years backwards from the date of their allocation, whether it is before or after the date of the judgement of the Supreme Court.

5. Shri X applied for arrears of pay and allowances on March 9,

1983 for the period of five years from January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1962.

6. The Government Labour Court No.1 in Bombay, on the application of 17 railway servants, wrongfully retired at the age of 55 years, while dealing with the limitation period of three years, came to the conclusion that the applicants should be entitled for claim for the whole period after the retirement and not only for the claim which fell within a period of three years backwards from the date of their application.

7. The Railway Administration took the plea that the claim of Shri X was not admissible due to the following reasons:

- (a) The judgement of the Supreme Court was delivered in 1971 and any railway employee completing 60 years of the age only after 1968 would have got the benefit if they had applied immediately thereafter;
- (b) Since the claim of Shri X is not an established claim, it is not covered by Section 33(C)(ii) of Industrial Disputes Act, 1947; and
- (c) Shri X should get his claim established by a court before payment can be made.

8. Shri X expired on January 13, 1984 and his case was pursued by Mrs. X. Despite her approaching the Ministers of Railways, Labour, Personnel, Women & Child Development and finally the Prime Minister, the Railway Administration did not relent on its stand.

9. Mrs. X pleaded her case before the Directorate of Public Grievances. After studying the judgement of the Supreme Court and the Labour Court and after discussions with the officers of the Railway Administration, the legal opinion was obtained. The legal advice was that the Courts will accept the legality of the claim without any problem and it is unnecessary to insist on complainant going to the court to have the stamp of its approval just for the sake of complying with a technical formality. It was recommended to the Railway Administration that arrears of pay and allowances for five years from January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1962 should be paid to Mrs. X. This has been accepted and arrears paid.

10. This case study highlights the following points:

- (a) There is a general tendency to uphold and justify the decision once taken in an organisation even when the cases are put up to higher levels for reconsideration.
- (b) Often there is no application of mind at senior level to have an appropriate appreciation of the grievance made either

because of their being busy with other functions or absence of complete facts before them.

- (c) Rules and Regulations instead of being the tools and instruments of administration have tended to become the masters.
- (d) The machinery for redressal of grievances set up in the ministries/departments does not have the requisite authority to give its recommendations in an independent and fair manner.
- (e) It took 30 years for a claim due to an individual to be paid to him.

Annexure II

DOUBLE LOSS TO A BANK CUSTOMER

1. A senior army officer took a demand loan from branch X of a nationalised bank. He was transferred to another station. From there he made ten remittances from branch Y of the same bank towards liquidation of his loan. It took the remittances to reach the destination in a period ranging from 14 days to 158 days. Thus, while the customer had paid the money, he continued to be charged interest of 18 per cent on his demand loan till the remittances reached branch X.

2. The customer represented against the delay on April 16, 1986 to the Customer Service Cell in Delhi. His complaint was acknowledged on April 28, 1986. Having not received any relief within one month, as advertised by the Government, he approached Secretary (Banking) on June 5, 1986 requesting that a follow-up investigation should be conducted and for waiver of interest on demand loan after the deposit of money in branch Y. Again, there being no satisfactory reply, the customer wrote to the Chairman of the bank on July 3, 1986 and to the Finance Minister next month.

3. The head office of the bank took up the matter with the regional office stressing on them the need and urgency for the settlement of the case. The head office wrote five letters and sent three telegrams but without results. On pressure from the head office, the branch sent a cheque of Rs. 68.40 to the customer as a gesture of goodwill and emphasising that it was not at fault for the delays. Before sending the amount of Rs. 68.40 there was correspondence between X and Y as to which branch should pay the money.

4. The customer returned the cheque of Rs. 68.40 saying that the investigation into his complaint has not been conducted and responsibility for the lapse has not been fixed. Despite a number of letters the customer did not get satisfactory reply.

5. This transaction between the customer and the bank had two consequences:

- (a) Breach of agreement/faith leading to loss of credibility of the customer; and
- (b) Although the money was deposited with the bank in branch Y, he had to pay interest of 18 per cent to branch X.

6. Having failed to get redressal from the internal machinery, the customer lodged a complaint with the Directorate of Public Grievances. After detailed discussions with the bank concerned, Reserve

Bank of India, the complainant and the Department of Economic Affairs (Banking Division), the following recommendations were made:

- (a) The customer may be compensated by payment of a rebate in interest for a period after the expiry of seven days from the date of deposit to the date of amount was actually accounted for in the demand loan amount at full rate of interest charged from him on the loan.
- (b) The system of accounting needs fresh look and ways and means devised to move fast towards the achievement of the system of 'value-dating' in appropriate time-frame.

7. The recommendation at (i) above has been accepted and the customer has been paid appropriate money. He has sent a letter of thanks.

8. This case study brings out the following important features:

- (a) The bank authorities showed insensitivity towards the complaint of the customer by repeatedly telling him that everything was alright with the system and nobody was at fault;
- (b) This complaint had brought out the basic system deficiency but the bank authorities instead of going to the root of the problem grappled with the symptoms only;
- (c) There was unnecessary correspondence between two regional offices of the bank to pass on the responsibility for delays to one another; and
- (d) Even when on the instructions of the head office it was decided to pay Rs. 68.40 to the customer, it took quite some time for the bank to decide whether this should be paid by branch X or by branch Y.

because of their being busy with other functions or absence of complete facts before them.

- (c) Rules and Regulations instead of being the tools and instruments of administration have tended to become the masters.
- (d) The machinery for redressal of grievances set up in the ministries/departments does not have the requisite authority to give its recommendations in an independent and fair manner.
- (e) It took 30 years for a claim due to an individual to be paid to him.

Annexure III

DELAY IN ENCASHMENT OF NATIONAL SAVINGS
CERTIFICATE ON MATURITY

The employees of an institution were asked to invest their Provident Fund in National Savings Certificates. On the advice of the District Collector, the post office was approached and as advised by the Sub-Post Master, a sum of Rs.1,85,000 was invested in V Issue of the National Savings Certificates in November, 1980.

2. The Department of Posts, on a complaint, asked the Superintendent of Post Offices concerned to explain why the investment was allowed under V Issue and not under II Issue, as required under the Rules. The II Issue carried an interest of 6.5 per cent while the V Issue yielded an interest rate of 10.75 per cent.

3. The Post Master General concerned issued seven reminders in 1982 to the Superintendent of Post Offices and it is only thereafter that a reply was received.

4. The Superintendent was directed on February 25, 1983 that the Principal of institution may be asked to agree to the conversion of investment from V to II Issue. The Superintendent of Post Offices replied that there was no irregularity and investment in the Issue was in order. The Post Master General, on August 22, 1984, ordered investigations and the Principal of the institution was again asked on April 26, 1985 to agree to the conversion of the investment to the II Issue. The Principal again did not agree to the proposal but on being pressurised, he gave his consent on May 14, 1988 and a proposal has been sent to the Department of Posts for giving its approval to convert the investment from V Issue to the II Issue. The Department of Posts has no power to give the sanction and, therefore, has sent the proposal to the Ministry of Finance for its concurrence. In the meantime, the National Savings Certificates have matured and the staff is agitating for their encashment.

5. The Directorate of Public Grievances was approached by the staff of the Institution and after investigation of the case, it has been recommended that it would be a breach of trust if the investment is changed from the V Issue (with rate of interest as 10.75%) to the II Issue (interest at the rate of 6.5%). The Department accepted these recommendations.

6. This case study highlights the following points:

- (a) There is a multiplicity of agencies involved in discharge of a single function.

- (b) Over centralisation marks the administration of the National Savings Scheme.
- (c) There is inadequacy of awareness both among the members of the public and the officials concerned about the Rules and Regulations on this subject.
- (d) The Department viewed the case strictly by the Rules and Regulations without simultaneously considering its consequences to the clients.

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Organisation Development as a theme of Seventies and Eighties : An Overview

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FROM THE beginning of this century, especially after 1960, Organisation and Management fields have developed with discoveries of newer themes than before. Weber, Taylor, Urwick and Gulick, the traditional thinkers drafted scientific principles about organisation and management based on observations of young and small organisations operating in a stable environment, but after World War II, a new theme **Organisation Development** emerged from the resultant complexities of organisations and the dynamics of environment. Beckhard¹ describes the sixties as the "decade of explosions". With the phenomenon of knowledge explosion, technological explosion, communications explosion, economic explosion and professionalism also followed. Due to these reasons, progressive managers today are deeply concerned with the problem of developing managerial strategies appropriate to the changing conditions. The search for ways of concurrently increasing collaboration among the members of an organisation and at the same time increasing the rationality of decisions along with sustaining the progress of organisation comprise the responsibilities of senior managers. Organisational Development, thus, denotes such, planned change efforts.

This article aims to illustrate that Organisational Development emerged as an integrated organisation and management theme in sixties, with behavioural science focus, and it gradually got imbibed into a complete systems concept. This article attempts to glance through the literature pertaining to Organisation Development from 1969 to 1980. While doing so it includes writings of only selected pioneering authors.

Initial Stage

The year 1969 is an eventful year for the subject of Organisation Development. Writings on this area during this period comprise mostly descriptions from consultancy assignments and solving practical issues by client and change agent indicating the beginning

of Organisational Development as an empirical-based subject rather than theories loaded. In other words, narrations of Organisation Development in 1969 consisted of detailed long term planned change experiences in different organisations with more personalised statements of consultant's particular views of organisational functioning. There is a general enthusiasm expressed how Organisation Development interventions can achieve desired changes.

Warren Bennis², one of the pioneers in the field of OD and an active consultant, expressed that rapid and unexpected changes in the environment, growth in size of the organisations, increasing diversity in goals they pursue and changes in the managerial behaviour are the conditions which led to causing of the need for effective interventions. The OD is a response to change, a complex educational strategy intended to change the beliefs, attitudes, values and structure of organisation so that they can better adapt to new technologies, markets and challenges. He further maintains, whatever the intervention strategy, Organisation Development always concentrates on the values, attitudes, relations and organisational climate--the people variable rather than goals, structure and technologies of the organisation.

Bennis has attempted to clarify the budding problems of OD interventions and rules out pre-requisites of any particular leadership and group consensus as essential for beginning OD interventions. The basic value of Organisation Development practice is that of change choice. Through collection and feedback of relevant data about the design, goals and members of organisation, more choices became available to managers which can be facilitated by an external agent.

Beckhard³ has defined Organisation Development as an effort: (1) planned; (2) organisation-wide; (3) managed from the top; (4) increase organisational effectiveness and health through, planned interventions in the organisation's processes using behavioural science knowledge. He examines a series of cases where interventions are made and explains the efforts to develop the behavioural science process, such as individual motivation, power, communication, perception, cultural norms, problem solving, goal setting, interpersonal relationships, team building and conflict management.

As a major Organisation Development strategy, he emphasises upon behavioural dimension and also effective team building at the top management level of the organisation and builds a general framework within which most of the OD programme can be located.

It is Blake and Mouton⁴ who constructed the Grid Model by forecasting the future of large organisations with the organisational development practices. They begin explaining a systematic development of change where the leaders of organisation design explicit

models to anticipate and arrange alternatives by thinking, analysing and evaluating implications and consequences of change. This approach is called **Grid** which concerns changing an entire company to evaluate its profitability seeking potential and to increase the genuine dedication to corporate excellence among those who lead. The primary focus on profitability provides a corporate's main source of thrust to innovate, change and move forward.

By identifying the gap that exists between excellence and ordinary corporate performance, the authors specifically underline organisational areas: goal, design and people where OD efforts are to be brought in. They conclude that Grid OD takes a long time and many complications in tracing cause and effect make it difficult. In the absence of a committed top management and a dynamic organisation this method will not succeed. Grid Organisation Development is prescribed with six-phase approach containing theoretical framework for individual behaviour and group behaviour dynamics, and proceeds to formulate an Ideal Corporate Model.

From 1970 onwards, attaining corporate excellence became the slogan among vast expanding American organisations. Top management members were eager to adopt updated scientific techniques which would ensure profitability and survival amidst competition. This trend in the practical side of the organisational life gave boost to further quest in Organisation Development practices. All the above mentioned OD practitioners of 1969, through their efforts to examine the components and strategies of Organisation Development, drew the inevitable conclusion, which was the underlying theme of the seventies: the active and continuing search for excellence.

Seventies

Interestingly the literature produced in seventies on OD attempted heavily to illustrate that Organisational Development will remain as a discipline. By then the practitioners have increased in numbers and the veterans with academic concern brought out several volumes on OD practices.

Chris Argyris⁵ focused on management and organisational development, especially on human resources. In his attempt, he categorically stated that effective interpersonal relationships are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for organisational growth. Three different organisations at three different points of decision-making about organisation development interventions were studied through observations and secondary interviews. While summarising the findings of the study, Argyris illustrated how certain specific features of top management behaviour in organisations determine the cause of OD. The executives studied were less human oriented and lacked in

effort to ascertain the personal responsibility disposition. He had traced out a widespread reluctance to adhere to theory 'Y', positive assumptions on human capabilities and also demonstrated considerations towards openness and feedback. About the issue whether intervention should begin with structural changes rather than behaviour, he maintained that it depends upon the level of responsibility. He further added that the more effective sequence in making change was first to focus on personal causation and then other factors since very little empirically supported knowledge exists on how to change organisational structures. The complexity involved in being an effective OD professional was provided with the background of experiences gathered from the intervention assignments. He concluded that there cannot be any clear-cut definitive answers, issues of organisational change and OD activities should be organically drafted upon the system.

The utilisation of systematic procedures and technologies in planning and management of large systems change got further enhanced through the revelations discussed by Partin.⁶ The goal of OD was fixed with improved organisational effectiveness. Typically OD attempt should look at things such as: (1) organisational structure, (2) job design, (3) work climate, and (4) decision-making, problem solving patterns of the organisation. By compiling examples of OD practices from varied organisations of several sectors, both private and public, Partin gave impetus to the wide spreading conformity on the reliability of planned change efforts. While highlighting major issues confronting different groups of OD practitioners, he stressed upon the pragmatic view that OD should begin where there was a need and opportunity in the organisation, not necessarily only from the top. His attempt was towards strengthening the role of OD practitioner as catalyst and also examining the vitality and viability of OD as the dynamic concept.

French and Bell⁷ interpreted Organisation Development elaborately as a long range effort to improve an organisation's problems-solving and renewal processes, particularly through a more effective and collaborative management of organisation culture with special emphasis on the culture of formal work teams--with the assistance of a change-agent or catalyst and use of the theory and technology of applied behavioural science, including action research.

These statements essentially bring out two features of OD practice:

1. Usage of Behavioural Science Theory; and
2. Assistance of a Change Agent.

Specifically, French and Bell constructed the framework for the

corporate exercise on renewal-- **SWOT Analysis**--through OD interventions. A view of the change effort as an ongoing process and emphasis on the total system approach were the major contributions of their work. They summarised specific strengths and weaknesses of OD.

Strengths of OD

1. It borrows freely from the proven procedures for improving functioning of individuals, groups and organisations.
2. Adoption of action research model, a systems approach to understanding organisational dynamics, and a change strategy that focuses on the culture of work teams and the organisation make OD more powerful and relevant than most change strategies.

Weaknesses of OD

1. It's over preoccupation with human and social dynamics of an organisation to the detriment of attending to the task, technical and structural aspects, and their interdependencies;
2. Conceptual foundation underlying OD strategies have limitations as most of their models were built on collaborative approach rather than on power, coercion and competition.
3. OD has no have quick remedies, and no shortcuts to total organisational improvement.

By enumerating these aspects, French and Bell promoted a broad forum for all OD practitioners collectively and ensured that Organisation Development was not a passing fad and would last on social science scene with substance and fundamental quality. A series of edited works on OD occupied the literature of late seventies. These attempts indicated the keenness on bridging the gap between OD theory and practice and further transformed OD from pure behavioural science orientations to overall system orientations.

Beckhard and Harris⁸ brought together an overview of the issues involved in diagnosing organisation. In managing the transition and the changed state, they explained the changing character of OD as understood by them in 1969 and in 1978. It was illustrated that the area of planned change had moved from an emphasis on team building and intergroup relationships with an emphasis on developing planning processes for coping with the organisation and its environment, developing methods of designing and managing new organisational structures, e.g., matrix structures, looking at new techniques for deciding the procedures for managing organisational transitions. In essence, the focus of planned technologies has shifted from an

orientation of primarily human resource development to more comprehensive system development. Their focal point became the practising managers rather than the OD consultant, unlike their messages in earlier writings.

Similarly, Burke in his edited⁹ volume presented the current theory and practice in OD drawing from the experiences of several seasonal practitioners. This approach in consolidating the evidential information on interventions promoted a concrete base for OD to rise as a much sought discipline. While OD was being severely criticised for its superficial and commercialistic features, it simultaneously flourished in the academic circles. Noel Tichy¹⁰ has presented three awarenesses for pushing OD into the mainstream of organisational life:

1. Planned absorption into strategic planning and organisation design;
2. Planned absorption into line management; and
3. Planned absorption into human resource management.

Golembiowski and Leonard Goodstein¹¹ have approached the application of OD in public organisations. The former was more optimistic in dealing with OD as a possible mechanism even in government agencies than Goodstein. Nevertheless, both provide a relevant model for diagnosing public organisation and establish scope for OD in service organisations too.

In continuation of the trend to edit the views and experiences of thinkers on OD, French and Bell¹² brought out a mapping of this field. Interestingly, the arrangement of the ideas are based on distinct themes as attempted by Burke¹³ on current issues and strategies in OD. Inclusion of a section on criticism of OD underlines the anxiety prevailing even after a decade with regard to establishing OD as a total system concept. Harry Leavinson¹⁴ Marshal Sashkin,¹⁵ and Warner Burke¹⁶ reveal the fluid state of this field. The reasons as stated are inadequate systematic body of professional knowledge about organisational development, and that most techniques are ad hoc. To avoid such consequences, the consultant must have a systematic knowledge on a formal diagnostic process comprising the system as a whole.

Eighties

Such proliferation of publications has included many attempts at an integration of the field and represents a large and growing body of systematic knowledge. By the beginning of 1980, OD programmes stemming from other aspects of the organisation than an interpersonal dimension could be seen as evidence of stability. Gradually, OD

thinkers concentrated upon the system theory approach in interventions and stretched OD application to all facets of Organisational Dynamics.

Cummings¹⁷ compiled the thinking of several OD professionals on the foundations of systems thinking in OD. This attempt was attributable again to the concern of narrowing the apparent gap between OD theory and practice. Though the contributions covered were from diverse range of systems concepts, they shared a common perspective that the organisations were 'open systems', maintaining relatively steady states while exchanging matter and information with their changing environments.

Michael Beer's¹⁸ observations on a Social System model begins with the important interaction between people and organisational structure which result in specific organisational behaviours, these in turn affect human and organisational outcomes in the context of organisation's culture, external environment and dominant coalition. He offers strategies for organisational diagnosis and change consistent with social system framework. Brown¹⁹ raises the crucial issue of whether OD methods are appropriate to systems which are underorganised. By providing contrasts between organised and under-organised systems, he suggested that the latter required a change strategy/change process and client/change agent relationship different from traditional OD.

The major outcome of this particular piece of work of Cummings clearly established the shaping up of OD. One can see the descending rate of defensive notes on OD's practical aspects and concentrating upon views, which mentioned both systems theory and organisation development, has matured from a fad into a full fledged discipline.

Warner Burke²⁰ deserves a specific mention for his commendable contribution to the field of OD. He had provided consistent support through editing the views on OD under different themes. The titles may be different, the contributors are varied but his message is conspicuous that Organisation Development will remain as a legitimate discipline. These writings demonstrate growing operational relevance of OD interventions and also the increasing professionalism. The contributors by eighties stopped defining Organisational Development and began to perceive the field as high potential learning ground. Dynamism of the organisations and the interface between organisations and environment received greater indepth analysis than before. Organisational Development practioners became clear about technology which would be unique and appropriate to their each intervention attempt.

Before summing up, it is necessary to comment upon the spread of OD practices in Indian context. On behavioural aspects, observations

by Pareek²¹ and Sinha²² are significant. Similarly, Maheshwari²³ on structure and system approach, through management by objectives, provided evidential factors about the growing OD practices in Indian organisations. Abhigyan, Spring special 1985 on OD research in India, has presented the experiences of external change experts on varied organisations and possible kinds of OD interventions.

Apart from such scattered individual descriptions, the consolidated attempts to provide appropriate models for stabilising OD in India is inadequate. Even in Pareek's edited *Managing Organisational Change*²⁴ on the work of different practitioners is not exhibiting the ascending momentum of OD interventions in Indian organisations.

This could be, as Sayeed²⁵ explains, the reflection of **Ape Syndrome** in Third World countries with regard to the manner they adhere to indigenous managerial practices while imitating from the West. This syndrome has emerged from a lack of appreciation among practicing executives that management theory and application is culture specific and adaptability is a necessity. They continue to ignore seeking continuous queries on bringing meaningful changes in the organisation, especially long-term planned efforts.

Hence, it is difficult to trace out the reasons for lack of widespread and well-knit OD practices in Indian organisations, while even in USA, where the idea originated, is still groping in the dark to come out of criticism.

CONCLUSION

All sources of literature dealing with OD till date portray a good deal about the interventions, techniques and assumptions but have very little to say about the processes and mechanisms of organisational change. There is no agreed upon set of instruments on organisational diagnosis. The OD as a profession comprised generations with both gifted and as well as erratic practitioners. While glancing through the narrations of these significant OD consultants, especially from USA--where competition, individuality, success and excellence are rated high--it proves the reliability on learning from practice. This must be one field where all the defenders are the hard core change agents and practitioners of OD interventions. The explorations began with precisely spelt practical long-term change efforts rather than drawing inferences from concepts, theories and cognitive ideas. They succeeded in proving the substance of OD as a discipline, mainly due to their continuous attempts in assimilating varied views, strategies and issues on OD under one umbrella by bringing out series of edited volumes.

The credibility of findings from the operational aspect of this theme paved way for the construction of inevitable managerial thrust, to be in constant search for adapting to external change through planned efforts on focusing structure, system, people and as well the purpose of the organisation. Such overall organisational concern made the OD approach organisational specific and not a standard universal panacea.

As Bennis²⁶ mentioned, there is an overall disinterest in long-term research projects relating to what OD is all about, the development of an organisation over time. Such research should deal with long-term processes, induced by certain interventions and leading to predictable outcomes. Michael Beer²⁷ also maintains that OD should be developed to be seen as a relevant strategy and function within an organisation concerned with carrying out planned changes.

Organisation Development is one of the few recent educational programmes on all aspects of organisation as well as managerial responsibility. It has the potential to create an institution capable enough to cope with turbulent future. Probably the organisational sciences owe their rescue from classical malaise to especially the OD movement.

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Role of Press in Improving Public Administration

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ADMINISTRATIVE CAPABILITIES must change to keep pace with social, economic, political and technological changes. Administrative reforms are a continuous process in developing countries for: (a) development of greater managerial capabilities to achieve national objectives, and (b) strengthening of capabilities to make effective use of science and technology.¹ Administrative reforms in India have been linked with programme and goal of development. On attaining independence, new goals were set for public administration system, including ensuring unity and integrity of country, carrying out social and economic policies of government and ensuring prompt response to the needs and aspirations of the people. In view of the continuous task involving basic social, political and economic transformation, reforms are necessary to enhance the capability and effectiveness of administrative systems. Government intervention in various facets of public life is inevitable and number of regulatory functions are being performed by public administration. Embedded in the turbulent environment, resulting from inequity in distribution of public and private goods, it has become increasingly necessary to reduce these inequities. The administrators should now, therefore, be more concerned with who gets the benefits of public programmes, instead of being preoccupied with administration of programme alone.² Administrators should be more concerned about organisational changes and delegation of power, instead of institutional maintenance and preservation. Instead of being influenced by the established elite group, public administration should be concerned with ways of accommodating widespread public co-operation and participation. In view of the expanding activities, public administration should be more concerned with decentralisation and semi-autonomous sub-units, rather than centralised control. Public administration system should be concerned with the pathologies of ailments in the society as it happens to be the most potent instrument for corrective actions. Failure of many development programmes are due to administrative

constraints; it is, therefore, essential to identify these shortcomings and to take appropriate measures to improve public administration.

ROLE OF PRESS

Press is one of the important institutions in an open society and it is a forum that has the privilege of reaching large number of people. Free press is an essential instrument for maintaining openness in society and also for reforming it.³ In a society, where overwhelming millions are mute, the access to a forum that reaches large number of people could be viewed as a trust, to be exercised on behalf of the people and for the good of people at large. Written word is only one of the instruments of change and it has only a limited effect in society such as ours; nevertheless it serves as an important source of feedback of information to the politicians, legislators and administrators and has a significant impact on policy formulation. Forces pressurising Indian journalists to function in a manner not consistent with the code of conduct, suggested by Arun Shourie, are often extremely insidious and difficult to handle.⁴ The press also forms a part of the Indian society and the necessity for adopting a code of conduct implies acceptance of basic ethical principles that are not found in the rest of that society or in any organised section of it. It is also implied that press should promote model social behaviour and set examples for the people to emulate.

Press often adopts righteous posture in relation to failures in the society around it. The press also assumes preacher's role when it reasons on various issues in its editorial columns and articles. It influences public opinion through selection and presentation of news and reports, particularly investigative reports. It is necessary to recognise the importance of thinking beyond the immediate issues relating to day-to-day events. Press has an implied role as a critic and a forum for exchange of opinion on fundamental issues. The role of press in improving public administration presumes an open society where all relevant facts are made available to the press by the government. It also presumes necessary expertise to analyse and appreciate all aspects of related problems. Apart from commitment to "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" and other norms of highest standards of professionalism, the role of press as a reformer, crusader and torch-bearer implies the inherent intellectual capability of differentiating between the news items of immediate relevance and issues of long-range significance. Selection of news items is inherent in the functioning of the press and whatever is

printed has to undergo the test of 'newsworthiness.' The sense of fairness is tested when relative importance of various news items is decided and prominence is given to those items that are considered of interest to the readers. As a source of information to the intelligents in the country and in moulding public opinion on contemporary issues, press has a very significant role.

Role in Improving Public Administration

Efficacy of press in improving public administration goes beyond professional problems of journalists as individual workers; it is constrained by enormous weaknesses of the newspapers, as an institution. Exchange of favours between government and the business houses that own newspapers and the exchange of threats and pressures have become a chain of manipulations connecting the government and some of the country's most influential newspapers.⁵ There is apprehension that liberation of press is being delayed not so much by professional failings of the journalists, but by structural flaws in the ownership and management of the press. The editorial policies are determined by the pattern of ownership of the press, and criticism of government policies, programmes and achievements is constrained accordingly. However, within the existing framework, journalists enjoy a far greater degree of autonomy as compared to civil servants. For example, as they have access to a powerful media of communication, their values and opinions have significant influence on public policies. Articles written by experts in various fields are also printed in the newspapers and magazines. Role of press in improving public administration is significant in the context of its role as an autonomous critic, as well as a medium of feedback of information regarding the performance of the government.

Administrative reforms in India have been inextricably linked with the programmes and goals of development.⁶ Decentralised development planning is preferable to centralised approach adopted so far and it is necessary to promote wider participation of the people, at all stages. The concept of development goes beyond the macro-economic indicators, such as maximising gross national products and per capita income; it involves basic social and economic transformation. These trends have significant administrative implications and underscore the need for continuous reforms. In the context of development administration, capabilities and effectiveness of public administration are of crucial importance. Much lip service has been paid to decentralisation of authority, but in practice, very little delegation has taken place. The participation of citizens in the developmental effort per se requires a far greater degree of decentralisation and a more open posture by the administrators at all

level. Public administration system seems inadequate to cope with the expectations and aspirations of the citizens, all over the world and, as a result, interest in administrative reforms is increasing. With the emergence of a more open form of government, press will have a greater role in making an impartial appraisal of the effectiveness of various activities of government and informing readers.

Press and Bureaucracy

It is incorrect to treat bureaucracy as instrumental, as conceptualised by Max Weber, in the context of development administration. In an instrumental bureaucracy, administrative structure, with hierarchy of authority, is organised around impersonal rules regarding functions and procedures. In practice, bureaucracy builds up its own autonomy and resists any interference from outsiders. Imposed reforms through resort to strong methods result in resistance and subterfuge. Reforming bureaucracy is a complex political process. Bijur and Caiden⁷ have following suggestions regarding the process of transformation of bureaucracies. Firstly, the bureaucracies should never be allowed to assume that they are indispensable or unassailable. There should be a lurking threat that if they do not put their house in order, they will be abolished, abandoned, bypassed or coerced. Secondly, bureaucracy should develop and maintain legitimacy and justify that it is doing a good job. The legitimacy of the institution's mission, the currency of its goals and its very right to exist should be periodically questioned. In this context, the watchful eye of the press has a significant role. The recent trends and shifts in the goals of administrative reforms are towards the substance of governmental activities, rather than on procedures. Reform involves itself with comprehensiveness and innovativeness, rather than with minor procedural details of day-to-day administration. Caiden⁸ has defined administrative reforms as "artificial inducement of administrative transformation against resistance". The focus has shifted from form to substance, from economy and efficiency to goal effectiveness and from bureaucratic merit to popular welfare. Improvement in administration will be relevant only if larger goals are seriously sought and accomplished. In the context of the changes in emphasis of the goals of administrative reforms, suggestions can emerge from the press, which has an overview of the accomplishments and activities of the government and can express the point of view of the common man. Constructive suggestions can emerge from open debates in the press regarding various activities and programmes of the government. Although the press may not be in a position to examine the minute details of administrative procedures, it certainly can question the broad goals, policies and objectives.

structures exist to perform specific tasks and their effectiveness should be the major concern of administrative reforms. Whereas self-assessment within bureaucratic structure tends to perpetuation of existing organisations, as bureaucracy is likely to perceive itself as an end and not means towards achievement of definite objectives, an overall assessment by an outside agency is likely to raise fundamental questions leading to far-reaching changes. Press has the capacity and necessary autonomy for raising issues in this regard for wide-ranging debate. In practice, press reports often give rise to questions in Parliament and State Legislatures, indicating that elected representatives of the people are sensitive towards the views expressed in the press. Officials at all levels belong to the educated segment of the society and are influenced by press reports, particularly the news regarding their departments and activities.

Press and Grievance Redressal

The strategy for administrative reforms should be based on objective analysis of weaknesses in the existing systems. The press can play an important role in reforms by identifying the deficiencies, from the point of view of an average citizen. Redressal of grievances of the citizens through the elected representatives and the legislature is a cumbersome and time-consuming process, having complex political overtones. On the other hand, reports in the newspapers immediately focuses attention on contemporary issues, which can be followed up in Parliament and State Legislature and by the concerned officials. For example, recent controversy regarding conditions in Tihar Jail in the Union Territory of Delhi resulted in immediate administrative enquiry and action. Many facets of law and order situation are brought to the notice of concerned authorities through newspaper reports. Long range policy formulation is also influenced by articles in newspapers. Press strengthens democratic institutions through providing guidance and serves as an important channel of relevant information to representatives of the people. Prime Minister has often complained that the Indian press adopts a critical posture, instead of taking a balanced view and does not bring achievements of government to the notice of readers in proper perspective. Criticism of government is useful in highlighting deficiency, but it should be tempered with a balanced view and assessment. Comments made in some of the newspapers, which always take a negative view, are likely to be ignored as excessive criticism. No bureaucracy will change its pattern of behaviour, unless it is seriously believed that there is a significant difference between what it is doing and what it should do. Criticism in newspapers has impact on bureaucratic behaviour, as it highlights shortcomings and

failures of bureaucracy.

In business administration, objective of an enterprise is clearly defined. Therefore, its performance can be easily evaluated in terms of profit and loss. In public administration, on the other hand, complexity of overlapping objectives makes assessment of performance somewhat nebulous. We are faced with increasing cost of unproductive public expenditure and it is necessary to curtail the unproductive and inefficient activities. The public has only a mild interest in what the administrators do to accomplish their tasks, but it is seriously concerned with the results and their effectiveness. Therefore, the focus of reforms should be on objectives and tasks, whereas the incremental changes effected by the administrators are concerned with the means of accomplishing their tasks. According to Peter Drucker, effectiveness cannot be obtained by greater efficiency.⁹ Satisfaction of consumer is the basic criteria for ensuring performance and results in business concerns. Government institutions are paid by budget and have very little concern with what the taxpayer and consumer mean by results and performance. As government institutions are endowed with monopoly powers in most of the cases, the intended beneficiary has no choice. Such institutions tend to avoid controversy about their functions, missions and objectives, they militate against setting priorities and concentrating effort on some of the important aspects of their multifarious tasks. Being budget based, it makes it more difficult to abandon old and obsolete activities and, therefore, these institutions are entrusted with many inherently unproductive activities. Efforts towards reforms should be based on the premise that activities initiated in the past should be discontinued at some stage. Press can play a very important role in improving public administration by an objective and critical review of the unproductive activities. It can help in identifying unsatisfactory performance, so that obsolete activities could be discontinued to save wastage of effort and money. This aspect of reform has been hitherto ignored or overlooked as abandoning low performance activities is painful to some sections of bureaucrats. All over the world, even in prosperous countries like USA, UK and Japan, economic compulsions are forcing governments to find measures to reduce public expenditure. Press can help in building up public opinion and necessary climate for change. For example, with the advent of microprocessors, it may be cheaper to computerise many of the clerical operations and government may have to take hard decisions, at some stage or the other, to reduce staff after introduction of computers. Unless necessary public opinion is built, government may not be in a position to take rational decisions, based on cost-benefit aspects, due to opposition from affected staff and such

issues may develop political overtones. A decision to reduce staff is an unpopular decision and government may not have the political will to face opposition from trade unions, although such measures may be in public interest. Press has the capacity of moulding public opinion to facilitate desirable changes.

Some of the environmental factors help administrative reforms whereas there are other factors that hinder reforms.¹⁰ Press should tend to support favourable factors and help government in overcoming the negative factors to facilitate improvements. Administrative reforms have never lacked support from politicians and many political developments have induced reforms. For example, the scheme of democratic decentralisation has led to reorientation of district administration. Parliament and its committees have always lent strong support to reforms. For example, Estimates Committee, Public Accounts Committee, and Committee of Public Undertakings have contributed to the process of reforms. The press may be able to find plenty of newsworthy material in the reports of these committees and can strengthen their functioning and efficacy, by giving due publicity to their findings and recommendations. The widening of educational base and emergence of strong and free press has created a greater awareness of the deficiencies in the bureaucratic system. Establishment of professional institutions like the Indian Institute of Public Administration, the Institutes of Management, and Administrative Staff College have helped in spreading knowledge regarding management concepts and techniques among civil servants and it is presumed that the process of training will help in bringing about desirable changes. These institutes also conduct research on various facets of public administration and a wider publicity of the research findings in the press help in building up necessary climate for reforms and may even initiate public debate on important issues. The reform efforts within public administration gets encouraged if the press gives due coverage and publicity to benefits arising out of the reforms.

The main factor that has inhibited the reform process has been the instinctive opposition to innovation and change by the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic resistance to change is an important behavioural aspect which cannot be ignored. The media can help in many ways by building up proper climate for improvements, such as criticism of shortcomings and publicity to the benefits from proposed changes. Secondly, in a country where the level of unemployment is high, there is strong resistance against any move for mechanisation and simplification of procedures, which may result in reduction of staff by the affected staff through trade union. The problem of overstaffing in public administration has not been tackled by the

reformers, as it affects vested interests in bureaucracy. The press represents the interest of the people at large and where public interest clashes with the vested interest of small segments of bureaucracy, press has the necessary autonomy and broad perspective to support the public interest. Reforms in public administration that involve "artificial inducement of transformation against resistance", can be facilitated, if these are supported by the media. The basic problem encountered by all measures of administrative reforms is the fact that the more a particular situation calls for a reform, the lesser is the capacity of administrative machinery to implement reform measures. Publicity of administrative policies and action is an informal and effective way of achieving administrative accountability in a democracy.¹¹ Administrators feel obliged to meet the queries of the press as the refusal would be interpreted as arrogance and give rise to suspicion. If the press and the media can be fed with appropriate information, the task of implementation of public policies becomes easier. A positive role of press in improving public administration is possible if there is greater co-operation between the press and administrators. Sometimes a workable rapport with the press helps the administrators to wage his battle against undesirable vested interests. In a democracy, public servants should remain accountable to the press and apart from informal rapport, institutional mechanism for useful interaction between the two should be strengthened, in order to promote the role of press in administrative reforms.

The key to reforms in bureaucracy lies in questioning its autonomy and self direction, by placing it under public scrutiny. Bijur and Caiden¹² have suggested that an independent auditor should make a comprehensive performance audit, including measurement of effectiveness, economy, efficiency, productivity, morality, legality and public responsiveness. This should be periodically conducted and the findings publicised. The findings of audit should be considered by a public action group, which may not have the expertise of a professional auditor but they can embarrass, humiliate, attack, expose, to force and make such other nuisance administrators eventually to take their notice. Such extreme form of accountability has its own limitations, but the publicity of the findings of professional auditors in the press can help in rectification of important deficiencies noticed by audit. Naturally, the press will not be interested in minute procedural objections and concentrate on consequential issues. At present, the audit report prepared by the Comptroller and Auditor General is placed before Parliament and State Legislatures and considered by Public Accounts Committee after a considerable lapse of time. The recommendations of the Public

Accounts Committee are placed before the House and addressed to the concerned departments for implementation. The press often makes some comments on the basis of Audit Report and the recommendations of Public Accounts Committee. The press cannot have the necessary infrastructure to make a detailed scrutiny of the multifarious activities of the government at micro level. Press can gather useful material from the reports published by the Comptroller and Auditor General, where important irregularities are highlighted. Publicity to such news items in the press will strengthen public accountability and facilitate necessary reforms. Although it is in short term interest of the executive to avoid public debate and outside scrutiny, a more open form of government is desirable from the point of view of sustained reforms.

In the ultimate analysis, far reaching administrative reforms involve a balance between conflicting values; accountability and autonomy, effectiveness of controls and their costs, comprehensive and incremental changes, decentralisation and control, stability and innovation. The subjective assessment of the decision maker regarding desirable rate of change also affects the strategy of reforms. Press should appreciate various facets and problems relating to reform so that it may play a useful role.

It is, indeed, a matter of social responsibility for the press to use the power of media at its disposal in a constructive manner in public interest. The pattern of ownership and control of the press and consequent editorial policies influence selection and management of news. Compulsions of market forces may tend to vitiate the editorial policies and many factors other than the 'public interest' influence journalism.

One of the important notions that emerged is total separation of press from government, analogous to the doctrine of separation of power. Allied with that is the idea of press as Fourth Estate, standing over against the civil power and a rival source of social authority.¹³ It involves a belief in supremacy of readers, expressed through the market forces. The compulsions of competition between newspapers stress the need of populism and sensationalism to catch the eye of an average man in the street. The press seeks to entertain as well as educate; it informs the readers about the world and interprets it to them. Although primary role of the press is to meet the needs of reader, it has acquired a public role within the private sector and is also expected to fulfil its social responsibility and accountability. "Public interest" may not be the same as "whatever the public may find interesting".¹⁴ One extreme view expressed in *Wall Street Journal* (quoted in the *Report of Royal*

Commission on the Press, 1977) is;

A newspaper is a private enterprise owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is, therefore, affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk.

Some critics feel that the concept of freedom of press is a fig leaf concealing the real interest of capitalist owners. The moot question, therefore, is whether press, which is run on strictly commercial lines, capable of discharging its public functions effectively. The capitalist pattern of ownership in India does not necessarily result in full autonomy and government has ways of exercising pressures. In spite of the limitations imposed by the owners, governmental interference, subtle pressures from advertisers who contribute to the revenues and the desire to increase circulation by resorting to populist postures, editorial policies have considerable autonomy regarding selection and presentation of news. For example, during the British rule, there were considerable pressures and browbeating from the alien rulers, but in spite of this several newspapers could write fearlessly. The rights and responsibilities of the press have increased after independence, as the press has acquired a greater degree of autonomy. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference adopted a code of conduct for journalists in 1953 which was endorsed by First Press Commission in 1954 and Second Press Commission in 1982. The main aspect of this code of ethics is the recognition of press as "a primary instrument in the creation of public opinion" the journalists should regard their calling as a trust and guard the public interests. It is recognised the a code of conduct for journalists is desirable in view of the 'public role' of the press. There are suggestions that a code of conduct for journalists should be adopted by the Press Council on the lines of All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, after suitable amendment in Press Council Act, 1978.¹⁵ There is a growing recognition of the sense of social responsibility of the press and adequate professional autonomy of editors and journalists will encourage the fulfilment of social purpose of the press. The role of press in social reforms in general and in improving public administration in particular, emerges out of the concept of social responsibility.

The social responsibility is indicated also in the role of press as the watchdog, the fourth estate, the adversary, etc. In the Indian situation, where so many simmering discontents lie submerged and erupt unexpectedly, the role of press as "an early warning

Evans that press should be a setter of agenda of community's debate. It should be a platform for variety of views, some of them, perhaps, unpopular. The traditional concept of news requires revamping and over emphasis on extraordinary events leads to sensationalism and trivialism. If the reporters' attention is centered on the seat of power and what happens at the grassroots is neglected by him then press is not presenting news in its correct perspective. James Reston, a noted Americal journalist, calls for more "thoughtful journalism" which will explain and interpret the events, instead of merely reporting them. There is a need to explain to the readers the social and political trends and "to make interesting what is important for the well being of the masses". The role of press in reforms may not be a popular one, although public interest demands that such a role should be performed. It is a challenge to the journalists to make this process interesting to the readers, to generate public interest and to initiate debate on various issues of public importance that may lead to reforms.

In the fulfilment of social responsibility, the role of journalists converges with the role of public servant and a greater interaction between them is necessary to promote effective and purposeful action by the press, even though there may be some differences regarding perception of 'public interest'. There need not be an adversary relationship between the two, which is likely to prevail if the press takes a critical posture and searches only the sensational and trivial items that can hit the headline by causing embarrassment to the government. On the other hand, a constructive role of press demands a tempered and objective assessment, leading to a greater trust in the journalists by concerned civil servants. Some of the persons who are willing to part with information to the journalists may have their own axe to grind; such 'leakage' of information should be viewed with caution. Another pitfall that may affect the assessment by the reporters is the 'social circuit', leading to 'gossip journalism'. Sound professionalism involves a deep probe into the facts and irresponsible comments in the press have serious dysfunctional consequences. The newspapers will have to build up necessary expertise to make authoritative assessment of public administration and may consider, as a short-term measure, assignment of short-term contracts to retired government officials for making an objective and critical assessment of various activities of the government. Serving officials may not be in a position to make an objective analysis of their own activities. The Conduct Rules do not permit government servants to make any statement of fact or opinion which has the effect of criticism of any recent policy of the government. The role of press in improving public administration implies a far

greater interaction between the press reporters and government servants at all levels; it also presupposes the availability of expertise and manpower in the press for this purpose. The role of reformer or crusader assumes a degree of zeal and persistence. The crux of the problem may be the difficulty in finding persons of necessary expertise and aptitude, who could specialise in public administration as a sub-discipline, within the profession of journalism, and allotment of funds to sustain such activity on a continuous basis. The professionalisation of journalists is also a relevant aspect; it forms a non standardised occupational structure and, therefore, it is necessary to provide required training inputs which may enable proper overall assessment by the press to induce reforms. Reforms is a controversial area and when items of news are selected for publication in the press according to a series of operational and commercial criteria, such items may get a fairly low priority. Sporadic attempts and isolated news items may not have a significant impact on the vast machinery of public administration; the question to be asked is whether the press can afford to pursue reforms as its goal on a continuous basis?

Most media organisations can be seen as having a mixture of three types of goals¹⁷:

1. Audience goal, which stresses the sales or total size of the audience;
2. Advertising goal, which stresses the need for raising advertising revenue; and
3. Non-economic goal, which may stress political, partisan, educational, cultural or merely general prestige objectives.

BBC's official goal is to provide information, education and entertainment; disputes regarding the mixture of these goals do not alter the general acceptance that a mixture of variety of goals is inevitable. All large media organisations have a variety of goals. Press has to evolve its own priorities and whether it will be able to allocate a portion of its resource on reform activity, which may not be able to produce tangible results and even if such role of press results in beneficial result, it is not likely to get the credit for the achievement. Findings of (communications) research indicates that persuasive mass communication is in general more likely to reinforce the existing opinions of its audience than it is to change such opinions.¹⁸ As far as the reforms in public administration are considered, there is a considerable general dissatisfaction with the performance of bureaucracy and, therefore, if reforms are considered as one of the goals of press, it should reinforce the existing

opinions, clarify and amplify specific issues, initiate debates, and result in questions in Parliament and State Legislatures. Press will consider reforms, as one of the goals arising out of its public role, only if it is likely to fulfil other objectives as well. Public is interested in ensuring that government should be more responsive to the needs of the population, non productive expenditure should be curtailed and the government should function in more efficient and effective manner. Any effort by the press in this direction, should have the support of readers, specially if they perceive the press as a medium for expressing their own interests.

Credibility of the press in India has been of a fairly high order, despite some instances of aberrations. Departure from the highest standards in journalism has been due to structural flaws in management and ownership of the press. Some slant or ideological differences are unavoidable and press tends to support the interest of its owners. Nevertheless, the conventions of adequate operating autonomy have emerged and editorial policies are, by and large, quite impartial and fair within the overall constraints. There is no blatant distortion of facts, nor is the press serving as an instrument of propaganda for government. Press should maintain its image of impartiality, if it has to perform a significant role in the society. There is a need for a more balanced reporting where the accomplishments of government are also brought to the notice of the readers, while criticising the failures and omissions. There appears to be a lurking fear that any praise of government may result in lack of credibility and, in any case, any praise of accomplishment is not, apparently regarded as newsworthy. Preponderance of negative criticism has adverse behavioural consequence on bureaucrats, who are likely to develop a 'thick skin' if the press is full of criticism of government. A defensive posture against the press by government cannot lead to healthy interaction. Civil servants will take a greater notice of the opinions expressed in the press, if the views expressed are perceived as objective and impartial. In this context, sensationalism in the press may be counter productive to its role as reformer and the 'audience goal' often clashes with 'non-economic goals'.

An important facet of the effectiveness of press in improving public administration is the response to the newspaper reports by the concerned wings of government, wherever a clarification or justification is necessary. A response to criticism in the press by government is necessary and should be institutionalised by 'Public Relations Department' which may monitor the news items in various newspapers, obtain comments from concerned departments and issue suitable press releases to explain the position. Liaison with the

press and imparting information to the press should be facilitated by Public Relations Department. At present, the conduct rules inhibit interaction between government servants and the press. No government servant is permitted to make a statement of fact or opinion "which has the effect of an adverse criticism of any current or recent policy or action of the Central Government" in any communication to the press or in any public utterances. This restricts the flow of information and opinion from the civil servants to the press, inasmuch as any statement of fact can be used by press in adverse criticism of government and thereby be treated as violation of conduct rules by the civil servants. Moreover, contribution of an article or a letter to newspaper or periodical requires previous sanction of government or prescribed authority. Any article or letter constituting adverse criticism is not allowed to be published. If press is regarded as an open forum for debates on issues of public interest and the press cannot make an authoritative assessment, without ascertaining the facts and opinions from the civil servants, above mentioned provisions of conduct rules should be modified to enable a more meaningful interaction between press reporters and civil servants, giving rise to a more open form of government. At present, the information made available to press is not without severe impediments and, therefore, the capacity of press to fulfil the role in improving public administration is also limited. If government believes that an open government is desirable for strengthening democratic institutions, press should have an open access to whatever information it considers necessary, unless it is classified information. In USA, accountability of public administration is secured through 1974 amendment to Freedom of Information Act, which makes federal officials personally accountable for improper withholding of information from anyone seeking data under their custody. Civil Service Reform Act was amended in 1978 in order to protect government employees who seek to expose what they consider to be violation of law, policy or sound management practice. One example of direct advantage of such open availability of information in the press in the USA are the recent 'horror stories' about the exorbitant prices being charged by the weapon makers from the Army, Navy and AirForce.¹⁹ A list of examples of overpricing was given publicity in the press and thereby General Electric had to revise the price list; price of screwdriver used for adjusting gyroscope was reduced from \$780 to \$45 and the price of two feet fibreglass cover for radarscope was reduced from \$1800 to \$45. A spokesman from Navy informed press that these ridiculous examples of overpricing were 'unusual', and Navy would review the pricing of each of the 2.1 million items in its spare part inventory. In India, such information

will remain shrouded in secrecy, unless there is an unauthorised 'leakage of information'. The Watergate scandal stresses the importance of 'investigative journalism' and has added a new dimension to the importance of press in democracy.

Administrative accountability is essential in a public administration system, even though its focus, emphasis, structure and mode of articulation may vary. In a democracy, where government derives its legitimacy from the people at large, the basic parameter of administrative accountability lies in the responsiveness of administration to the people. The concept of administrative accountability was explained by the Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability set up in Canada in 1976, as under:

To touch a live wire in a circuit is enough to establish the presence of electricity without further need of definition. The shock of recognition that attends the presence of accountability in a system of Government may not be quite as direct, but it is nonetheless detectable. We see accountability as the activating, but fragile, element permeating a complex network connecting the government upward to parliament and downward and outward to a geographically dispersed bureaucracy grouped in a bewildering array of departments, corporations, boards, and commissions. Accountability moves through this network like the current in a circuit but always in some sort of relation to the control centre, the cabinet. The dispersal and structural complexity of the bureaucracy makes the control centre vulnerable to stoppages and short-circuits of overloading. The control centre, the government, although ultimately responsible for answering to the legislature, may find itself out of touch with what is happening, or failing to happen, at the other end of the network. Similarly, a signal from the centre may never reach the departmental unit or agency concerned or may reach it in so confused a state that judgements as to performance become impossible to make.²⁰

In the context of administrative accountability to the people, press functions as a watchdog and as a media of communication. Government has taken over a vast array of functions in social and economic fields and as bureaucratic power increases, the question of administrative accountability becomes more important. There is an array of institutional mechanisms to secure accountability of the executive; political accountability, legislative accountability, judicial accountability, accountability to the superiors in administrative hierarchy and accountability of the civil servants to their profession. Within the complex web of checks and balances, civil

servants have constitutional protection to enable them to function 'without fear or favour'. The capacity of Parliament and state Legislatures to influence public policy is extremely limited.²¹ Parliament has performed a more active role as 'policy-influencer', than either 'policy-maker' or as 'policy-transformer'. The accountability to Parliament is hampered by several extra-constitutional political factors. The role of press in improving administration should be viewed in the context of practical limitations and inherent structural deficiencies of different means of making the executive responsive to the needs of the people. Press has a greater degree of flexibility and a variety of means available in securing accountability of the executive and strengthening the democratic institutions. It should examine the efficacy of various means of control and accountability, while evaluating the performance and suggesting changes. Whereas press has necessary autonomy and flexibility in its operations, major constraint in fulfilment of an effective role has been lack of resources, expertise and clarity of objective. If press regards improvement of administration as one of the important objectives and editorial policies are directed towards its achievement, press can play a more effective role and fulfil its social purpose.

The country is undergoing a rapid transformation from one political-social-economic framework to another; this involves management of fundamental changes. Administrative apparatus is the most potent instrument for managing these changes. Whereas ruling elite is likely to prefer perpetuation of status quo, sustained and gradual changes are in the larger interest of long-term political stability. Strengthening of democratic institutions for the fulfilment of aspirations of the people can be facilitated by a more effective role by press. Undoubtedly, press has its limitation, but despite the existing constraints, it can fulfil the social purpose by acting as a catalytic agent for reforms and as a watchdog on behalf of the people.

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Administration of Agricultural Development in Block Level Planning

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BLOCK LEVEL planning for rural development implies an integration of two approaches, viz., (i) the approach of Integrated Rural Development (IRD) with its multiple objectives of more production, more employment and more equitable distribution of income, and (ii) the approach of Integrated Area Development (IAD) which could work out the operational details of the block level plan within a macro-economic framework such that the targets for the block are consistent with the targets set at the regional and national level. However, in both the approaches, an attempt is made to reach the rural poor. While the IRD plans are detailed out for small units like a household, firm, etc., or their clusters, the IAD is concerned with the overall development of a block in terms of multiple objectives stated above that cannot be attained at district level. Integrated Rural Development Programme for a block conceived on the basis of clusters of activities will have to be integrated at block level. These have to be further integrated into sectoral plans at district level and so on.

In the present study, set in Ranaghat II Block, an attempt has been made to concentrate on a single sector of the local economy, viz., agriculture. Its development administration has been outlined within the overall framework of block level planning following the approach of Integrated Area Development.

STUDY AREA

Ranaghat II is one of the sixteen blocks of Nadia district in West Bengal. It is bounded by Hanskhali block on the north; Chakdah block on the south; 24 Parganas district on the east; while on the west the river Churni provides the boundary with Ranaghat I block. In the northeast corner, the block shares a small boundary with Jessore, now in Bangladesh. The block has a geographical area of 275 sq km entirely rural. The total population of the block was 2,11,134

according to the 1981 Census; density of population being 734 persons per sq km.

The block generally consists of a flat topography. It is a vast alluvial plain without any undulation. Churni is the main river which separates Ranaghat I and II blocks. Another river Ichhamati flanks the eastern boundary of Ranaghat Police Station. Both these rivers are two distributaries of the Jalangi river which is sluggish off-shoot of the Padma river. Some portions of the Churni and the Ichhamati are choked with hyacinth.

The predominant soil type in Ranaghat II block is loam which occupies 51.23 per cent of its total area. Other soils are clay loam (22.98%), clay (13.43%) and sandy loam (12.06%) in order of the percentage of area covered under them.

The climate of Ranaghat II block is characterised by intensely hot summer, high humidity and well distributed rainfall during the monsoon season. The maximum temperature in the block generally ascends in the month of April which is the hottest month with mean monthly maximum temperature varying from 37°C to 40°C. The average annual rainfall is 1,430 mm (56").

The gross cropped area in the block is 64,824 acre of which 38.1 per cent is the net irrigated area. Of that, 62.2 per cent is irrigated by shallow tube-wells, 33.9 per cent by deep tube-wells, 3.0 per cent by river lift-pumps and the remaining 0.3 per cent is irrigated by other sources of irrigation.

Of the gross cropped area, 38,450 acre (59.31%) is under paddy cultivation alone. The percentage of area under pulses, wheat and jute is 12.72, 12.57 and 8.48, respectively.

There are two main crop seasons in the block, viz., *kharif* and *rabi*. Although the multiple cropping system is not being practised extensively but the pre-*kharif* season is becoming important over time. The crops grown during *kharif* season are *aus*, *aman*, jute, arhar, moong and vegetables. The *rabi* crops on the other hand are wheat, kalai, gram, lentil, mustard (*rai* and *torai*), potato, vegetables, etc. Paddy, kalai and moong are grown in the pre-*kharif* season also.

PLAN ADMINISTRATION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In Ranaghat II block, agriculture can still be developed as there exists a good scope for increasing the irrigation potential, intensity of cropping and productivity of crops.

There exists a possibility to raise the average yield of major crops in Ranaghat II block particularly of paddy (HYV) and wheat. At present, the average yield of HYV paddy varies from 933 kg (*aman*)

to 1,270 (boro) kg per acre whereas the variation in the productivity of local paddy is 345 (aus) to 910 (boro). Considering the type of soils and their potentiality to raise productivity in consultation with the local agronomists, the productivity of Kharif HYV and local paddy has been estimated in the proximity of 1,700 and 1,020 kg per acre in the study area.

Utilisation of Agricultural Inputs

In Ranaghat II block, the farming is still traditional; the new technology has entered the block in the recent past and is slowly making its dent into the rural areas. The farmers have started using, though on a smaller scale, the new agricultural implements, viz., iron ploughs, tractors, power tillers, seed drillers, power and pedal threshers, etc. Generally the farmers utilise the agricultural implements, especially tractors, threshers and plant protection equipment on hire basis. The number of farmers owning these implements is very small and most of the implements are shared among them.

The average consumption of fertilisers, improved seeds and pesticides/insecticides per acre of net sown area is very low because of the low income and lack of technical know-how of the farmers. Although the land and water resources of the block are quite satisfactory, the quantitative and qualitative make up of the farm level resource base is generally an accumulated outcome of the cropping pattern itself. Because of the generally low yield, it is not possible for the small and marginal farmers to ploughback the money they obtain from their crops into the production process. Thus, one of the important constraints in agricultural development in the block is the management of farm level resource base.

The percentage of farmers making use of the loan facilities is low. The average amount taken on loan by a farmer also works out to be low. Electricity is available in most of the settlements of the block but there are frequent power failures. Diesel pump-sets are in greater demand but their short supply has made the problem acute.

There is no regulated agricultural market in the block. The agricultural markets in each *anchal* of the block are weekly, bi-weekly or tri-weekly dealing mostly in vegetables, rice, meat, fish, eggs, etc.

Facilities for Irrigation

For stabilisation of agricultural economy, development of irrigation is a prerequisite especially in view of irregularity, variability and concentration of the monsoon rains in a short period. Irrigation is one of the most vital inputs for achieving higher level of agricultural productivity. The marginal productivity of

irrigation water in unirrigated area is sufficiently high and it stands to reason that if all the areas where irrigation is possible are provided with minor means of irrigation, the agricultural output will increase by more than 100 per cent.

New HVV of crops have a higher water requirement and need secured irrigation without which these varieties cannot be grown successfully. The groundwater resource seems to be the ideal, permanent and reliable source of irrigation. The provision of water through all the seasons of the year is possible through minor irrigation, such as the tubewells. A farmer is also more and more interested in a dependable and independent source of irrigation and in the increase of cropping intensity in his field. This object at best can be achieved by installing tubewells with electric or diesel engines.

Assuming that in the years to come at the most 80 per cent of the net sown area of the block will be irrigated, the required number of shallow tubewells for the entire block works out to 2,339. These tubewells should be fitted with five HP electrically driven engines or with 5 HP to 7.5 HP diesel engines. The average cost of these tubewells would be Rs. 10,000 and each tubewell should have an irrigational capacity of a eight acre or more. Thus, the total cost of all these proposed tubewells works out to Rs. 223.9 lakh (see Table 1).

Crop Rotation

Apart from bringing additional new land under different crops, the development of assured irrigation facilities will also bring about significant changes in the existing crop rotation. The farmers are likely to grow more high yielding varieties and also the crops which demand more water, viz., vegetables, paddy, wheat, etc. Consequently, the minor food crops and minor oilseeds are likely to be replaced to an appreciable extent by major food crops or more remunerative cash crops. It is recommended that in small tracts of land, growing of vegetables should be encouraged. The irrigation will help not only in increasing the proportion of double-cropped area but also the yields of crops already being sown.

A new cropping pattern has been projected keeping in view the present trends, the profit margin, the acceptancy of the crops, soil types, existing cropping pattern, fodder requirement, better distribution of labour throughout the year, cost of production of each crop and the available categories of cultivators (Table 2.)

Phasing of Agricultural Development under Proposed Tubewell Irrigation

The sequence of work involved in the above mentioned agricultural

Table 1 PROPOSED TUBEWELLS AND THEIR ESTIMATED COST IN
RANAGHAT II BLOCK

Name of Anchal	Net Area sown (acres)	Net area irrigated		Area available for irrigation		Density of STWs (No per 100 acres of SNA)*	Pro-posed No. of STWs	Estimated cost of STWs (Rs. in lakh)
		Total (acres)	Per-cent-age	Total (acres)	Per-cent-age			
Aranghata	2996.95	1070.00	35.7	1327.56	44.3	3.67	166	16.6
Bahirgachhi	4553.46	2016.00	44.3	1626.77	35.7	4.62	204	20.4
Dattapulua	4776.26	2594.00	54.3	1227.01	25.7	6.02	154	15.4
Jugal								
Kishore	2383.34	1639.00	68.8	267.67	11.2	8.29	34	3.4
Raghu-nathpur-								
Hijuli	3542.49	1230.00	34.7	1603.99	45.3	2.64	201	20.1
Kamalpur	3681.53	2176.00	59.1	769.22	20.9	7.3	96	9.6
Aismali	3665.28	688.00	18.1	2244.22	61.9	1.99	281	28.1
Debagram	3836.37	1337.00	34.9	1732.10	45.1	3.25	217	21.7
Nokari	2847.03	885.00	31.1	1392.62	48.9	2.34	174	17.4
Baidyapur	5438.94	1867.00	34.3	2484.16	45.7	3.74	311	31.1
Majhergram	5298.35	1036.00	19.6	3202.68	60.4	2.32	401	40.1
Total	43020.00	16538.00	38.4	17818.00	41.6	4.00	2239	223.9

*Excluding the area being irrigated by sources other than shallow tubewells.

development under proposed tubewell irrigation is as follows:

Surveying: Survey of land for installing tubewells is proposed to be carried out by two teams. One team will cover **anchals** like Nokari, Baidyapur, Debagram, Majhergram and another team Aranghata-Narayanpur, Bahirgachhi, Dattapulua, Jugal-Kishore, Raghu-nathpur-Hijuli, Kamalpur and Aismali **anchals**. Also the survey will be carried out by means of techno-metric device which will be used to draw 0.3 meter contour maps. These contour maps will be utilised to finalise the location of tubewells, design field channels and compute

Table 2 PROPOSED CROP ROTATIONS IN RANAGHAT II BLOCK, 1985

Sl. No.	Type of Soil	Proposed Crop rotation
1.	Clay	Aus-Moong/Vegetables-Vegetables Aus-Kalai-lentil Aman-Boro Aman-Gram Vegetables-Aman-Vegetables
2.	Clay Loam	Jute-Vegetables-Wheat Aus-Kalai-wheat Aus-Moong-Potatoes Vegetables-Aman-Vegetables Potatoes-Rajni gandha
3.	Loam	Jute-Moong/kalai/Vegetables Lentil-Vegetables Aus-Moong-Rai/Gram Vegetables-Potatoes Vegetables-Vegetables-Vegetables Vegetables-Aman-Potatoes Rajni gandha
4.	Sandy Loams	Jute-kalai/Vegetables-wheat Jute-Moong-Tori/Vegetables Jute-Kalai Aus-Moong-Gram/Rai Aus-Vegetables Vegetables-Moong-Rai Vegetables-Vegetables-Vegetables Vegetables-Potatoes

cost of land shaping work. This operation will be conducted at the rate of 48 acre per week from 1st April to 15th June but this speed will be reduced to 7.5 acre per week during the rainy season, i.e., between June and September. For example, in Nokari anchal, the survey will start on the 1st April and continue for 10 weeks at the rate of 48 acre/week. The total acreage covered will thus be 480

(see Fig.1). The speed of work will be reduced during the next 16 weeks due to rainy season and the total acreage covered under the survey will be 120 acre. After the rainy season, i.e., from the 1st of October to January, the speed will again be 48 acre/week and the survey will cover the remaining proposed area in the Nokari anchal, i.e., 792.62 of the total 1,392.62 acre.

In the remaining period of the first year, 455 acre of Baidyapur anchal will be covered; the survey is to continue until the last anchal, i.e., Majhergram is totally covered. The second team will also survey the land starting with Aranghata-Narayanpur anchal on the 1st April in the first year ending with Aismali anchal at the end of the 5th year of the plan.

Tubewell Installation: Installation of tubewells will start after two weeks of commencement of the survey. For example, in Nokari anchal, 40 tubewells will be installed within a period of 10 weeks, i.e., from April 15 to June 10. In the first year, the installation of tubewells will be carried out at the rate of five tubewells per week. In the second year this rate will increase to six tubewells per week and in the third year onwards it will become seven tubewells per week. However, during the rainy season, i.e., from June 10 to October 1, no installations of tubewells will take place and the drilling will start only in the 1st week of October and continue till the 31st March at the previous rate, i.e., five tubewells per week.

Land Shaping: the quantum of land shaping can only be assessed once the results of the topographic survey are available. However, it is assumed that in the first year it will be at the rate of 40 acre per week, in the second year 48 acre per week, and in the third year onwards 56 acre per week. Land shaping will start one week after the commencement of drilling operation, i.e., three weeks after the start of the survey.

Application of Seed, Fertilizer and Insecticide: Cropping pattern and crop rotation worked out earlier are used for assessing the time of application of these inputs (see Fig.1).

Bullocks, Labour and Diesel: Requirements for bullocks, labour and diesel worked out earlier have been utilised to formulate the phasing programme. This programme will generate 71,272 mandays for land shaping at the rate of four persons per acre.

Administration: Administrative supervision is needed from the beginning to the end. About five per cent of the annual cost of tubewell installation is taken as the cost of administration.

Interest on Loan: The government allows 100 per cent loan for installing tubewells followed by Rs. 1,500 per farmer for other inputs. A seven-year period, with 10.5 per cent interest is, assumed

	April, 1st Year	April, 11nd Year	April, 111rd Year	April, 1Vth Year	April, Vth Year	April, VIth Year	April, VIIth Year	April, VIIIth Year
1. SURVEYING	I 1392.62 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
2. TUBEWELL - INSTALLATION	I 174 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	II 310 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	III 217 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	IV 401 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	V 281 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	VI 281 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	VII 281 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130	VIII 281 +40 + 130 + 56 + 130 +40 + 128 + 60 + 130
3. LAND SHAPING	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
4. SEEDS	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
5. FERTILIZER	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
6. INSECTICIDES ETC.	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
7. DIESEL AND MAINTENANCE	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
8. LABOUR	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
9. BULLOCKS	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
10. ADMINISTRATION	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248
11. INTEREST ON LOAN	I 1327.56 +480 + 120 + 732.62 + 455 +480 + 120 + 727.56 + 320	II 2484.16 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	III 1732.10 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	IV 3202.68 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	V 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VI 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248	VIII 2244.22 +480 + 120 + 1248 +480 + 120 + 1248

LEGEND
I HOKARI
II BAIDYAPUR
III DEBAGRAM
IV MAJHERGRAM
V AISALI
VI KAMALPUR
VII RAGHUNATHPUR & HIGULI
VIII JUGALKISHORE
IX DATTAPULIA
X BAHIRGACHHI
XI ARANGHATA

Fig. 1

for tubewells and two-year period is assumed for interest on other input loans.

Cashflow

Phasing diagram is utilised to work out the cash outflow (see Table 3). Cashflow consists of inflow and outflow. Output costs are crop yields in rupees, which are computed as accruing at the end of each agricultural season based on crop rotation designed for each **anchal**. The rate of crop price used is the current price. The yield will keep pace with the rate of opening up of area for irrigation. Cash flow is calculated only for the area to which benefits accrue due to installation of new tubewells and it does not apply to land which is already irrigated.

Benefit-cost analysis was made to compute the financial viability of the irrigation project. Generally, it is recommended by the Central Board of Irrigation and Power that the benefit-cost ratio for irrigation projects shall be more than or equal to 1.5:1. In our case, this ratio turns out to be 1.58:1 which shows that the project is profitable. The net present value (benefit-cost) works out to Rs. 631.03 lakh in this case (see Table 4).

Estimated Requirements and Costs of Agricultural Inputs

Based on the assured irrigation to the farmers and proposed cropping pattern, the requirement and cost of other agricultural inputs, viz., water, seed, fertilizer, pesticide/insecticide, labour and bullock have been worked out in Table 5. These are rough estimates and for achieving higher productivity, the provision should be made for their availability to the farmers well in time and also to educate them about the advantage of the use of these inputs.

Estimated Agricultural Output and Its Value

With the utilisation of estimated agriculture inputs in the block, it is expected that from the proposed cropping pattern, there will be a total yield of approximately 21,55,863 quintal annually against the existing total yield of approximately 10,29,283 quintal of agricultural produce of the crops under consideration. The value of this produce, at present rates works out to Rs.21,16,84,210 as against the existing value of Rs.11,45,50,620.

Benefit-Cost of Agricultural Plan

For realisation of the proposed cropping pattern in the block, the annual recurring cost of agricultural inputs will be approximately

Table 3 CASH FLOW (in Rupees) FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN RANAGHAT II BLOCK

Particulars	April 1st year	April 2nd year	April 3rd year	April 4th year	April 5th year	April 6th year	April 7th year	Total year
Inflow								
Surveying	59,123	59,132	59,133	59,125	49,534	-	-	2,86,047
Tubewell								
Installations	34,00,000	43,20,000	50,40,000	50,40,000	54,90,000	-	-	2,23,90,000
Land Shaping	52,800	69,099	89,637	80,626	74,398	-	-	3,57,560
Seeds	2,24,428	8,73,108	16,58,622	25,04,864	33,09,227	35,75,600	35,75,600	1,57,21,449
Fertilizer	5,04,159	19,66,222	37,34,982	56,40,706	74,52,319	84,02,660	84,02,660	3,61,03,708
Insecticides, etc.	1,69,483	6,60,985	12,55,590	18,96,237	25,05,248	28,24,724	28,24,724	1,21,36,991
Operating of Tubewells	2,69,242	10,50,046	19,94,639	30,12,376	39,79,856	44,87,378	44,87,378	1,92,80,915
Labour	11,57,610	44,34,459	84,23,577	1,27,21,591	1,68,07,358	1,89,50,680	1,89,50,680	8,14,45,955
Bullocks	2,08,099	8,11,589	15,41,673	23,28,291	30,79,064	34,68,332	34,68,332	1,49,02,380
Administration	1,75,596	3,98,008	6,56,996	9,15,984	11,51,580	11,51,680	11,51,680	56,01,624
Interest on loan	5,17,650	11,74,950	19,42,290	27,09,630	34,08,457	34,08,457	34,08,457	1,65,69,891
Total	67,38,190	1,58,17,598	2,63,88,139	3,69,09,430	4,64,04,141	4,62,69,511	4,62,69,511	22,47,96,520
Outflow								
Output	36,18,905	1,65,39,795	3,37,83,412	5,32,26,470	7,30,21,439	8,79,77,738	8,79,77,738	35,61,45,297
Cost Balance								
(+, -)	- 31,19,285	7,22,197	73,95,273	1,63,17,040	2,66,17,298	4,17,08,127	4,17,08,127	13,13,48,777

Table 4 BENEFIT-COST RATIO OF THE PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER NEW SHALLOW TUBEWELLS IN
RANAGHAT II BLOCK

Period	Input cost (Rs. in lakh)	Discount rate (i=12%)	Not present value of in- put cost (Rs. in lakh)	Value of the out- put (Rs. in lakh)	Not present value of the output (Rs. in lakh)
April 1st year -- April 2nd year	67.38	3.8800	59.29	36.19	31.85
April 2nd year -- April 3rd year	158.18	0.7744	122.49	165.40	128.09
April 3rd year -- April 4th year	263.88	0.6815	179.83	337.83	230.23
April 4th year -- April 5th year	369.09	0.5997	221.34	532.26	319.20
April 5th year -- April 6th year	464.04	0.5277	244.87	730.21	385.33
April 6th year -- April 7th year	462.70	0.4644	214.88	879.78	408.57
April 7th year -- April 8th year	462.70	0.4087	189.11	879.78	359.57
Total	2,247.97		1,231.81	3,561.45	1,862.84

Benefit-cost Ratio = 1.58:1

NPV (Benefit-cost) = Rs. 631.03

Table 5 INPUT REQUIREMENTS FOR PROPOSED CROPPING PATTERN IN RANAGHAT II BLOCK, 1985

Name of block	Requirement of Inputs												
	Water (acre-inches)	Fertilizer (qtls)			Seeds (qtls)	Plant Protection+Seed Treatment Material							
		Nitrogen Phosphate		Potash		Seed Treatment (qtls.)	Insecticide (Qtls)		Fungicide	Labour (Man-days)	Bullocks (pair-days)		
							Thi-mate	Dime-cron				Dith-ane	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Ranaghat	12,08,001.6	37,446.68	27,334.9	15,796.9	12,699.5	37.48	8.52	1781.0	7734.6	533.45	223.70	91,24,371	10,41,084
II	28.08	87	63.54	36.52	29.52	87.12	19.8	4.14	0.18	1.24	0.52	212	24.2
Average per acre	Acre inches	kgs.	kgs.	kgs.	kgs.	kgs.	gms.	kgs.	litres	kgs.	kgs.	man-days	pair-days

Rs. 10,03,56,201. The average annual profit per acre of net sown area to a farmer comes to Rs. 2,538 for the block. In case a farmer manages the field with his own family members and does not hire the agricultural labour from outside, the average income per acre of net sown area comes to Rs. 3,648 for the block. In other words, on an average, Rs. 304 per month is likely to be the income to a farmer with one acre of land in the block, in case he does not hire any agricultural labour from outside his family members.

Environmental Impact

The use of recommended quantity of fertilisers, pesticides and various other chemicals in the block is not likely to cause any damage to man or the environment, the birds, fish and other organisms in the food chain, health hazards to men and animals; bioaccumulation in the environment and animal tissues, etc. In order to significantly reduce the application of pesticides and other chemicals, the alternative control measures should be adopted as these are likely to preserve and enrich the environment.

Surplus/Deficit of Foodgrain

Foodgrains constitute a major part of the diet of most of the population of the block as well as of the country. Without imports, the net availability of foodgrains per capita per day with existing cropping pattern for the proposed population works out to be 553gm for the block and the availability is likely to be reduced to a figure of mere 442gm. With the introduction of proposed cropping pattern, the average net availability of foodgrains for the block comes to 1.02 kg per capita per day for the year 1985. In this connection, it may be mentioned that these figures are only averages and indicate an overall picture.

Crop Measures Suggested for Agricultural Development

In order to step up the agricultural production, new high yielding techniques should be applied extensively and for this the existing scarcity of inputs, particularly water, chemical fertilisers and credit, should be removed. The emphasis should be put on timely and adequate supply of agricultural inputs, viz., certified seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, farm machinery and credit. For increasing the agricultural production, the farmer should be provided with the latest technology. This is likely to create a healthy effect on the farmers in carrying their crop rotation practices. The managerial ability of the farm entrepreneur should be improved. In this connection, there should be a corresponding growth and expansion of the institutional infrastructure in the block.

The State Government should set up one experimental farm each in Aranghata-Narayanpur, and Dattapulua which will serve the needs of the farmers of the nearby mouzas. These farms will exploit all the available and already known improved practices suitable for local climate, soil and topography. These farms could be stimulated and controlled in some essential manner by the State Government. The operators of these farms should not only be under obligation to make use of all available technical knowledge but also to demonstrate these practices in specified hours to groups of farmers.

In order to utilise the marginal lands to their optimum capacity and also to improve the efficiency of inputs, mixed cropping should, whenever possible, be resorted to. The mixed cropping is also likely to increase the production of the crops. Farm yard manure and compost should be used according to their availability. If on some farms, a large number of pigs and/or chicken are kept, the production of manure is likely to be so high (in case land area is limited) that the farm is likely to be faced with an excess of manure. The possibility should be exploited for processing the local excess manure.

A soil testing laboratory should be set up at Aranghata-Narayanpur for providing soil testing facilities to the farmers for the correct assessment of the fertiliser and other requirements of the various crops. In addition, mobile testing laboratories attached to the stationary soil testing laboratory should be provided to reach the farmers in Dattapulua, Purba-Naopara, Dhantala, Baidyapur, Daluabari, Aismali and Bahirgachhi.

The possibility should be explored for creating an organisation which would ensure efficiency of work and the timely service for maintaining and repairing farm machinery. The government should issue licences to those units which have acquired requisite training for the purpose and this system can be supported by a policy of providing spare parts only to those units which are the licencees or the government should make sure that the licensed private units do not suffer for want of equipment, supplies and spare parts.

The scope of new technology may be enlarged by providing new inputs to small farmers and provision of adequate production credit and therewith the opening up of newer possibilities of more liberal credit. Adequate credit facilities should be made available to the farmers and the procedure for obtaining credit should be further simplified.

In order to increase the agricultural production, the government should resort to the consolidation of scattered land holdings and also to bring near the far flung layouts of the land holdings. The land owners and share croppers should be made to jointly share risks and bear viable inputs costs. This will avoid the evils of lower

output per acre of share cropper's farms and also the social tensions generated by disputes involved in share cropping.

Keeping in view the requirement for agricultural inputs and the expected agricultural produce, the scientific storage capacity required should be built in Aranghata-Narayanpur, Dattapuliah, Purba-Naopara, Dhantala, Baidyapur, Daluabari, Aismali and Bahirgachhi. The procurement could be made in these *mouzas* through the cooperatives.

Special training programmes to provide the required skill in proper use and maintenance of agricultural implements and also to meet the managerial needs of the farms should be initiated at Aranghata-Narayanpur, Dattapuliah and Gangnapur. Once the farmers learn to make an effective use of such machinery at peak labour periods, they will be able to perform their operations in time and increase farm production per unit area and per unit time. To provide facilities for the quick and cheap transportation of the farm produce to the various assembling markets a programme should be launched for construction and improvement of roads.

The cooperatives of small and marginal farmers should be organised. These cooperatives could provide on mutually agreed basis the farm machinery for all types of agricultural operations. The co-operative structure could be further reinforced with the objective of building up an integrated structure for remunerative marketing. A business-oriented farmers' cooperative could be helped to emerge. The agricultural processing plants in the cooperative sector should be set up so that the producers could earn better share in the consumers' rupee.

CONCLUSION

To raise the income of farmers, efforts are needed to remove the existing bottlenecks in the development of agriculture in the block, viz., absence of assured irrigation, lack of adequate and timely supply of seeds, fertilisers, pesticides/insecticides, farm machinery, credit, etc. Simple and intermediate implements and farm machineries should be made available on soft loan terms to the farmers to improve their productivity in agriculture. The power position should also be improved without any delay and till that time sufficient diesel for operating farm machinery should be procured.

Special training programmes are needed for developing skills in the effective utilisation of agricultural implements and water management. Besides, all obstacles to the drainage of water from the fields should be removed by land development programmes. Efforts are also required for the provision of marketing, fertilisers, seeds and storage facilities.

Professionalising Public Administration and Management in Africa*

KOFI ANKOMAH

The Road to professionalism is paved with all sorts of difficulties. There are many vested interests whose short-term interests it is to maintain the *status quo*. The older generation of civil servants, a great number of whom are poorly educated, belong to this group. They resist and resent any suggestion for fundamental changes in the administrative system which is likely to threaten their leadership position or expose their professional weaknesses. And yet this group of people are holding some of the highest offices in the public services of their countries.

--ADEBAYO ADEDEJI

"PROFESSIONALISATION OF Public Administration and Management," the theme of The Tenth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar held at Freetown, Sierra Leone, October 31 to November 6, 1971 has evoked controversies in Africa. A variety of interpretations also abounds in the discussions of the topic. However, one thing is very clear about professionals and professionalism: Professionals seldom talk about their status as professionals.¹ It appears that only those whose status appears in doubt spend endless time and effort talking a great deal about being professionals. Professionals excel not by pronouncements but by the legitimacy of their *contributions* as acknowledged by their clients and the public at large.

A great deal of confusion can be avoided in our discussions of professionalisation of public administration and management in Africa, if we distinguish between: (a) converting current public administration and management practices into a profession--that is,

* A paper contributed to The Tenth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar on Professionalisation of Public Administration held at Freetown, Sierra Leone, from October 31 to November 6, 1971.

administration and management practices into a profession--that is, elevating public administration to accord it a professional status, with all the accompanying paraphernalia (elevating current practices of public administration to professional status could only spell a doom to the continent. It would only lead to entrenching groups who have caused ample damage to the continent); and (b) ensuring that adequate specialists from appropriate disciplines enter, remain and rise to the top of the public services of Africa, without undue frustrations, to contribute their worth to society.

INTRODUCTION

A dreary litany in the literature of public administration over the past decades has been 'a hunt for the mythical unicorn'²: 'Professionalism'. The 'recognition syndrome' continues to dominate the 'field' so much so that instead of charting new paths, the discipline continues to ape others with little or no significant contributions towards establishing a 'core' or 'field' long advocated by Martin Landau.³ The debate over the nature of Public Administration--science, art, craft, or profession--continues with its interesting conclusions but has done very little to enhance the prestige of the discipline.⁴ Instead of focusing on evolving prescriptions for eliminating social malaise, theorists continue to dabble in the mud waters of seeking recognition, while practitioners scrutinise options to entrench themselves. Meanwhile vital social issues, such as offering more and better social services with available resources, maintaining existing services at a lower cost or ensuring that services provided are equitably distributed remain unsettled. In the words of H. George Fredrickson:

Classic public administration emphasises developing and strengthening institutions that have been designed to deal with social problems. The public administration focus, however, has tended to drift from the problem to the institution. New public administration attempts to refocus on the problem and to consider alternative possible institutional approaches to confronting problems. The intractable character of such public problems as urban poverty, unemployment, and health care lead public administration seriously to question the investment of ever more money and manpower in institutions that seem only to worsen the problems.⁵

Public Administration and Management continues to search for recognition. Though found in universities as schools and departments, the core subjects of Public Administration and Management vary from

university to university, yet people continue to receive academic degrees, and books and articles continue to be written about it. Lately, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) of USA has "issued a clarion call for the adoption of a 'matrix of professional competencies' as guidelines for graduate education in the field and has established a committee on professional standards".⁶ The objectives of the guidelines are to develop "a common core of concepts, theories and issues for teaching and research" or what Heaphey terms 'Homoginisation'.⁷ What is being sought by NASPAA, in establishing standards for 'professional masters degree' programmes, is to train people with 'common curriculum components'. But the question is whether societies need more specialists than the generalists that these programmes are training for.⁸ The issues that face the discipline are many and it is unlikely that the most crucial issues can be solved within the next few years. However, that public administration is a discipline remains undisputed but whether or not it is a profession or can be made a profession is subject to a variety of interpretations.⁹ A global discipline of public administration with a universal set of principles advocated by the pioneers of the discipline is evolving¹⁰ and it is important not to misinterpret 'a global framework' with 'a science' or profession:

It is important at least for those wishing to take this prediction seriously, not to confuse a 'global framework' with 'Science'. There is no indication that Gulick's dream now can be realised. The future will not alter what is firmly entrenched with respect to science and public administration, which is that public administration is not, cannot be a science though it can utilise all these sciences.¹¹

After independence and contrary to the expectations of many African nationalists, the plight of the average African continues to be in the abject state it was before. Economic independence, which must follow the political, continues to elude many African nations. Contrary to expectations, the oppressive bureaucratic apparatus used to subjugate the natives remains intact in most African countries, with only one modification: 'Black occupants', instead of the departing colonial officials in high offices. Those who examined the nature of the colonial bureaucracy observed as follows:

Perhaps the most crippling legacy of all was the colonial administrative apparatus and practices. Designed for political domination and economic exploitation, no tool could have been more ill-suited for launching independence states into a period in which the

politicians had to build strong united welfare states, and fulfill their election promises of creating utopia after independence at one and the same time.¹²

Development seems to have evaded many African countries *inter alia* because, many nationalist politicians did not properly conceive the nature of the political and administrative systems they were inheriting from departing colonialists.¹³ For development to take place, African leaders must redirect their attention and examine critically the nature of society they want in their various countries. Assess what it takes to achieve their objectives, and make a concerted effort towards these ends. In the words of Prof. Adebayo Adedeji:

If the struggle for political independence was the dominant issue of the forties and fifties, with Africanisation of the Civil Service as the one of the sixties, the indigenisation of the African economies is now the dominant issue of public policy for all independent African States. African governments have long recognised that political independence is but a sham. Indeed, decolonisation is a long process which involves not only the taking over of the political government of a country, its Civil Service and Management of its public enterprises, but also the ownership, control and management of the country's economy. Without a successful indigenisation of the economy, independence would remain very much a shell, an empty shell.¹⁴

But regardless of what measures are taken to bring about indigenisation,¹⁵ without professionalism in public administration and management, indigenisation and Africanisation will also be but 'a sham'.¹⁶

Professions and the Process of Professionalisation

Developments in science and technology have resulted in changing the nature and scope of African societies. The change is rapid and society is being transformed into different states in a short span. The transformation as well as the speed of change need to be acknowledged and appreciated, so also must the trails of complex problems that come with the change. Conditions in African societies confirm the growing distrust in the adequacy of established and traditional approaches and techniques. The emerging social transformation requires rather innovative approaches as well as structural and radical departure from the old system of bureaucratic practices.¹⁷

Recognition of Professionalism

Post-independence Africa has witnessed violent change which must be matched by requisite institutional changes to cope with the challenges. Growth in the public sector has brought within the compass of the civil service a diversity of professions and skills absent from the pre-independence era. Yet the institutional mechanism for administering society is based on the concepts which were valid in the 19th century when the prevailing "belief was in liberalism, private enterprise and local self-government": Concepts which appear rather inappropriate for the new era. The 'night-watchman' view of the Civil Service¹⁸ is no more appropriate to the Civil Service of the new era.¹⁹ The critical need in Africa is to accept the need for professionalism in Public Administration and Management and **the resultant need for effective team work**. Recognition of professionals in public administration and management will also require devising appropriate measures for pulling efforts and resources together both on national and continental basis. This obviously requires identification of the professional, his role, his position within the general structure of the service, and the framework of the administrative machinery as a whole. There is no current alternative to professionalisation of public administration and management but the question for Africa is: What form should professionalisation of public administration and management take?

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

The nature of the professions and the process of professionalisation have been subjected to extensive description. However, there are variations of interpretations as to its attributes. In spite of the diversity of interpretations, most writers agree as to certain attributes that distinguish the professions and other occupations.²⁰

The professions are noted as the most growing occupational category in the Post Industrial Society. By professions is meant occupations characterised by considerable skill, based on theoretical knowledge. Required education and training usually entail formal testing or examination, by an approved body, to determine the competence.²¹ In addition, members must subscribe to a code of conduct governing their professional behaviour.²² The right to practice within the area of competence is conferred by the authoritative body to personnel with the prescribed qualifications. Clients of professionals are considered 'incompetent' to assess the services provided but professional persons are subject to judgment of fellow professionals. Professions and professionals must provide altruistic

service:

Although there is disagreement among scholars as to the essential or core characteristics of professionalism, there is substantial congruency in definition. Among attributes commonly cited by these and other observers are the possession of systematic or scientific knowledge, a service ethic, self-policing by fellow practitioners, extended formal training and existence of codes of ethics.²³

In short, possession of expertise or training in a body of abstract knowledge, belief in the autonomy in work activities and decision making, strong identification with the profession and fellow members, commitment to the work of the profession, a strong feeling of ethical obligation to provide service devoid of self-interest and emotionalism and belief in maintaining standards through self-regulation or collegial maintenance of standards, are the hallmarks of professionalism.²⁴

In short, a professional in the narrower sense believes in the need to acquire, develop and possess expertise or training in a body or abstract knowledge. For the individual who considers himself a professional feels that he must arrogate to himself and his colleagues in the occupational category, the decision-making authority and complete autonomy in work activities, and believes in self-regulation or appraisal of his work by a fellow professional. Commitment is to the profession and to the client and a deep commitment for service devoid of self-interest and self-aggrandisement²⁵ must be the goal.

Wilding writes of the process of professionalisation as follows:

First occupational association, then university-based courses of training, then occupational control of entry to the occupation, then a professional monopoly--and so on--until full professional status is finally granted by a grateful government on behalf of a delighted and deferential populace.²⁶

Skill-Based Knowledge

Controversies abound with respect to whether public administration possesses 'systematic' and 'scientific' knowledge to qualify for a status as a profession. The skill-based knowledge of public administration and management is the findings of social and behavioural science. Broad in orientation, the theoretical base is not finally crystalised yet like other professions, the practice of public administration cannot wait until the final theories are discovered as

observed by Guilick:

Medical men cured sick people before they had Pasteur and the beginnings of a valid medical theory. Early men built fine bridges, roads and irrigation works before we had calculus, engineering, soil analysis or hydraulics. The Japanese and the Spaniards made wonderful steel before metallurgy. The Wright brothers flew before we had aero-dynamics. But in each case the subsequent progress could not have taken place without the development of comprehensive theory, scientifically validated and the translation of theory into a new technology. This is where we stand and what we need in public administration.²⁷

In spite of the vacuum and the apparent absence of a core/field for the discipline of public administration, a number of theories have been propounded which could be considered the knowledge base for the 'profession'. Many models have been offered and within each model, a number of practical steps can be taken to operationalise those models. For example, a number of authors have focused empirical attention on "the organisation, the production group, the government agency, the bureau and the work group". This group labelled as the 'Classic Bureaucratic Model' by Frederickson examined certain characteristics, including the structure of organisations, the hierarchy, control, authority, including chain of command, unity of command, span of control, merit appointment, etc. According to Frederickson, these groups of theorists while they may not have succeeded in their endeavours, attempted to see how economy, efficiency and effectiveness, as values can be maximised. These groups include notables like Frederick Taylor, Woodrow Wilson, Max Weber, Luther Guilick and Lyndon Urwick. The second group or school according to Frederickson is the 'Non Bureaucratic Model' which is typified by Herbert Simon, James March, Richard Cyert and William Gore. Their major focus is on the decision process and they attempted to operationalise logical positivism and other approaches, such as operations research, systems analysis, cybernetics to ensure that decisions taken are rational, efficient, economical and result in increased productivity. Another group of scholars which attempted to present a skill-based knowledge according to Frederickson is the 'Institutionalists' who, he states, employ empirical positivist approach to decisions which, though rational, accept incrementalism, pluralism and focus on organisational behaviour in its cultural contexts. The advocates of such framework include Charles Lindbloom, James Thompson, Michel Crozier, Anthony Downs, Frederick Mosher, Amatai Etzioni, Peter Blau, Robert Riggs, Victor Thompson and Philip Selznick, among others. Another

group which Frederickson labels 'The Human Relations School' focuses on interpersonal relations in the working environment. The group studies worker-satisfaction, personal growth and individual dignity that are derived from participation in an organisation. Advocates of this approach, according to Frederickson, include Douglas McGregor, Renis Likert, Warren Bennis, Chris Argyris, and we might add, Frederick Hertzberg with his motivational theory. Another group which Frederickson highlights is the 'Public Choice School', whose focus is on the organisation/client relation in the distribution of public goods and services. The group applies economic criteria to public problems and examines the extent to which citizens have choices in decision, or options in society as well as accessibility to services provided by the public system. A number of theorists are identified with this group and these include Vincent Ostrom, James Buchanan, William Mitchell, William Niskanen. Frederickson's categories, like many others in Public Administration are subject to a variety of arguments by students of public administration. However, it cannot be disputed that a skill-based knowledge exists which can be and need to be codified to operationalise it.²⁸

There is no question on the applicability of the knowledge since most of them were based on empirical observations, even though they might have some environmental limitations. While the knowledge base problem in public administration cannot be attributed to the dearth of conceptual postulations, it is safe to argue that the development of the field is marred rather by conceptual confusion. As Todd R. La Porte put it:

Contemporary public administration is subject to a great conceptual confusion. As an intellectual enterprise, it encompasses basic underlying ambiguities in many implicit models mixing various normative and substantive concerns, analytical assumptions and preferred methodologies. A cursory review of its major literature reveals little attention to the resulting diffused focus or potential analytical and normative tensions. There is almost no examination of the relevance of concepts to social or organisational reality.

* * *

The major problem of Public Administration as an intellectual enterprise is this: Contemporary Public Administration exists in a state of antique or maladapted analytical models and normative aridity.²⁹

The prevailing conceptual confusion can be overcome by concerted effort to evolve theoretical convergence. Such an effort will show

the extent of the knowledge base of the discipline. In short, a body of abstract knowledge exists. But now in Public Administration, the question is not even the existence of the body of abstract knowledge but the relevance of such knowledge. In selected areas, considerable advances have been made in application of knowledge--O&M, Personnel Management, Financial Management, Communication, etc. It is hardly questionable that these sub-fields of public administration can be handled by anyone without prior training. It is my view that AAPAM will be better served if it assists in organising and imparting existing knowledge.

In short, in spite of the fact that "until recently the knowledge base of public administration was drawn from experience" and "the practice was guided to a great extent by those who developed the art of managing" and "intuition, rules of thumb and experience" have been 'predominant'. Public administration and management possess adequate esoteric knowledge and skills which will enable practitioners, who are familiar with the knowledge and skills, accomplish their tasks more effectively and with better results than others who are not familiar with such knowledge. The only problem is that the knowledge is spread and not yet codified for easy application. The language may not be very appealing to the practitioner, however.

Service Ideal

William J. Goode defines the 'Ideal of Service' as "The norm that the technical solution which the professional arrives at should be based on the client's need not necessarily the best material interest or needs of the professional himself, or, for that matter, those of society".³⁰ The craft of public administration is laced with the 'Service ideal'. In the words of Gerald E. Caiden "Academics study public administration to better its performance. If within the course of their investigations they believe they have some better way of doing things, they feel obligated to share this knowledge and to persuade others to their way of thinking".³¹ Reform is at the roots of their investigations. In the process of investigation, the academic undergoes considerable sacrifices. While it can be said that the findings of public administration academics have not made considerable impact on administrative reform, it cannot be denied that the rational behind their efforts is to find better ways of improving society and minimising deviant behaviours on the part of bureaucrats so as to maximise social welfare. Social equity and social welfare are the focus of analysis of public decisions and tools and techniques employed are aimed at ensuring that the right things are done in the right way.³² The student of public administration is involved. He operates with the normative premise that public organisations seek to

reduce "economic, social and psychic suffering and the enhancement of life opportunities for these inside and outside the organisation". He assesses 'public organisations and prescribes remedies to ensure that they could become free from "economic deprivation and want".³³ Hence analyses concentrate not only on the impact of organisational decisions but also perscription to ensure that appropriate remedial measures are taken.

For the practitioner of public administration, the 'ideal of service' dominates his career. His motto is 'service to my country'. And he embraces careerism; political neutrality has been his mantle, even if at times abused and misused, as 'occupational inertia'. He operates according to hierarchical structure and by established rules. He follows precedents and ensures that similar cases are treated equally, all things being equal. He is loyal to his state and adheres to the principle of *primum non nocere*--'Above all not knowingly to do harm'. In the words of Peter Drucker, no practitioner of public administration "can promise that he will indeed do good for his client. All he can do is try. But he can promise that he will not knowingly do harm. And the client, in turn, must be able to trust the professional not knowingly to do harm. Otherwise he cannot trust him at all".³⁴ If the 'ideal of service' seems obverted in practice, it is not because of the absence of such 'ideal' but rather due to faulty system of training and recruitment,³⁵ which could very easily be traced to the distance between theorists and practitioners. Therefore, Ridley observed as follows:

It also means that in the final analysis we must begin to conduct policy research based on clear normative awareness and the analytical questions implied by that awareness, and conduct it with a degree of rigor seldom encountered in current literature.³⁶

The problem with the concept of the 'Ideal of Service' is not that such 'ideal' does not exist but rather the variety of interpretations that is attached to it. The views of the practitioner diverges from the academic and what is needed is constant dialogue between practitioners and academics in public administration. It is the view of this writer that the problem can be minimised in Africa by encouraging the academics to participate as practitioners, so as to appreciate the problems of the practitioners. Also, it would be a great service to the respective countries if practitioners are encouraged to assist the academics. It does not take too much effort taking into consideration the contributions of developments, such as 'management by objectives' and related developments like planning, programming and budgeting system and zero base budgeting to ensure

that administrative responsibility is matched with administrative freedom. Accountability for responsible behaviour must be matched by reasonable freedom and openness for the administrator to operate effectively.³⁷

Importance of a Professional Association

Another hallmark of professionalism, it is often stated, is 'a professional association'. This is typified by a guild-like organisation composed of practitioners. The association sets down the entry rules and requirements, basing them on prescribed training and qualifications through examinations.

The association, either national or international, provides 'impartial, objective leadership' in the development of the scientific and 'professional' aspects of the profession.³⁸ This ensures that prescribed standards, knowledge and skills are maintained. The association also ensures that the border of the profession is well protected against other groups attempting to encroach on the preserves of the profession. The association controls the number and directs the practitioners.³⁹

In public administration, the basis of professional associations exists. The problems however, revolve around ensuring that a sense of community exists. But unlike other professional associations, public administration associations have not considered it desirable to represent its members nor to regulate their performance. What it does, however, is to use other vehicles to influence their performance. For example, as Caiden writes:

The frontiers of a discipline are usually presented in the latest issues of professional journals, providing editors remain receptive to new ideas and trends. In these journals, controversial articles provoke debate. Current research findings are summarised. Book reviews and notes inform specialists of recent worthy publications. Conference reports, staff news and employment services promote professional intercourse. Currently, over one thousand journals have some bearing on public administration.⁴⁰

It is also time that an association, such as AAPAM, came out with a 'professional' journal on African Public Administration and Management for both practitioners and academics to express their controversial views on the topic.

EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

In his article entitled "Myth of the Well-Educated Manager",

J. Sterling Livingston argues that "there is no direct relationship between performance in school or training programs and records of success in management".⁴¹ This is further complicated by the fact that Public Administration and Management theory, as presently taught, reflects the American experience with some French and English contributions. The model's universal application continues to be challenged, especially by the revelations of the successes of the Japanese experience,⁴² the Asian experience⁴³ and the African experience.⁴⁴ Environmental considerations, including local culture and value systems and 'view of good life' have all contributed to the challenges of traditional 'theories'. For Africa, values which might lead to different management systems and styles remain unexplored.

Africans' sense of group membership and responsibility, their preferences for personalistic relations and preferences for consensus decision-making rather than by majority rule or autocratic dictates may require significant modifications to existing public administration/management theories.⁴⁵ According to Livingston, existing public administration/management education does not give the manager the package he needs to enable him to manage effectively:

Managers are not taught in formal education programs what they most need to know to build successful careers in management. Unless they acquire through their own experience the knowledge and skills that are vital to their effectiveness, they are not likely to advance far up the organisational ladder.⁴⁶

One of the doyens of public administration writes: "I have indicated that, as I view things, any sort of monopoly position on education for public administration is impossible, and if it were possible, it would be undesirable. We are well served by experimentation, complementarity, competition, and fluidity".⁴⁷

These two authorities in public administration and management development have much cause to worry about the educational basis for public administration. However, in my opinion, they have tended to react to history rather than discerning trends in the 'field'. As previously mentioned, a slow but systematic growth is taking place in education for public service. The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) with the "avowed purpose of preparing persons for the public service or improving their performance in it"⁴⁸ has increased its membership and is growing in confidence. Granted, compared with people entering the public service as a career, the number of persons covered by the NASPAA programme is a fraction, but what can be said is that NASPAA is exerting a 'unifying and homogenising' force in public service education.

Adequate standards have been set and moves are under way to ensure that the standards are maintained. In addition to NASPAA, another association of Schools of Management, the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business is also operating as a 'homogenising' factor. It is anticipated that accreditation standards will soon be applied. In the words of Frederickson, 'education for public administration is almost completely new. This is not because education has been ahead of practice, but mostly because it has begun to catch up'.⁴⁹ The structure of a society determines the nature of its educational needs, and it is through the educational system that its 'concepts and values are being taught'.⁵⁰ Progress is being made towards selection, training and ultimately control of education for public service at various levels. At least, now we can tell 'what we are training for', and know that no training programme can encompass all objectives and expect to do everything equally well.⁵¹ In education for public service, there have been clear patterns that are discernible with a shift from relatively little training for public service to almost mandatory training for public service. Frederickson categorises **Education in New Public Administration** as follows:

EDUCATION IN THE NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION⁵²

From	Transition	To
M.P.A. programmes closely connected to political science	Separate public administration programmes	Public administration programmes bridged to or connected with other public service educational programmes, such as social work, public health, planning, etc.
Pre-career education for public administration	Mid-career education for public administration	Continued education for public management
Public administration education for management or staff functions	Public administration education as development of analytic skills	Public administration liking management and substantive specialisations, such as urban, international environmental etc.

From	Transition	To
Public administration education as POSDCORB and 'the principles'	Public administration education highly situational--as human relations, policy analysis, management science, etc.--and groping for a model	Public administration as a paradigmatic dialogue
Emphasis on administration in public administration education	Emphasis on neutral analysis and description in public administration education	Emphasis on ethics and public interest in public administration education

'Professional Schools' for public service exist. Without doubt, problems also exist but the rudiments exists to transform public administration and management training into acceptable and enviable standards, emulating other professions, if the attributes approach is used.

Paul Wilding takes issue with the 'attributes' approach and argues that the professions like any other social phenomenon must be studied in the context of the society in which it is studied:

No social phenomenon can be understood without reference to the society in which it is set. Society cannot be studied--or at least understood--without reference to social theory. The theory or model of society adopted colours of the subsequent interpretations of social phenomenon.⁵³

According to Wilding, there are three basic assumptions of the attributes approach: (1) that professional work "is in some way different", (2) that somewhere there is a "a true profession, an archetypal, ideal type accepted by all students and commentators as exuding the very esse of professionalism, and from it the key professional traits can be deduced with general agreement", and (3) the status of traits and attributes are often taken for granted. "Too often statements of the aspirant group are taken at their face value and assertions of the existence of an ethical code or systematic theory or need for lengthy training are accepted by commentators without investigation or analysis. Students of the professions "have

uncritically accepted the claims and assumptions of the subjects of their study".⁵⁴ Wilding calls for critical examination of professional claims rather than merely accepting the claims: Claims by professions about the need for training need to be looked at in the light of various functions which training serves'. He quotes Weber to illustrate the point:

When we hear from all sides the demand for introduction of regular curricula and special examinations, the reason behind it is, of course, not a suddenly 'awakened thirst for education' but the desire for restricting the supply for these positions and their monopolisation by the owners of educational certificates.⁵⁵

He further cites Berlant to illustrate the assertion of ethical code. He writes:

As regards the professions, the assertion is that, as far as medicine is concerned, codes of medical ethics must be seen as organisational tools, resources used by the profession in its bid for a range of privileges and in particular for professional autonomy and monopolisation.⁵⁶

If public administration has not become professionalised, it is not because it lacks the attributes of professionalism; Associations exists; University based courses of training abound, but perhaps it is because public administration has not been influential enough in other areas. The product of action by officials of public administration and management has not warranted professional status. Organisation to gain and control market power requires "occupational self-assertion, struggle, conflict and, if successful, closure".⁵⁷ These are based on the extent of power and influence of the occupational group.

In short, Public Administration and Management could secure the status of a profession when the degree of expertise of its practitioners and the nature of their work are socially acceptable. When practitioners have generated a degree of trust and their operations are considered important in society. When the interests of practitioners in the field are compatible with those of the powerful groups in the society and their support as well as the support of the public is obtained. But above all, the state must grant its blessings. This requires political struggle.⁵⁸ But will professionalising public administration and management in a guild-like manner improve the performance of public bureaux? Will societal problems evaporate by such recognition and acceptance? Will the badly needed research and

reforms to restructure society immediately come to fruition with the arrival of professional status in public administration? Will the distance between practitioners and academics be bridged, and thereby facilitating evolving better strategies to constrain the malpractices in society? How relevant, therefore, will professionalisation of public administration and management be to the plight of millions of Africans living in squalid and impoverished conditions? Professionalisation of public administration and management examined from the traditional view point will result in enriching numbers of the guild-like trade without increasing the proficiency of its members. My answer is in the negative.

What is needed in public administration and management in Africa is an honest effort on the part of academics and practitioners alike to find ways and means of easing societal burden. Ameliorating and mitigating the developmental ordeal does not require engrossing in recognition for self-interest and prestige. African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) can be beneficial to the people of Africa if its concentrated efforts can be devoted to seeking ways and means of safeguarding Africa's future, by exploring alternative scenarios. AAPAM can also assist in the developmental process by evolving recommendations for implementation by African governments.

The AAPAM, though it has long recognised the importance of a professional association in the process of professionalisation of public administration and management, continues to be powerless. It has no monopoly of control over its members because it exerts no influence in the training of public administrators/managers; it plays no role in certification of practitioners, and can hardly influence them in their performance. It has no mechanism to enforce the code of ethics agreed upon from the draft proposed by Adedeji in 1971. Though it enjoys a high degree of prestige, AAPAM lacks authority and monopoly possessed by a genuine professional association in which membership is a necessary pre-requisite for the right to practice. In addition, only a fraction of personnel practicing in public administration and management belong to AAPAM.

Though AAPAM, as influential as it is, can mobilise support and gain recognition of governments as a 'genuine professional' association by ensuring that practitioners of public administration of a certain category be licensed by AAPAM for the purpose of practicing their trade, very little can be accomplished by such politiking. Such measures can hardly guarantee a better performance in the public service. Instead, it will heighten the rift between the generalist administrator and the operational specialist which will aggravate the existing poor conditions in Africa.

DOMINANCE OF THE GENERALISTS

The practice of the dominance of the generalist administrators is inappropriate to the needs of Africa.⁵⁹ The practices of other places show that the view of granting monopoly of access of the ministers to the generalist is not necessarily the best approach:

In France, for example, the specialist technician is himself a member of an administrative elite: key posts at the Ministry of Transport are filled from engineers in the **Corps de Ponts et Chaussées**. In Australia, the professional enjoys higher status and salary than the general administrator and some posts, like those at the head of the department of Health and Works are reserved for him. In the United States, a high proportion of senior posts are held by scientists and engineers; specialists heads of bureaux carry more weight than generalists with congressional committees.⁶⁰

When political questions succeed developmental objectives and problems of harnessing and exploiting natural resources supersede political matters, as African conditions dictate, then it becomes natural to ensure that senior posts are granted to those officials who possess relevant specialist knowledge. Both America and Australia have followed that pattern with great success.⁶¹

Even now, Australian ethos finds it difficult to recognise policy advising as a special skill, requiring special mode of selection and training. The same compulsions of economic development work in favour of the specialist in the young democracies such as Canada and New Zealand and in Soviet Russia too where the engineer administrator is as common a phenomenon as in America.⁶²

It is not surprising that studies conducted show that development has direct relationship with degree of professionals in management positions.⁶³ For African countries to develop at a faster pace, it is imperative that they discard the idea of 'apotheosis of the dilettante'.⁶⁴

Action and result oriented public service require optimum utilisation of manpower to increase efficiency and effectiveness, which raise vital questions on the primacy of generalists. Improving productivity and effectiveness of the civil service requires employing of specialists but often the issue of the scarcity of specialists is used to support the case against specialist administrators. The proponents argue that Africa does not have enough specialists to

'waste' them on 'routine administration'. What the proponents of such arguments fail to recognise is that often the damages caused by generalist administrators often neutralise the effectiveness of specialist operatives, which result in more 'waste'.

Professionally qualified civil servants continue to be outside the mainstream of public service management in English speaking African countries. In spite of the lip-service given to allowing professionals room at the top in the civil service in Commonwealth Africa, professionally qualified civil servants continue to reach ministers only through generalist administrators who are supposed to be the principal advisors.⁶⁵ The monopoly to advise continues to be reserved for members of the administrative class who are supposed to be the only group that can understand how the machinery of government operates. The key posts in professional ministries continue to be filled not by specialist/technicians but by generalist administrators.⁶⁶ Modern conditions, in which African countries are involved in socio-economic and technical development necessitates critical appraisal of development options, not by the amateur/generalist but by the professional expert in selected developmental areas.⁶⁷ It is the medical expert who is best equipped to provide professional advice on health implications of development issues.⁶⁸

Stimulating Leadership

The increasing problems of Africa require analytical and logical techniques to combat them. These will require more broadened and sophisticated yet specialised perspectives which will consider among other things, the future, and not only the immediate implications of the apparent problems. In the words of Mosher:

One might also anticipate a broadened and more sophisticated approach to analytical techniques which take into account elements beyond purely economic and quantitative considerations. There will be increasing concern about long-term objectives, alternative measures for reaching such objectives, social--as distinguished from purely economic--indicators and improved information systems concerning both costs and effects of programmes.⁶⁹

Societal problems will require for their solution, task forces, think tanks, and special staff as aids to ministers rather than the generalist administrator. Such an approach will require employment of people in relevant specialisation.⁷⁰ In the words of Mosher, "Generalist decisions will be reached through the pooling of the perspectives and techniques of a variety of specialists. Leadership will be increasingly stimulative and collaborative and less direc-

tive".⁷¹ Few people would argue against the importance of taking a general view of a problem. Few people would even argue against the 'inadequacy of the technocratic concept of management' but still fewer people would argue that on the African level, the uplift of the masses for better social services and conditions will depend on adapting novel techniques and technologies. This obviously calls for expertise and initiatives based on technical knowledge. This also requires that advice to ministers of state should be given by people who are more than technocrats. In the words of Peter Drucker:

The manager has to be a craftsman. His first duty is, indeed, to make his institution perform the mission and purpose for the sake of which it exists--whether this be goods or services, learning or patient care. But this is not enough. Any institution exists for the sake of society and within a community. It, therefore, has to have impacts, and one is responsible for one's impacts. In the society of Institutions..., the leadership groups that is the managers of the various institutions also have to take social responsibility, have to think through the values, the beliefs the commitments of their society and have to assume leadership responsibility beyond the specific and limited mission of their institutions...⁷²

The question for Africa then becomes how to transform technocrats into managers. Professionalisation of public administration and management, therefore, becomes necessary, ensuring that the public services of Africa are managed at the top by personnel with appropriate and relevant technical knowledge matched by administrative skills. As Ridley aptly states:

My conclusion was that many directoral posts should by definition be occupied by specialists, using that term broadly to include economists and engineers, for example. This is very different from merely opening such posts to the best men regardless of career. I would not suggest, of course, that the most highly qualified engineer should *ipso facto* be appointed: Administrative and technical expertise are both factors to be taken into account--but senior policy-making and managerial posts require specialists with administrative skills rather than men with administrative skills, some of whom may incidentally have a specialist background (and an unrelated one at that).⁷³

DESIRABLE DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE

Public administration and management training for professionals at different levels will broaden their view, enrich their understanding of social issues, their inter-connections and provide them with more sharpened analytical tools to enable them to make more effective decisions. Professionalisation of public administration and management implies identifying the right specialist at an early age--perhaps even during his professional training--and provide him with the skills that will enable him to direct the activities of others and will also enable him to assume the responsibility and accountability for achieving results through the efforts of his people. In addition to his specialist skills, the practitioner will require those skills which will enable him to work effectively as a member of a team, be it the public service generally or a ministry of government or a unit within a ministry. These kinds of skills dubbed human skills will develop the practitioner's perspective vis-a-vis other co-workers, including superiors, co-equals and subordinates in the organisation.

Because of their narrow and partial view, because they are not immune from personal and professional self-interest, specialists will further require training in skills which will enable them to view their enterprises as a whole. This kind of training will enable them to discern the manifest and latent connections of their operations to the operations of others. In other words, training in conceptual skills, will arm and sensitise the specialist to the importance of applying holistic and integrative approaches to his work.⁷⁴

In short, management training of specialist administrators should equip them with appropriate knowledge which integrate the broad aims of the minister with the select professional or technical or interests of the organisation. In addition, such a training should provide the specialist with techniques to enable him to operate in a smooth manner to secure the necessary resources, as well as securing the necessary approval for his organisation (what might be termed as diplomacy skills). He must be imbued with skills to enable him to persuade others to his point of view. He must also be trained in the art of reconciling conflicting objectives and enabled to acquire techniques to effectively appraise issues and to take effective decisions.

Regional institutions should endeavour to organise joint programmes to ensure that the specialists who did not benefit from such programmes during their professional training acquire such skills to assist them in improving upon their performance: 'Another approach' writes Schott, 'and one which has great potential for making a

contribution to the quality of the public service, is consciously to increase the interaction of schools of public affairs and administration with the professions--both with those of their practitioners already in governmental positions, and with their schools of training.⁷⁵

African Regional Institutions, in short, could try to encourage teaching of public administration and management in the professional schools in Africa or assist in designing public administration and management training for specialists in different categories of employment so that on reaching the top they too will be equipped with the administrative skills, necessary for executive decisions. In other words, professional training should be altered to include basic administration to enable civil service professionals to enjoy fuller opportunities to gain administrative experience, early in their careers.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Public safety, public health, public morality and public welfare in Africa demand that African Governments formulate an effective strategy to ensure that the services of Africa are manned by professionals--personnel with expertise to tackle the problems of society. No particular class of public servants need to claim a monopoly over management skills and higher administrative positions except those personnel who have had the requisite training. Public administration and management training should be given to personnel with **prior expertise** to enable them to have a global view and to make them more effective. African public services should evolve service schemes that make provisions for advancement of specialists to the top posts of their ministries/departments and not be restricted to be on tap through the myth of the generalist administrator, provided the appropriate management training has been given. Specialists in the African public services be motivated to remain in the service and this can come about when conditions of the service take into account their peculiarities. Multidisciplinary approaches to planning and implementation, as well as task forces and policy groups should be adopted and project managers should be personnel with expertise central to the project.

African Regional Organisations, as a matter of policy, should in cooperation with Institutes of Public Administration and Management design training schemes to broaden the perspectives and alter the training of professionals to include basic management and also **grant** them opportunity to **practice** management during the early part of their career. AAPAM should also endeavour to form an association of

Schools and Institutes of Public Administration and Management to harmonise training programmes and to ensure that curricula in public administration and management in Africa is standardised. They should facilitate establishment of regional Schools and Institutes of Public Administration to ensure that the scarce training resources on the continent are effectively utilised.

African Regional Organisations should also encourage and facilitate the establishment of African Futures/Policy Studies/Strategic Studies Centre to assist policy makers in Africa. They should concentrate on institutional and corporate membership and influence the study and practice of public administration through such membership rather than influencing public administration through individual members.

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Budget Formulation and Weber's Three Types of Dominations

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HOW DO organisations function? What modes are followed? Writers differ on these. Max Weber, the seminal German sociologist, argued at the turn of the century that the dominant mode of functioning in present-day mass societies, organisations tend to be bureaucratic. To Weber, it meant that: (a) there exists a constitutionally established hierarchy and a set of rules for the incumbents to carry out their functions, and (b) incumbents, in carrying out their functions, actually do obey these rules and hierarchy.¹ So far no attempt has been made to examine the validity of Weber's formulation in a Westminster style of cabinet government.² British writings on constitution generally argue that in the Westminster style of cabinet government, pre-established rules and hierarchy to carry out governmental function do not exist. For example, Haldane said:

There is no law, there is no regulation of which I am aware in the Civil Service, which interferes in the slightest degree with our thus working out our own freedom in advance. I am not quite sure that that would have proved to be so in the case of all continental nations. I know of some which I think (have) what we fortunately do not possess, a body of laws which regulate in a searching fashion administrative services and which restrict thought in these services very closely.³

Similarly, Baker from his long experience in British Civil Service said:

In relatively few instances can I recollect my own authority or that of my colleagues--equal, senior or junior--being defined by formal rules. Most of the time it was not precisely defined at all.⁴

Since the forties of this century, when Weber's works were made

available in English, they provided points of departure for major case studies on organisations.⁵ Most of these studies came out with 'findings' that Weber's description of organisational process is largely formal. They argued that actual operation of organisations depart from the ideal typical pattern.⁶ These critics of Weber imply that rules, which are formally established, are generally not followed in carrying out organisational functions. Legally established powerholders are not actually powerful. They just endorse what has already been decided. These case studies stop short of considering Weber's other two types of dominations--traditional and charismatic--and do not examine whether what they called departures fit into these types or not. This constitutes an injustice to the methodology of ideal type proposed by Weber. He always said that the three types of dominations were ideal types; they cannot usually be found in reality in pure form. "The forms of domination occurring in historical reality constitute combinations, mixtures, adaptations or modifications of these pure types".⁷

There is a sequence in what has been said above. Weber suggested that a consistent set of rules and hierarchy exists in the organisations of mass societies. Constitutional purists argue that such rules and hierarchy do not exist in the Westminster style of cabinet government. Weber further suggested that such rules and hierarchy are heeded in actual operation in organisations. Critics of Weber go one step further than the Westminster constitutional theorists. They accept that a set of rules and hierarchy exist in organisations but they are not heeded: the organisation in its functioning departs from the established set of rules and hierarchy. In other words, while the Westminster constitutional theorists argue that the Weberian first condition for an organisation, called bureaucratic, does not hold, the critics of Weber argue that the second condition does not hold.

These problems were tested on the budgetary process of the New Zealand government which is a variety of the Westminster style of cabinet government. The study included 24 departments of "public service" of the government of New Zealand.⁸ The period covered was from 1975 to mid-1984 when the National party was in the office with Sir R.D. Muldoon as the prime minister. Data was collected from New Zealand government documents, particularly Treasury Circulars and face to face interview. In all 44 interviews were conducted with 36 public servants.

WEBER'S THREE TYPES OF DOMINATIONS

Weber developed his three types of dominations from instances

throughout human history.⁹ The meanings of these types can only be understood if they are compared systematically. Lack of this perspective contributed greatly to unjustified criticism of Weber.¹⁰ Weber's three types are well known: legal domination, charismatic domination, and traditional domination.¹¹ This discussion, which outlines Weber's ideal types, equates 'bureaucracy' with "legal domination". Since Weber himself says: "Technically bureaucracy represents the purest type of legal authority".¹² The terms "bureaucratic domination" and "legal domination" will be used interchangeably which has been frequently done by Weber himself when he made comparisons with other types.¹³ Weber proposed that the types of dominations will "differ fundamentally" according to the kind of legitimacy which is claimed, the type of obedience, the kind of administrative staff developed to guarantee it, and the mode of functioning.¹⁴ In view of the problem identified for this article, only the aspect of the mode of functioning will be discussed.¹⁵

Rules constitute the essence of bureaucratic mode of functioning.¹⁶ From Weber's analysis, two types of rules may be identified: delimiting rules, which defines functions and powers of each incumbent and operating rules, which determine how incumbents should carry out their functions. These rules are relatively stable and exhaustive; they are fixed and announced before hand and can be learnt.¹⁷ Bureaucratic and traditional dominations are similar in one respect. Both are oriented to rules. But there is a significant difference. In bureaucratic domination; rules are enacted while traditional domination is bound to "precedents handed down from the past".¹⁸ Precedents are sacred and are not capable of deliberate change while rule in bureaucratic domination may be so changed. In the bureaucratic form, rules are not sacred, anybody with "sufficient power can always replace these rules with others, equally deliberately created".¹⁹ Contrary to conventional wisdom about rigidity in bureaucracy, Weber, comparing it with traditional domination, says bureaucratic structure is flexible, adaptable to new tasks, amenable to abstract regulations, and thus "can be reorganised at any time if need be".²⁰ Because of the absence of rules "exercise of power" in traditional domination is "entirely discretionary, at least insofar as it is not more or less limited by the ubiquitous intervention of sacred traditions".²¹ Charismatic domination is fundamentally different from the other two types:

It knows no abstract laws and regulations...transforms all values and breaks all traditional and rational norms: "It has been written..., but I say unto you..." [It] does not refer to rules: in its pure type it is the extreme contrast to formal and

traditional prescriptions and maintains its autonomy toward the sacredness of tradition as such toward rationalistic deductions from abstract norms.²²

In the charismatic type, there are "no permanent institutions in the manner of bureaucratic agencies, which are independent of the incumbents and their personal charisma".²³ In bureaucratic domination, rules are generalised and applied to cases in abstract. The system does not allow the incumbents to regulate matters by "individual commands given for each case".²⁴ But in non-bureaucratic types, for instance in traditional domination matters are dealt with case by case where "practically everything depends explicitly upon the personal considerations: upon the attitude towards the concrete applicant and his concrete request".²⁵

In bureaucratic domination, incumbents are given a "specified sphere of competence" which is "marked off as part of a systematic division of labour". They are also provided with "necessary power" but their use is "clearly defined".²⁶ In traditional domination, on the other hand, "there is a conflicting series of tasks and powers which at first are assigned at the master's discretion". However, spheres of competence may emerge in traditional type out of the "competition for sources of income which are at the disposal of the master and his representatives".²⁷ Because of this, while in traditional domination, "The master wields his power without restraint, at his own discretion and, above all, unencumbered by rules, insofar as it is not limited by tradition or by competing powers. By contrast, the order of a bureaucratic official goes in principle only as far as his official 'competence' permits, and this in turn is established by a rule".²⁸

In charismatic domination: "There is no such thing as a bailiwick or definite sphere of competence, and no appropriation of official powers on the basis of social privileges".²⁹

Another major characteristic of Weber's bureaucracy is hierarchy:

The organisation of office follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. There is a right of appeal and of statement of grievances from the lower to the higher.³⁰

In the context of discussing the question of hierarchy in traditional domination, in addition to the aspect of "super and subordination", Weber brings out the decision-making dimension. Through enactment, it is established "who shall decide a matter or

deal with appeals--whether an agent shall be incharge of this, and which one or whether the master reserves decisions for himself".³¹ In traditional domination, a hierarchy does exist, but this hierarchic distribution of decision-making functions either occurs as it has occurred in the past or the master takes up any decision as he wishes and if he does so "all agents have to yield to his personal intervention".³² In charismatic domination: "There is no hierarchy; the leader merely intervenes in general or in individual cases when he considers the members of his staff lacking in charismatic qualifications for a given task".³³

Commonly, it is said that the ideal type bureaucracy suggests centralised decision-making. For instance, Pugh, Hickson, Hinings and Turner said categorically: "bureaucracies pass decisions to upper levels".³⁴ This is wrong. Weber does not suggest that the superior makes all the decisions neither does he suggest that the superior can exercise arbitrary authority over subordinates because "the rules of the bureaucracy not only legitimise the power of a superordinate, they also delimit the extent of his authority".³⁵ In fact, Weber categorically maintained that hierarchy in bureaucracy means delegated decision making not centralised decision making. As he says: "hierarchical subordination--at least in public office--does not mean that the 'higher' authority is simply to take over the business of the 'lower'. Indeed the opposite is the rule".³⁶ Hierarchical subordination does not imply absence of delegation; it implies that source of authority is located at the top.³⁷ Weberian bureaucracy suggests structured delegation. At a first stage, an official is given authority but it is delimited. At a second stage, operating rules are provided indicating how to make decisions. The existence of the system of structured delegation does not imply, of course, that hierarchic superiors "never issue directives with which subordinates are expected to comply".³⁸ There can be two ways to maintain hierarchic authority: either by "using general rules to limit the discretion of the subordinates or by taking out of the hands of the subordinates the actual decision making function".³⁹ When the hierarchic superior does not make decision himself, but declares general rules to guide the subordinates in making decisions, the superordinate may further review the decisions reached by subordinates to see whether the decisions conform to the rules fixed and announced beforehand.

Constitutional Aspects

Constitutional purists argue that, in the Westminster style of cabinet government, an established set of rules and hierarchy do not exist. It has been pointed out that rules and hierarchy constitute

two prominent elements of Weber's ideal type bureaucracy. So it is perhaps implied that the ideal type bureaucracy has no relevance to Westminster. New Zealand has transplanted the Westminster style of cabinet government.

During the period under consideration, budget for the purpose of formulation was divided into two broad parts: existing policies and new policies. Existing meant already approved policies and new policies meant not yet approved policies:

A 'new policy' is the introduction, extension or alteration of any policy leading to an increase in expenditure (gross or net), or to a reduction in receipts or revenues, or to a change in the timing, distribution or source of expenditure, receipts or revenue.⁴⁰

In accordance with this definition, any change which has not yet been approved even within areas where departments had been incurring expenditure constituted new policy. For example, a proposal for discontinuation of a particular benefit programme constituted a new policy. A proposal leading to a change in the rate of a particular benefit was new policy while a proposal for increased expenditure due to rises in the number of unemployed within the same approved rate was an existing policy.

Within existing or approved policies, two adjustments were made: Price level changes and volume changes. Price level changes referred to "the percentage changes in the costs of inputs to maintain the same level of output for an activity" because of the "changes in the relative purchasing power of the dollar."⁴¹

The Financial Forecasting System Manual 1976, established a standard method of price level change calculation by SEG items.⁴² Each individual SEG item was divided into sub-items and the relevant inputs were identified to establish prices. For example, an item in SEG-2, Travel, Transport and Communication, may be payments to post office. Its sub-item may be parcel rate. In this way, price level change of a SEG was identified in the minutest detail. In addition, standard method, as it was called, also elaborated the statistical technique to be employed for the purpose. Departments were instructed to use the method and if a department wanted to use some other method, it required prior Treasury approval.⁴³ Treasury supplied a selected list of price level changes which gave the price movements of different inputs over a particular period. Spending departments were expected to use the list. Volume change referred to a "change in the level of activity and hence in the use of resources by the department".⁴⁴ Volume change could be proposed only when some exogenous factors drove expenditure upwards or downwards within an

existing policy. For example, an economic downturn may result in an increase in the number of unemployed and the Department of Social Welfare may justify proposals for increased expenditure. It should be clear by now that actors had very little freedom in adjusting these two changes because they were controlled by rules and by factors over which they had very little control. Actors involved in adjusting existing policies were expending department, Treasury and the Forecast Review Committee (FRC)--a committee of public servants. Adjustments within existing policies were made under a phase called the Three Year Forecast. Departments were responsible to prepare; FRC had the authority to approve and Treasury reported on these adjustments. FRC was required to submit its final report on existing policies to the Minister of Finance who in turn informed cabinet about it. These changes within existing policies did not require compensatory savings which meant "balancing of new expenditure against reduction elsewhere in a vote".⁴⁵

During the period under consideration, new policy proposals were divided into two categories:

1. those which have no other purpose than to retain an existing policy in place by providing for price (including salary) changes; (Inflation Adjustment New Policies); and
2. those which propose new initiatives or changes in the scope or size of existing policies.⁴⁶

New policies required compensatory savings. New policy proposals and compensatory savings proposals required separate approval, i.e., only approved new policies could be funded by approved compensatory savings. Inflation Adjustment New Policies (IANP) did not require compensatory savings.⁴⁷ New policies were those of individual ministers. They were responsible for establishing priority among proposals regarding new policies and compensatory savings and for submitting them to the Cabinet Committee on Expenditure (CCEX) which was the authority to approve these proposals. Although essentially a committee of spending ministers, it included as well either the Deputy Minister of Finance or the Associate Minister of Finance or both. The provision was that other individual ministers attended meetings when proposals relating to their departmental functions were under consideration. Meetings were also attended by officials from Treasury and the State Services Commission and from departments whose proposals were being considered. A minister who was not satisfied with CCEX decision could appeal again to the committee for reconsideration. Any minister could also raise in cabinet matters arising out of CCEX as is the case with all cabinet committee

discussions. Treasury's responsibility was to report on them. Cabinet retained the ultimate authority to hear appeals, to formulate budgetary rules and, where necessary, to waive rules. For instance, only cabinet could waive the requirement of compensatory savings.⁴⁸

Summary of Discussion

Writers on the Westminster constitutional theory claim that the British system of government does not operate by establishing general rules and delimited hierarchy. This section sets out with the purpose of examining this assertion of the constitutional theorists. It is clear that this claim of the constitutional purists does not hold for the New Zealand budget formulation area as it operated from 1975 to mid-1984 although New Zealand is a variety of the Westminster system. In budget formulation the rules were:

1. Budget should be divided into existing policies and new policies. Within existing policies, price level changes should be distinguished from volume changes. Adjustments within existing policies did not require compensatory savings.
2. New policies required compensatory savings.
3. Inflation Adjustment New Policies--a variety of new policies--did not require compensatory savings.

Similarly tasks in budget formulation had also been constitutionally delimited in accordance with a hierarchic order. The Forecast Review Committee determined adjustments within existing policies. These adjustments were proposed by departments and were reported on by Treasury. The Cabinet Committee on Expenditure recommended to cabinet new policy and compensatory savings proposals proposed by ministers. Treasury also reported on these proposals. It may be pointed out that adjustments in expenditure in accordance with existing policies had been delegated to the public servants while expenditure adjustments as a result of policy changes, determined through new and compensatory savings policies had been retained in the hands of the ministers. Cabinet retained the ultimate authority to hear appeals, to formulate and waive rules.

ACTUAL PROCESS

Critics of Weber argue that Weber's description of organisational process is largely formal. They argue that in actuality organisational process departs from the ideal typical pattern. This section examines the actual budgetary process of the government of New Zealand to see whether it departs from the constitutionally

established structure.

Within the area of existing policies, it was found that spending departments formulated their requests by dividing it into price level changes (PLC) and volume changes. In determining PLCs, they followed, as far as possible, the Treasury supplied list of PLCs; where they could not, they followed generally accepted price indexes. Whatever the case, they generally followed the standard method identified in the Financial Forecasting System manual to calculate their PLCs. Similarly, in proposing volume changes, by and large, they guided themselves by the definition of new policy and proposed policies which were adjustments within existing policies.

Treasury review of departmental submissions regarding PLCs concentrated on three points: (a) price sources, e.g., indices; (b) method used to establish PLCs; and (c) the arithmetic. Where departments used the Treasury supplied list, they virtually required no investigation. In cases, where departments used other price indices, Treasury investigated whether the index applied for a particular item was appropriate. If not, they checked the method applied to establish PLCs. Treasury then checked the arithmetic of PLC calculation generally by random sampling and occasionally picked up apparently large changes. In the area of volume changes, Treasury tried to find out whether they represent changes within existing policies and what factors were responsible for increases or decreases in policies. If Treasury found that a volume increase was not driven by exogenous factors within an existing policy, it was eliminated no matter how small the amount demanded was. Conversely, if it was found that a department has proposed a large volume increase with valid justifications, Treasury recommended favourably.

The Forecast Review Committee (FRC) decided on adjustments within existing policies after seeing reports and hearing representations from departments and Treasury. It was found that in most of the cases FRC agreed with Treasury not because it was Treasury but because Treasury agreed with departments when rules allowed them to agree. But there were cases when FRC did not approve when Treasury and department agreed. FRC tried to apply rules strictly and when it was found that a particular proposal constituted new policy, concerned department was asked to submit it as new policy at CCEX. This author did not find any case where Treasury or FRC had demanded compensatory savings for adjustments within existing policies.

New policy and compensatory savings proposals were those of individual ministers. Ministers played a dominant role in the area although this was essentially one of reviewing submissions from public servants. Ministers just did not endorse anything submitted to them. They sometimes proposed policies on their own initiative,

altered the departmental priority order and even dropped some proposals altogether from the list. And when they did, departmental officials conscientiously obeyed. It was found that ministers submitted new policies generally with compensatory savings. Treasury in reporting on new policies examined whether compensatory savings were provided or not. Interviewees reported that Treasury very rarely supported a new policy proposal without genuine compensatory savings. Treasury also examined where the savings were coming from, whether they were realistic; when satisfied with these considerations Treasury examined the feasibility and desirability of both new policy and compensatory savings proposals. Similarly, Cabinet Committee on Expenditure (CCEX) generally approved new policies only with genuine compensatory savings. CCEX first examined compensatory savings proposals and, if they were found to be genuine, they were approved. At a second stage, ministers in CCEX went on to examine new policies on their own merit and approved those number of new policies which could be funded by approved compensatory savings.

Summary of Discussion

It has been shown that actors in New Zealand budget process did follow the rules. For instance, in the area of adjustments within existing policies, all three actors--departments, Treasury, and FRC distinguished PLCs from volume changes. Existing policies got required adjustments where necessary. For example, it was the policy that Family Benefit would not get PLC adjustments. This author did not find that it received any. Conversely, National Superannuation received PLC adjustments as it was allowed to have them. It was existing policy that Unemployment Benefit would change (volume change) as the number of people claiming unemployment benefit changed. No departure from this rule has been reported by the participants. No attempt was made by Treasury or FRC to take compensatory savings from the spending departments on these adjustments. In accordance with current definition, any change in the rate of any subsidy or benefit constituted a new policy. This author did not come across the case of any department attempting to include any such new policy in the adjustments within existing policies.

New policies were required to be compensated by equivalent amount of savings. Both of them required approval from CCEX. The committee and Treasury judged both of them for their feasibility and desirability and then they were compared with one another. New policies were approved generally when they were compensated by savings. If proposals for compensatory savings were not approved, ministers had to abandon new policies. It was found that ministers generally submitted new policies with compensatory savings.

It has also been shown that the established hierarchic process had always been followed. No instance was found where, for example, new policies were approved through another channel and were submitted to CCEX just for legitimization. It is theoretically possible that one minister might have been tempted to get his policies approved through cabinet rather than CCEX and Treasury because both of them demanded compensatory savings. But that was not possible because any submission to cabinet required Treasury report and Treasury invariably raised the savings question.

Moreover, CCEX and FRC were not simply "rubber stamps". They did not habitually endorse what had been submitted to them. On many occasions, they had turned down proposals when Treasury and a spending department for example had submitted and agreed report. Neither CCEX nor FRC came out habitually in favour either of Treasury or spending department. Both the reviewing bodies--CCEX and FRC--independently examined the departmental submissions and Treasury reports. CCEX and FRC may appear to be like "rubber stamps" where they endorsed what had been agreed between department and Treasury. It may be argued that decisions had actually been made at a level--Treasury and spending department--other than the formally established ones--CCEX and FRC. However, this would be true only if Treasury and departments agreed on something which was not supposed to be allowed by rules. It has been shown that adjustments of new and existing policies did not significantly depart from rules. It has to be understood that in a system of bureaucratic domination rules and hierarchy operates in a dynamic balance. Hierarchic authority needs to be exercised only when rules are not heeded. Conversely, when subordinates act in accordance with rules there is no necessity to assert hierarchic authority. So we have reason to say that processes of determining adjustments within existing and new policies were bureaucratic because they have conformed to the bureaucratic mode of functioning both constitutionally and actually.

MAJOR NEW POLICIES

There was an area where neither rules nor the established hierarchic process was obeyed. It was in the area of new policies. While investigating about the new policy process, interviewees reported that there was a category of new policies which involved larger amount of money and were initiated either by the prime minister himself or by a group of ministers. Participants called this type major new policies and the type mentioned above which were proposed by individual ministers was named minor new policies. In addition to the two characteristics mentioned above, major new

policies had some others. This type was very rarely compensated by savings and almost never reviewed by CCEX. It may be mentioned here that under the arrangement prevalent during the period under consideration, new policies were supposed to be compensated by savings and were supposed to be considered by CCEX. But this group of new policies by-passed the established hierarchic process and did not conform to rules. To illustrate this type of new policies, a proposal called the School Leavers' Training and Employment Preparation Scheme (STEPS) was studied. It was found that the proposal was initiated by the prime minister. Then it was taken up by the Department of Labour because employment was the jurisdiction of the department. As usual, Treasury raised the question of compensatory savings in its discussion with the Department of Labour. It is an established practice of the government of New Zealand that major policies are considered by the Cabinet Economic Committee (CEC). But this proposal was not considered by the committee. Instead a completely new committee--Bolger Committee (after the name of Mr. Jim Bolger Minister of Labour)--was set up. This committee thrashed out main points of the proposal. The committee never seriously considered the requirement of compensatory savings.

It is clear that the major new policy process departed altogether from the established bureaucratic mode of functioning. The specific features of the STEPS as it emerged was that: (a) it was initiated by the prime minister himself, (b) it by-passed the established hierarchic process created especially for the purpose of considering new policies, (c) the rule of compensatory savings was not obeyed, (d) moreover, a totally new body--the Bolger Committee--was formed to consider the scheme. Weberian charismatic mode typifies these characteristics. It does not follow the established pattern but approaches the problem in a completely unorthodox way. It defies established hierarchy and rules--both traditional and bureaucratic. As Weber says:

There is no hierarchy; the leader merely intervenes in general or in individual cases when he considers the members of his staff lacking in charismatic qualification for a given task...There is no system of formal rules...Formally concrete judgements are newly created from case to case...From a substantive point of view every charismatic authority would have to subscribe to the proposition, 'It is written...but I say unto you...' ⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

This article had been an attempt to examine modes of functioning

within organisation. For this purpose three theoretical perspectives were considered: Max Weber's three types of dominations, Westminster constitutional theory and the arguments of the critics of Weber. These perspectives were tested on the budgetary process of the government of New Zealand for the period from 1975 to mid-1984 in a sequential order to dig deeper into the heart of the executive process. Contrary to the claims of the Westminster constitutional theorists, it was found that there did exist a set of rules and an authoritative hierarchy in the resource allocation area of New Zealand government although it is a variety of the Westminster style of cabinet government. It was also found that for the major part of budgeting actual process conformed to the formally established mode. To this extent the arguments of the critics of Weber that actual process departs from the formal structure do not hold. However, it was found that a part of the budgetary process did depart from the established process. Based on these empirical findings, it was concluded that the actual process of New Zealand budgeting was a mixture of bureaucratic and charismatic elements. Charismatic elements tend to characterise major new policy process while bureaucratic elements tend to characterise adjustments within existing policies and minor new policies. This mixture of bureaucratic and charismatic elements do not, in any way, invalidate Weberian formulation of modes of functioning in organisation in terms of ideal types. Instead, the conclusion of the present article seems more reasonable in view of Weber's assessments about the nature of concrete historical cases. Weber never claimed that concrete historical cases would fit entirely into one of his types. He argued that concrete cases were always mixtures of these types in many different combinations.

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Impact of Trade Unions on Productivity —A Review of Empirical Evidence

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THE COMMONLY held view about the impact of unions on productivity is that unions constrict managerial flexibility, misallocate resources and decrease productivity through their restrictive practices. Now the attention is shifting towards recognising the productivity-enhancing effects of unionisation. This view is associated with the works of Freeman and Medoff and other Harvard scholars, who maintain that unions have the potential to more than offset the cost increases that result from application of their monopoly (wage) function through enhanced productivity. They maintain that the process of unionisation not only involves 'shock effect' to management but also offers prospects of introducing significant behavioural changes among workers by providing them with a 'voice' at the work place in the micro context. Table 1 presents the 'two faces' of unionism and collective voice hypothesis in brief.

Discussion of 'two faces' of unionism in Harvard studies provides two different ways of productivity gains of unionism. The monopoly face, through monopoly wage gains, leads to higher capital/labour ratio and better labour quality and consequently higher productivity. This causes misallocation of resources and socially harmful effects. The other route is collective voice/institutional response which is socially desirable. It helps raise productivity through lower quit rates and fosters professional management and better morale and motivation. The Harvard analysis has also recognised that restrictive work rules and featherbedding leads to decrease in productivity.

Because of these conflicting effects of unionism, empirical evidence is essential to appraise their relative importance.

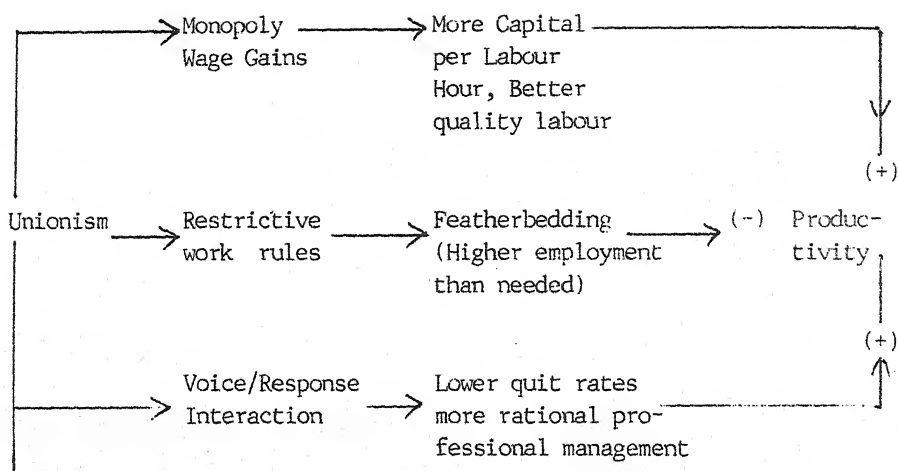
Using cross-sectional state by industry manufacturing data (20 two-digit industries), Brown and Medoff¹ estimate productivity differential for union to non-union labour. They have estimated a modified Cobb-Douglas production function. Labour productivity (value added per unit of labour) has been taken as dependent variable

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Table 1 THE TWO FACES OF TRADE UNIONISM

	Union Effects on Economic Efficiency	Union Effects on Distribution of Income	Social Nature of Union Organisation
Monopoly Face	<p>Unions raise wages above competitive levels leading to too little labour relative to capital in unionised firms</p> <p>Union work rules decrease productivity</p>	<p>Unions increase income inequality by raising the wages of highly skilled workers</p> <p>Unions create horizontal inequalities by creating differentials among comparable workers</p>	<p>Unions discriminate in rationing positions</p> <p>Unions (individually or collectively) fight for their own interests in the political arena</p> <p>Union monopoly power breeds corrupt and non-democratic elements</p> <p>Unions are political institutions that represent the will of their members</p> <p>Unions represent the political interests of lower income and disadvantaged persons</p>
Collective voice/institutional Response Face	<p>Unions have some positive effects on productivity reducing quit rates, inducing management to alter methods of production and adopt more efficient policies, and improving morale and cooperation among workers</p> <p>Unions collect information about the preferences of all workers, leading the firm to choose a better mix to employee compensation and a better set of personnel policies</p>	<p>Unions' standard-rate policies reduce inequality among organised workers in a given company or a given industry</p> <p>Union rules limit the scope for arbitrary actions in promotion, lay off, and recall of individuals</p> <p>Unionism fundamentally alters the distribution of power between marginal (generally junior) and more permanent (generally senior) employees, causing union firms to select different compensation packages and personnel practices from those of non-union firms</p>	

SOURCE: Freeman and Medoff, What Do Unions Do?, New York, Basic Books, 1984, p.13.



SOURCE: Freeman and Medoff, **What Unions Do?**, New York, Basic Books, 1984, p.163.

and capital labour ratio (K/L), a measure of unionisation, has been taken as independent variable. A double log production function in the ratio form has been estimated. They have held two factors constant, one is Capital Labour (K/L) ratio, which is included in the equation itself, and the second is worker quality. They have corrected labour for quality differences (i.e., age, sex, education, etc.). Brown and Medoff have assumed production function to be identical for unionised and non-union sectors except for productivity of labour parameters in the union sector. The estimated coefficient of unionisation in their study is constantly positive and significant leading Brown and Medoff to conclude that union workers (establishment) to be more productive.

Kim B. Clark has analysed the effect of unionisation on productivity using time series data of six cement plants in USA². Clark has measured output in physical terms. He has relaxed the assumptions of value added and technology. By taking value added as the dependent variable (like Brown and Medoff), the studies may well compound productivity with price effect. Unionisation may have wage effect and this may increase costs which may lead to higher prices. But as Brown and Medoff have held, if unionised and non-unionised firms compete in the same market (perfect competition) this assumption may not hold good. Clark found productivity effect of unions to be in the range of +6 to +8 per cent. These case studies were designed to show the specific ways (i.e., channels of influence) in which unionisation affects productivity, the way unionisation brings out changes in the labour contract and the resultant adjustments to

changes in labour contract in the six cement plants that took place before and after the analysis. The same modest results (+6 per cent) are reported by Kim B. Clark in a more refined way. Having analysed the cement industry data for the USA in the cross-section form, he allows the production function to differ as between union and non-union plants to allow for regional differences in the union effect.³

In the construction industry, Allan B. Mandelstamm has compared the efficiency and costs in two similar cities, viz., Ann Arbor and Bay city except for the degree of unionisation of workers. He came to the conclusion that it can be said with some confidence that the model houses have required fewer man-hours of labour in the heavily unionised city Ann Arbor, than in the predominantly non-union Bay city. The reason for this greater efficiency found in the Ann Arbor city is: (1) the higher union wage rate had led to a selective process by which the less efficient workers had been wiped out in the unionised city; (2) the union apprenticeship programme had resulted in the training of superior workers in the union area; and (3) entrepreneurial efficiency in the Ann Arbor area was of high order because of high wage rate.⁴ In sum, it was 'wage effect' and 'shock effect' which brought out this differential.

S.G. Allen⁵ methodology is almost identical to that employed by Brown and Medoff. Allen has also used 'recentness variables', i.e., the ratio of net to gross capital stock. He has also introduced price index as independent variable. He found union productivity, as measured by value added per employee, to be 44 to 52 per cent higher than non-union. The estimate declines to 17 to 22 per cent when estimates of the inter-area construction price differences are used to deflate value added.

Analysing the mechanism through which unions lead to higher productivity, Allen found the most likely factors based upon his case studies: (1) better training at the journeyman level through joint apprenticeship performance; (2) changes in the occupation mix (including reduced use of unskilled labour and lower foreman to journeyman ratios); (3) reduced recruiting and screening costs of contractors; and (4) greater managerial ability. Occupation mix differences and possibly apprenticeship training programmes, according to him, account for 15 to 27 per cent of the higher union productivity difference.⁶

The quantitative evidence of the quit rates causing productivity differences is provided by Brown and Medoff (1978) and Freeman (1976), who have expounded the collective voice model. Brown and Medoff (1978) have estimated their production function, first including fraction unionised, then omitting fraction unionised and substituting the quit rate and finally both the variables. The coefficient

of fraction unionised would fall to zero if the mechanism works only through quit rate. Quit rate reduces the coefficient of fraction unionised only by one-fifth. The residual four-fifths, he apportioned to unmeasured factors, like morale and motivation.

Freeman and Medoff (1984) report unionised workers to be more dissatisfied than non-unionised workers, though they express their satisfaction with the unions. Freeman and Medoff (1984) resolve this paradox by differentiating between 'true dissatisfaction' which leads worker to quit and 'voiced dissatisfaction' which results from critical attitudes toward the work place and willingness to complain about problems. This difference reflects the nature of voice institution.

S.G. Allen has examined the effect of union membership on absenteeism.⁷ On the one hand, union members are expected to be absent more frequently than non-union members because they face smaller penalties for absenteeism and managers in unionised plants have less flexibility to tailor work schedules to individual preferences. On the other hand, union members might be absent less frequently because of more attractive regular work schedules and stronger employees 'voice' in the union plants. His evidence indicates that, other things being equal, union members are at least 29 per cent more likely to be absent than non-union members. In three different data sets, the absence rates were higher by 34 to 40 per cent, 76 to 100 per cent and 29 per cent as compared to non-union members.⁸ This evidence to some extent questions the applicability of the 'collective voice' model. For 'voice' mechanism should lead to lower absenteeism rates.⁹

Freeman, Medoff and Connerton using cross-sectional approach to the underground Bituminous Coal Industry found +33 to +38 per cent productivity differential for unionised plants as compared to non-union plants.¹⁰ This differential came down to +8 per cent for 1970 and -20 to -17 for 1975 and -18 to -14 per cent for 1980. The reason for this is sought to be in the deterioration of industrial relations.¹¹

Freeman and Medoff contend that the lesson is that unionism per se is neither plus nor a minus to productivity. What matters is how unions and management interact at the work place.¹² If the state of labour management relations, the resultant of such interaction mainly explains the differential (+ or -), then the analysis should be carried out in terms of 'good' or bad industrial relations and not in terms of unionism as independent variable in the equation. Because, besides unionisation, there are other variables also which affect state of labour-management relations.

Pencavel has also used production function approach for the study of union impact in British Coal Mining industry for the period

1900-13.¹³ This period was chosen, for there was absence of relative union wage effect in the coal mining industry in Britain. This had the distinct advantage that the results will be uncontaminated by relative price effects, for which Brown and Medoff study has been criticised. The line of reasoning is that wages increase costs which are ultimately reflected in prices; though prices are determined by other factors also, e.g., market structure, transport, bottlenecks, etc.

Pencavel tested whether the neutral efficiency parameter varies with the extent of unionisation, other parameters of the function being unaltered. The efficiency parameter is specified as a function of time (for technical progress), the mean width of the coal seams and fraction unionised. Pencavel obtains a significantly negative co-efficient of fraction unionised of -0.110 (0.033). Extra-polating beyond the range of his sample of observations (the fraction unionised was 0.66 and 0.80 in 1900 and 1913 respectively) he suggests that, other things being equal, a totally unionised coalfield would produce some 22 per cent less output than a union free coal field.

A macro level study, concerning the effects of unionisation on the average productivity of labour using time series data for the period 1948-73 of the private domestic sector of the US economy, was carried out by Ronald S. Warren.¹⁴ Using constant returns to scale, he used Cobb-Douglas production function as used by Brown and Medoff incorporating proxies for embodied and disembodied technical change. Using quality adjusted data for capital and labour inputs, Warren finds a large negative and statistically significant effect of unionisation on average labour productivity. The coefficient of P (fraction unionised) comes to -0.813 .

The results of the Warren's study are consistent with the earlier study by Gollop, who used a translog method to analyse the effect of unionisation on productivity in US manufacturing over 1947-71 period.¹⁵ He also found a significantly negative effect of unionisation. In the service sector, studies are available on municipal libraries, commercial banks and hospitals which report that unionism has no discernible effect on productivity.

A study of 256 municipal libraries by Ronald G. Ehrenberg, Daniel R. Sherman and Joshua L. Schwarz using cross-section data for 1977 suggests that collective bargaining equated with unionisation does not appear to affect significantly library output or library employees wages.¹⁶ Randall W. Eberts has examined the effect of collective bargaining on the several factors known to be determinants of student achievement in the public schools. Analysing the data of over 3000 school teachers, the results indicated approximately three per cent less time in instruction than teachers do covered by

collective bargaining.¹⁷ The same teachers, on the other hand, spent more time preparing for class. Collective bargaining, also, was found to increase the experience and education level of teachers and increases the number of teachers and administrators per student. The net union effect on teacher productivity could not be ascertained because the precise estimates of marginal productivities of various components of teacher productivity could not be ascertained.

In a study of the impact of unionisation on productivity in commercial banking, Duane B. Graddy and Gary Hall using the same Cobb-Douglas production function approach, find a negative coefficient of fraction unionised with large standard errors.¹⁸ In this analysis, they removed the assumption of the homogeneity of the unions. They have attempted to determine whether individual unions have a differential impact on banking productivity. The impact of individual unions on productivity may differ because of the style and objective function of different individual unions. Some unions are more militant than others. With the exception of one union, the coefficients of the rest of the unions carried negative signs although they had large standard errors.

A study of the impact of unions on hospital efficiency was carried by Frank A. Sloan and W. Adamache Killand and they failed to discern the union impact on productivity.¹⁹ In a recent study, R.N. Mefford has examined the effect of unions on productivity in 31 plants of a large multinational firm.²⁰ The plants, according to him, produce similar line of products using material intensive labour technology methods. In this study, the measurement of productivity is the index of standard labour hours incorporated in the product divided by the actual labour hours used. The results of this study indicate that unionisation's overall effect on productivity is positive.²¹ The results of this study do not confirm 'voice' theory, since turnover was found to be unaffected by unionisation. Absenteeism actually increased by unionisation. This result is similar to Allen's finding of higher absenteeism among union workers than non-union workers. A residual positive effect of unions on productivity remained after controlling for the capital-labour ratio, management performance and worker turnover and absenteeism. The author suggests this to be due to improved labour relations climate and worker morale or to improved labour quality in the union plants.

Productivity Growth

The Harvard scholars, notable among them Brown and Medoff, Kim B. Clark, S.G. Allen and Freeman and Medoff find that unions increase productivity. All of them have used the production function approach.

There is another body of literature which has used Residual Total

Factor Productivity (TFP) growth instead of the level of labour productivity and regressed it on the correlates of TFP, particular emphasis being upon Research and Development expenditures. These studies have used fraction unionised as a control variable and in most of the cases report that total factor productivity growth is negatively associated with the level of unionism.²²

Hirsch and Link have formulated that changes in total factor productivity to be a function of change in unionism instead of the level of unionism.²³ They found that the change in TFP is negatively related to the change in unionism. They also introduced a level of unionism variable in their equation. This too had a significantly negative coefficient. They came to the conclusion that unionism not only reduces TFP but also slows the rate of productivity increase.²⁴

In a study based on Canadian manufacturing data 1926-1978, Dennis R. Maki concluded that unionisation retarded total factor productivity growth.²⁵

A strike variable measured as ratio of man-days lost to the total employment was also introduced in the estimation model. This he considered to capture the subset of effects of unions on productivity. Maki regarded the level of strike activity as an indication of militancy with which the unions pursue their goals coupled with the intensity with which employees resist.²⁶ Maki argued that unions have both impact effects (shock effect), a once for all change in total factor productivity caused by unionisation while others continuing or longer term effects reflected in the rate of growth of productivity. He suggested that there are clear theoretical basis for the argument that the impact effects are more likely to be positive than the longer term effects (due to the heritage effects of work rules on long term effects). The 'shock' effects are proxied by annual change in the level of unionisation while the longer term effects are measured by the level of unionisation. His estimates indicated that the effects of unionisation and strike on total factor productivity growth are negative. The impact effects of unionisation was found to be positive and statistically significant, while the longer term effect negative.

Critical Review

The Harvard view, while not denying the wage and other inefficiencies caused by unions, hold that by providing workers with a 'voice' at the work place, unions can and do positively affect the functioning of the economic system. Unions they view have the potential to more than off set the wage increase via enhanced productivity. They find unionised establishments to be more productive than the non-union establishments.

The explanation for the positive coefficients is provided by Freeman (1976, 1979), Freeman and Medoff, Brown and Medoff and Allen. They have rationalised this phenomenon of positive coefficients of unionised establishments with the help of the collective voice hypothesis.

The other body of literature can be termed as research and development (R & D) studies and have introduced unionisation only as a control variable. These studies have mainly modelled the effects of R & D on productivity growth. These studies have consistently found total factor productivity growth to be negatively related to the degree of unionism.

There has been a lot of criticism of the 'collective voice' model. The main points of criticism are the following:

The studies using value added per unit of labour as the dependent variable face the difficulty of separating that part of the productivity gain that is directly or indirectly attributed to union from that stemming from the simple price responses of management even with careful analysis. The problem is that these studies may well be compounding productivity with price effect. The union coefficient may be picking up a crude measure of the union and non-union wage differential.

Pencavel found a negative coefficient of unionisation, when there was no wage effect during the period 1900-13 in the British coal mining. Kim B. Clark analysed the cement industry data and he used output in physical terms, found the coefficient to be of the order of +6 to +8 per cent. Pencavel viewed Clark's results of the cement industry to be of no significant difference in productivity between union and non-union plants as hardly a surprising inference can be drawn given that the non-union plants constitute only some six per cent of his sample of observations.²⁷ It is suggested by a critique that +6 to +8 per cent union productivity differential should be taken with a pinch of statistical salt.²⁸

If the union and non-union firms produce different goods, reported productivity differences may arise from differences in technology. Clark relaxes the assumption that production functions are identical across unionised and non-unionised establishments.

Firm specific differences, i.e., quality of management and other organisational factors may lead to biased estimates of production function parameters, including the coefficient of unionisation.

These problems have been recognised by the Harvard analysts themselves. The mechanism or channel of influence of the union productivity effect have not been well isolated. These studies reveal only a

few insights into the behavioural changes. So far as the quits (leaving the organisation) are concerned, only one-fifth of the union effect is attributed to quits and the rest to other unexplained variables (Brown and Medoff). Unionisation reduces job satisfaction also. Freeman and Medoff have reconciled this phenomenon with their collective voice model by differentiating 'voiced' dissatisfaction and 'actual' dissatisfaction. S.G. Allan found absenteeism to be at least 30 per cent higher among union workers, a result which is not in line with the collective voice model. High absenteeism in unionised firms may be interpreted that the unions are not successful in changing working conditions. This means the benefits of collective voice cannot be reaped always. Many unions fail to measure up to the democratic model as suggested by Freeman, but dominated by an autocratic leadership or an entrenched bureaucracy. Though the collective voice/institutional response model contains a useful framework for understanding certain aspects of unionism, it does not constitute a full blown theory of union behaviour and effects.

Duncan and Stafford view unionisation as intervening variable.²⁹ Freeman and Freeman and Medoff argue that the 'public good' aspect of the work place leads to shared work conditions and complementarities of production setting require collective organisation which they take to be synonymous to trade unionism. This collective organisation may increase output through a joint determination of effort input, while the web of rules governing the employment relationship is said to improve workers attitudes and morale. These benefits may be taken even in the absence of unionism. Duncan and Stafford (1980) have argued that certain conditions of work--such as structured work settings, inflexibility of hours, and employer set over time--may determine jointly unionism and productivity. They also report that the working conditions variables significantly increase the probability of being a union member. In other words, unionisation is a function of working conditions and is an intervening variable between working conditions and wages.

It has also been found that there is a positive association between labour productivity and industry concentration and firm size and between unionisation and productivity.³⁰

The foregoing discussion suggests that unionisation and productivity both are associated with some other important factors (size, technology, etc.) and that unionisation is an endogenous variable. This unexplained endogeneity of unionism is the principal lacuna of the Harvard analysis because it is nowhere established that unionism is an exogenous variable.³¹

This phenomenon of endogeneity of unionism qualifies the work of Harvard analysts and suggests further refinement but does not in any

way makes redundant the contribution of these studies. Addison³² raises the question of sample selectivity problems in the measurement of the coefficient of unionisation in the production function studies. According to him, the sample of the unionised firms will include only the productive firms as the least efficient will be gradually evolved out by bankruptcy. Freeman and Medoff also come to the conclusion that unions decrease profitability of the firms. But the profitability be reduced by unionisation to such an extent as to cause closure of business, is not a very convincing proposition. In most of the cases, unionism either redistributes the gains of the enterprise or passes on the costs of unionisation to the customer.³³

The Harvard analysis has not included many important factors in their framework. "Unionism in their scheme of things remains an abstraction, one union is like every other union. They fail to account for the influence of and outcomes of host of factors that industrial relations scholars believe to be important, such as the history of the parties and their relationships, the customs and the tradition of work site, the personalities, attitudes and leadership skills of the actors, negotiating strategies and tactics used by the parties, the degree of inter and intra organisational conflicts and availability of various dispute resolution procedures".³⁴

The studies by Warren, Ehrenberg et al., Frank A. Sloan and Killard W. Adamache for hospitals have found negative coefficients of unionism. These studies cast doubts on the generality of the findings of the Harvard analysts (Addison, 1985). But Harvard analysts have unambiguously stated that their findings should not be generalised because whether one gets a positive or negative coefficient of unionisation is an empirical question:

It can turn out to be negative also. In fact, few of their studies themselves show negative coefficients of unionisation in the production function analysis.

The collective voice model of Freeman and others of Harvard school is not a full blown theory explaining the phenomenon of unionisation carrying net x-efficiencies. It suffers from a number of methodological and other limitations. It must also be admitted that the Harvard analysts have done a pioneering job of guiding the direction of research in the area of industrial relations and labour economics, which is totally new and unconventional.

Even the critiques have conceded that: (i) Harvard analysts have substituted systematic study for anecdotal evidence and casual empiricism; (ii) they have performed the valuable function of reminding us that unions have potentially important non-wage functions which

can assist in production; and (iii) the evidence of the Harvard studies very possibly confirm that the static allocational x-in-efficiency costs of unionism may have been overstated in the conventional literature, particularly in the industrial union setting.³⁵

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Working of Panchayati Adalats in Jammu and Kashmir with Special Reference to Criminal Jurisdiction--an Empirical Study

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PANCHAYATS HAVE been in existence in India from very early times. While empires rose and fell, village panchayats continued to survive giving continuity to Indian village traditions. The Vedas, Rig-veda, in particular, reveal that ancient Hindus used to lead a corporate life. Most of them lived in small guilds which were being controlled by popular institutions--samitis of Vedic forefathers. Reference to such Samitis exist in epics.¹ Valmiki's Ramayana, and Mahabharata have also described existence of such institutions.² During Mughal regime, these institutions suffered a setback, both in terms of jurisdiction and popularity. During the British regime in India, Mayo Resolution of 1870 on decentralisation, Lord Rippons famous Resolution of 1882, the Report of Royal Commission on decentralisation, Government of India Resolution of 1915 and, of course, the Montague Chelmsford Report of 1915 can be said to be landmarks in the historical development of Indian polity and the related institutions. But as regards the panchayat system, they did nothing more than reproducing form and constitutional powers of the old time Panchayats.³

The Balwantrai Mehta Committee Report (1957) on democratic decentralisation led to the creation of a three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, i.e.: (i) Gram Panchayat (village level), (ii) Panchayat Samiti (Block level), and (iii) Zilla Parishad (District level). Members to the latter two higher levels are elected indirectly from the tier below and, in addition, membership to these is drawn from amongst the legislators, cooperative officials and others.⁴

The Recommendations of the Mehta Committee were based on the view that revival of ancient Panchayats was neither necessary nor possible. But in British India, the Royal Commission of 1907 on decentralisation recommended constitution and development of village Panchayats with certain administrative powers and having jurisdiction over petty civil and criminal cases.⁵ In 1920, the Bombay Village Panchayat Act was passed which led to creation of a large number of

Panchayati Adalats with certain powers relating to administration of Civil and Criminal justice.

Further, in 1924-25, the Civil Justice Committee also investigated the matter relating to panchayats, which later resulted in reorganising and strengthening of village units as organs of local self-government and that of dispensation of justice.

Despite this background, the draft Constitution of India did not contain any reference to village panchayats nor did any part of it represent ancient Indian Polity.⁶ However, the Constitution recognised the importance of village panchayat system by incorporating Article 40 as one of the Directive Principles of State Policy.⁷ Article 50 directs the State to take steps to separate judiciary from the executive. Apart from the states, which already had a system of village courts at the time of adoption of the Constitution (Madras and Kerala), only a few states (Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh) implemented Article 50 on the adoption of the Constitution by creating Nyaya Panchayats. The initial four years since the passing of the Constitution were years of intensive legislative activity to give form to the directives contained in Article 40. Madras, Travancore & Cochin, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh introduced legislations to establish village panchayats on a statutory basis, while Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh introduced amendments to strengthen the already existing panchayats. The ideology of separation of judicial powers from the executive power embodied in Article 50 was clearly one impulse that led to creation of Nyaya Panchayats in the States which did not have such separate bodies. It also influenced structuring of Nyaya Panchayats in states where these already existed.

Nyaya Panchayats, as they obtain today, in most of the states of the country incorporate, theoretically speaking, several distinctive features. First, these are established by the government and have jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases arising in the villages. Secondly, they function on the broad principles of natural justice and tend to remain procedurally as simple as possible. Thirdly, they are separate from other rural institutions, such as village panchayats, Vikas Parishads, Sahakari Samitis and the like. This is so in order to ensure a degree of non-partisan approach in their working. Fourthly, Nyaya Panchayats are not required to follow in toto the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), Civil Procedure Code (CPC), the Evidence Act and other procedural laws. Further more, in order to retain simplicity, legal practitioners find no place in the proceedings of Nyaya Panchayats. Fifthly, Nyaya Panchayats dispense justice to the villagers with speed, economy and effectiveness.

Constitution of Nyaya Panchayats is the singular step towards the goal of achieving public participation in administration of justice. Having regard to the need for developing a sense of detachment with the litigants and Nyaya Panchas and with a view to ensuring impartiality, almost all the commissions and committees have suggested that the Nyaya Panchayats should be established for a group of villages. According to the Congress Village Panchayat Committee 1954⁸, each judicial panchayat should serve a few villages covering a population of about five to six thousand in a radius of three miles (3.75 kms). Each **Gaon Sabha** should elect, alongwith their representatives for a village Panchayat, a panel of five members to work on judicial panchayats. Cases were supposed to be tried by a bench of five members of the judicial panchayats by a system of rotation. The cases should have to be heard and disposed of in the village to which the particular case belonged and the whole legal procedure, according to the committee, was to be completed in one sitting in order to avoid unnecessary delay.

PANCHAYATI INSTITUTIONS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1958 which was later amended in 1973 by adding Schedules I and II to the Act. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Nyaya Panchayats, usually known as Panchayati Adalats, are formed after grouping five to seven panchayats in each block. Each Panchayati Adalat is composed of a panel of members equal in number to the number of panchayats for which it is constituted.

Such Panchayati Adalats are empowered to try some specified offences under the Ranbir Penal Code 1989 (Smtv.) and certain civil suits as embodied under Schedules I and II of the Act.⁹

Nyaya Panchayats have been endowed with a character relatively simple and free from complex technicalities ordinarily associated with the traditional courts oriented to British system. Besides, the over-riding emphasis in their working is upon conciliation rather than adjudication. Moreover, they hold proceedings at the very place where the dispute had arisen and where the parties to dispute ordinarily lived. This allows for economy in time, effort and money. In addition, this helps to curb disputes right in the beginning before they assume serious proportion. The main contribution of Nyaya Panchayats has been, on the one hand, to help maintain peace and order in village communities and, on the other, towards keeping the amount of litigation in villages to a minimum.

There are many advantages of allowing people's participation in administration of justice at the grassroot level through the institu-

tion of Panchayati Adalats, because the knowledge of local conditions and prestige of the members of Panchayati Adalats come in handy for effectively dispensing justice. The decisions of Panchayati Adalats enjoy a fair degree of trust and acceptance among litigants because of several reasons. First, the members of these bodies come from the very village where they sit in judgement and secondly, the structure and working is simple, so much so that even the average villagers can follow them.¹⁰

The Panchayati Adalats, however, have many limitations in respect of their functioning. Firstly, in view of general literacy level obtaining in the country, one cannot expect that members of Panchayati Adalats would have adequate educational background for carrying on the work of these institutions judiciously. Secondly, majority of the members who are novices in the adjudication work would be having no previous experience and training in the area. Thirdly, the villagers are generally ridden with factions and this is aggrieved by politicisation and periodic elections. These elements enter into the making of village panchayats and subsequently get reflected in composition and working of Panchayati Adalats. Naturally, a common villager find it difficult to repose confidence in the members and to expect an independent decision from a Panchayati Adalat.

There has been arm-chair controversy relating to the efficacy of Panchayati Adalats raging for quite some time as no empirical study so far has been conducted in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, it was planned to conduct a study to look into the relevant aspects of Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir so as to arrive at dependable conclusions on the basis of actual working of these institutions.

This article is confined only to the study of criminal jurisdiction of Nyaya Panchayats or Panchayati Adalats or judicial panchayats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir it is the Panchayati Adalats constituted out of the Panchayats which deal with administration of criminal justice.

There are 119 blocks and 1479 Panchayats in the State. Normally, five Panchayats of five adjacent villages in one block constitute one Panchayati Adalat. The total number of Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is 290.¹¹

In order to make the study broadbased and to arrive at scientific conclusions, field studies were conducted. The importance of social science techniques in the sphere of Law is well recognised. Empirical Research has found favour with legal scholars and the relevance of such techniques has been stressed by eminent scholars and a few studies of great importance have been conducted.¹² There are

14 districts in the State but the study has been conducted in one district, i.e., Baramulla due to paucity of time and resources. This district has been chosen because the investigator belongs to the same district and has a working knowledge of the Panchayati Adalats of district. The district has 14 blocks and 165 Panchayats. The total number of Panchayati Adalats in District Baramulla is 33.

Methodology

Concerned with working of the Panchayati Adalats with respect to their criminal jurisdiction, an attempt has been made through this study to look into the procedure for administering criminal justice through Panchayati Adalats. All matters which fall in criminal jurisdiction of such Adalats are being decided by the members of these Adalats, including the Chairpersons. It was deemed necessary to seek information from all 178 members of such Adalats. Therefore, no special sampling technique was adopted. No record is being maintained by the Panchayati Adalats regarding the accused who have been convicted or acquitted. It was, therefore, difficult to apply stratified random sampling technique. Hence, the only available sampling technique to elicit information from the accused was the purposive sampling. This technique was also adopted in case of villagers.

The primary tools used for eliciting information from members of the Panchayats, accused and residents were interview schedules. The primary data was collected by administering these schedules to the members, residents and the accused. Besides, observational study also formed a valuable technique for collection of primary data and the researcher himself witnessed the proceedings in certain criminal cases. The data, thus, collected has been tabulated and analysed through modern social science research techniques.

The primary data was supplemented by the secondary data which has been collected from the office files of the District Panchayati Officer, Baramulla, Block Development Officers of District Baramulla and the Director, Rural Development (J&K). Besides, the available published literature, including the census report of 1971, the Jammu and Kashmir Year Book and Who's Who 1983 were consulted.

Jurisdiction

One of the objects of establishment of Nyaya Panchayats is that many of the small disputes and petty offences which often disturb the peace and harmony of the village life should, in the interest of the village community, be disposed of expeditiously and cheaply by a local tribunal of the villager's own choice.¹³ In the country, wherever Nyaya Panchayats exist, they have both civil and criminal

under the Indian Penal Code of 1860. It also extends to possession or use of false weights or measures; negligence or deliberate commission of acts which constitute danger to public health, life and property; acts causing public inconvenience, such as fouling of water meant for public use, rash driving on public roads, obstructing or damaging a public way, dealing with explosive substances in a dangerous way, failure to repair dangerous buildings; committing public nuisance; causing hurt with or without provocation, misappropriation, theft, using force, wrongful confinement of a person; mischief; trespass; damage to public property; insult; criminal intimidation; uttering words or making gestures intended to insult the modesty of woman. Besides, the Nyaya Panchayats have powers to deal with offences under the Cattle Trespass Act; Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, Public Gambling Act, Primary Education Act, Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency Act and Offences under other Acts as may be declared by the State Government to be taken up by the Panchayats. The criminal jurisdiction further extends to the trial of cases constituting offences against public servants, such as refusing to answer questions, refusing to give information, refusing to produce documents, refusing to sign a statement and refusing to take an oath where a person is duty bound to act in that manner under the orders of public servant. The Nyaya Panchayats are competent to impose a penalty prescribed by the statute upon the persons convicted for committing such offences but they are not competent to order imprisonment. The Nyaya Panchayats are barred from exercising jurisdiction in respect of previous convicts, desperate and dangerous criminals, and members of criminal tribes.¹⁴ They might discharge youthful offenders by fining or by issuing admonition to the offender.

Procedure

It is expected that the Nyaya Panchayats will not follow the procedural technicalities of law, but that procedure which ensures speedy disposal of criminal cases. Procedural technicalities of law tend to delay administration of justice and as such defeat the very purpose of the institution of Nyaya Panchayats. It does not mean that the Panchayati Adalats are not to follow any procedure in disposing of a criminal case, but it should follow that procedure which is less technical and is not cumbersome. On the whole, the procedure should be in keeping with the aim of disposing of the cases judiciously, expeditiously and inexpensively.

In this regard, observations of the study team on Nyaya Panchayats of 1962 are worth mentioning:

Nyaya Panchayats should not be bound by the procedural codes or

the Indian Evidence Act. Nyaya Panchayats procedure should be of a simple character but care should be taken to see that principles of natural justice are complied with.¹⁵

The principles of natural justice to be followed by Panchayati Adalats, have been explained by Raghbir Sahai as follows:

1. Never condemn a person unless he is heard.
2. A case should not be prejudged.
3. Justice should not only be done but it should be seen to be done.
4. No proceedings should be taken without notice to the person concerned.
5. Each party should be given a fair opportunity to lead evidence.
6. If there is a reasonable doubt, the accused should get its benefit.
7. Right of cross-examination should not be denied to any party.
8. It is improper to base findings on information gathered without notice to and at the back of parties.
9. After spot inspection, a note should be prepared and shown to parties who should be given an opportunity to point out mistakes in the same.
10. Justice delayed is justice denied.
11. Decisions should be objective and not subjective.¹⁶

A close examination of the substantive and procedural laws shows that the main objective behind the efforts to establish Nyaya Panchayats is to ensure settlement of petty disputes cheaply and

expeditiously without recourse to dilatory procedures.¹⁷ Procedural infirmities would defeat the objective of working of Nyaya Panchayats. This view has been supported by the statement of A.K. Sen (the then Law Minister) in the following words:

There is no doubt that the system of justice which obtains today is too expensive for the common man. The small disputes must necessarily be left to be decided by a system of Panchayati-Justice--call it the people's court, call it the popular court, call it anything but it would certainly be subject to such safeguards as we may devise. The only means by which, for ordinary disputes at the village level, the common man can be assured of a system of judicial administration which would not be too expensive for him and which would not be too dilatory for him.¹⁸

Considerable attention has been given to the constitution of Nyaya Panchayats or the training programmes for Nyaya Panchas but scanty literature exists relating to quality of justice and the procedures adopted by the Nyaya Panchayats for administration of justice. In the words of Buxi:

If available information on the organisation and functioning of Nyaya Panchayats is meagre, information on subject matter of disputes, and justice-quality of processes and outcomes of Nyaya Panchayats may be said to be virtually non-existent.¹⁹

Criminal Jurisprudence

Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir have both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The criminal jurisdiction extends to minor offences under the Ranbir Penal Code 1989 (Smvt.) and other Acts.²⁰

Section 75 to 84 of the Jammu and Kashmir Village Panchayat Act 1958 contains provisions relating to criminal jurisdiction of Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. An analytical exposition of the provisions of said Act pertaining to the procedure for administering criminal justice by Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been discussed as under:

A person who wishes to institute a case can make an application orally or in writing stating the parties to the offence, the particulars thereof and the kind of relief prayed for. In Panchayati Adalats of district Baramulla in Jammu and Kashmir State, the meeting is held three times in a month. In every sitting of the Panchayati Adalats, the members of the Panchayati Adalats adjudicate cases in the village where the cases have originated or at **Panchayat Ghar** or in such central village as is fixed for the purpose. The bench issues summons to the defendant if the case has not been dismissed, on the ground that it is prima facie untenable. A summon is served by a **chowkidar** of the Panchayati area. The Panchayati Adalats may, if it thinks fit, cause it to be served by any other person. The summons is served personally and signature of the person is obtained. If the person is not found after the exercise of due diligence, the summons may be served by leaving a duplicate copy with an adult member of his family or affixing it on a conspicuous part of the house, where he resides. The Panchayati Adalat does not have power to issue a warrant in case a person defies the summons, but it may exercise the power of imposing fine. If the accused admits the claim, the order relating to fine is passed. If he does not, the case pro-

ceeds. The plaintiff is allowed to present his evidence and witnesses who may be examined by the members or the other party. If there is a woman witness, she should not be compelled to appear before the Panchayati Adalat and this work will be done by a commission. No advocates are allowed in the proceedings before Panchayati Adalat. A witness may be summoned by the Panchayati Adalat on its own motion or on the request of either party, provided the party deposits the travelling and daily allowance, at the prescribed rates, with the Panchayati Adalat which pays it to the witness. The statements of accused and plaintiff are recorded on oath or affirmation.

Upon the conclusion of the evidence and hearing of the arguments, **Panchas** confer amongst themselves, asking the parties to leave the Panchayat's room while they are in conference. When a consensus is reached, judgement is written up, stating the substance of the case and judgement.

A revision can be filed before the Sessions Judge by any of the aggrieved party within 60 days from the date the order is communicated to him. This superior court is authorised to either quash the order passed by the Panchayati Adalat or modify it. According to study team of 1962:

Revision should be from the decisions of Panchayati Adalats to a senior judicial officer. The revisional authority may interfere only if he is not satisfied as to the correctness or legality of the decision and should refrain from interfering if he is satisfied that substantial justice has been done.²¹

If any person intentionally causes an insult to a Panchayati Adalat or to any member thereof, the Panchayati Adalat can take cognisance of the offence on the same day and impose upon the offender a fine up to Rs. 10.

In Table 1, an attempt has been made to look into the nature of decisions taken by the Panchayati Adalats in district Baramulla of Jammu and Kashmir State.

During last five years, 590 cases have been decided, 756 cases dismissed and 3474 cases reconciled. Only 139 cases are in appeal. This shows that the amount of emphasis is laid on reconciliation.

Institution of a Case

A case is instituted usually by a person (victim) before an Adalat. On the basis of responses to the interview schedules an attempt has been made to see whether the case is instituted by a

Table 1 NATURE OF DECISIONS OF CASES ADJUDICATED BY PANCHAYATI ADALATS DURING FIVE YEARS (1980-84)

Year	Total No. of Cases Instituted	Decided	Dismissed	Reconciliation Affected	Appeal
1980	948	40	205	610	93
1981	1171	105	151	903	12
1982	1045	310	78	648	09
1983	810	75	119	605	11
1984	985	60	203	708	14
Total	4959	590	756	3474	139

SOURCE: Official Record.

Table 2 AT WHOSE INSTANCE A CASE IS REGISTERED

Sl. No.	Mode of Tendering Information for Institution of Case	Response	Percentage
1.	By victim	175	98.3
2.	By his relation	Nil	Nil
3.	By any resident of the village	Nil	Nil
4.	By the victim and his relations	3	1.6

victim himself or any other person, i.e., his relations, or any resident of the village on his behalf.

Asked about the mode of the institution of a case, Table 2 reveals that a substantial majority 98.3 per cent of the respondents (members) feel that a case is instituted at the instance of the victim himself, whereas a little over one per cent of the members stated that the case is instituted at the instance of the victim and his relations also. This leads to an inference that on very few occasions a case is registered at the instance of the relations of the victim. Secondly, it is always the victim at whose instance a case is registered. The requirement for instituting a case in an Adalat as per the law is that 'any person' can institute a case. The term 'any person' is exhaustive and includes within its purview the

victim, his relations and any resident of the village. However, in practice, almost all the cases are being instituted at the instance of the victim only.

Method of Institution of a Case

A person, who wishes to institute a case under Jammu and Kashmir village Panchayat Act before an Adalat, makes an application orally or in writing to the Chairman or in his absence to any member of the Adalat and at the same time pays the prescribed fee.²²

Table 3 PROCEDURE FOR INSTITUTION OF A CASE

Sl. No.	Procedure	Response	Percentage
1.	Case is instituted orally	10	5.6
2.	Case is instituted in writing	134	75.2
3.	In both ways (orally and writing)	34	19.1

Table 3 indicates that a substantial majority, i.e., 75.2 per cent, of the members feel that a case is always instituted in writing before the Panchayati Adalat, a few members--5.6 per cent--stated that it is instituted orally, but some 19.1 per cent members observed that cases are instituted both orally and in writing.

Service of Summons

After registration of a case, the accused has necessarily to be summoned before the Adalat. The Adalat may, for reasons to be recorded after hearing the application and examining the complaint, dismiss the case.²³ Unless the case is so dismissed, the Adalat must issue summons or otherwise require the accused to attend and compel him to attend at such time and place as may be stated in the summons. At the same time, the Adalat directs the complainant to attend and produce his evidence.²⁴ If any accused resides outside the Panchayati Adalat circle or if an accused is at the time of issue of summons outside such circle, the summons may be forwarded by the Adalat to the Munsif or where there is no Munsif to the Sub-Judge or Magistrate concerned who shall cause it to be served as if it were a summons from his own court.²⁵

Table 4 RESPONSES OF THE MEMBERS TOWARDS THE MODE
OF SERVICE OF SUMMONS

Sl. No.	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Verbally through Chowkidar	2	1.1
2.	A written summon delivered in person through an official of the Adalat	176	98.8
3.	By post	Nil	Nil

With regard to the summoning of the accused, the responses in Table 4 indicate that an insignificant number of members of Adalat (i.e., 1.2 per cent) state that service of summons is effected through a Cowkidar and that too verbally, whereas 98.8 per cent stated that the written summons are served by an official of the Adalat. The reason advanced for not making the service of summons through **Cowkidar** is not far to seek. During the course of the study, it was observed that a Cowkidar is at the bottom of the hierarchy of the revenue department, who has nothing to do with a Panchayati Adalat, which is a separate institution for administration of justice in the village. The method of summoning an accused through the member of the Panchayati Adalat is resorted to only in cases where the accused resides within the jurisdiction of that Panchayati Adalat. However, where the accused resides outside the jurisdiction of that Panchayati Adalat in which the case has been instituted, other methods of service of summons are used as shown in the following para.

In all, 97.7 per cent of members of Panchyati Adalat are of the opinion that in cases where the accused resides outside the jurisdiction of Panchayati Adalat in which the case has been filed, the summons are served by a member of the Panchayati Adalat where the accused resides, or it is served through the Collector or Sub-Judge. However, 2.2 per cent of the members of the Panchayati Adalat state that summons in such cases is served by the Tehsildar. Under the Law, summons may be served through Sub-Judge or the Collector to such accused who does not reside within the jurisdiction where the case has been instituted against him. The summons are deemed to be served in a manner as if these are the summons from the court of the Sub-Judge or Collector.

The Panchayati Adalat can summon a witness for giving evidence before it. Non obedience of summons²⁶ is punishable with a fine not

exceeding Rs.10.

Time Lag Between Registration and Trial of a Case

Reasonable time lag is necessary for initiating the trial after the case has been registered so as to meet the requirements of natural justice.²⁷ After the registration of the case, the accused is informed to present himself at a fixed place, date and time through summons issued by the Panchayati Adalat. It is only after the service of summons that the accused can present himself before the Adalat on the said date, time and place.

Table 5 TIME LAG BETWEEN REGISTRATION AND TRIAL OF A CASE

Sl.No.	Time Lag	Response	Percentage
1.	2 to 3 days	Nil	Nil
2.	3 to 5 days	44	24.7
3.	5 to 7 days	131	73.6
4.	7 days above	3	1.6

With regard to the time lag between the registration and the trial of a case data, Table 5 reveals that 73.6 per cent members are of the opinion that the time lag is 5 to 7 days between the registration and trial of a case, 24.7 per cent respondents stated that the time lag is 3 to 5 days.

Exclusion of Pleaders

The most glaring feature of the trial is exclusion of lawyers. No legal practitioner or one who has been such legal practitioner or advocate in the past shall be allowed to appear on behalf of any party in any proceedings before a Panchayati Adalat.²⁸ The idea behind the exclusion of lawyers is to avoid complications in procedure, delays and expenses.

With regard to exclusion of lawyers from appearance before the Adalats, Table 6 shows that 92.7 per cent of the members, 91.4 per cent of accused and 92 per cent of villagers think that advocates should not be allowed; 7.2 per cent of members, 8.5 per cent of accused and 8 per cent of villagers feel that they should be allowed. It appears that substantial majority of respondents do not want participation of legal practitioners in Adalat's proceedings.

The reasons advanced for this purpose have been gathered from members of Panchayati Adalats, accused, and villagers. Table 7

Table 6 RESPONSES APPROVING AND DISAPPROVING ADVOCATES
PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF PANCHAYATI ADALATS

Categories of Respondents	Favouring Counsel's Participation		Disfavouring Counsel's Participation	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Members	13	7.2	165	92.7
Accused	15	8.5	160	91.4
Villagers	10	8	115	92.0

reveals that 26.6 per cent of members, 13.1 per cent of accused and 47.8 per cent of villagers are of the opinion that allowing counsels to appear before Panchayati Adalats leads to delays; 45.4 per cent members, 28.1 per cent of accused and 13.8 per cent of villagers feel that the parties are mostly poor and cannot afford expenses for counsels.

Table 7 REASONS FOR NOT ALLOWING COUNSELS IN THE CASES

Sl. No.	Reasons	Responses of Different categories of Respondents					
		No. of Members	Per- cent- age	No. of Accused	Per- cent- age	No. of Vill- agers	Per- cent ages
1.	That the trial is an informal one	6	03.6	9	5.6	7	6.8
2.	It leads to delay in the administra- tion of justice	44	26.6	21	13.1	55	47.8
3.	The parties are mostly poor and cannot afford	75	45.4	45	28.1	16	13.8
4.	Trial is an in- formal one and parties are poor and cannot afford	15	9.1	18	11.2	15	13.4

In all, 3.6 per cent of members, 5.6 per cent of accused and 6.8 per cent of villagers observe that the trial before the Panchayati Adalat is informal; 15.1 per cent of members, 41.8 per cent of accused and 18.1 per cent of villagers are of the opinion that allowing counsels in the proceedings will lead to delay in administration

of justice as the parties are mostly poor and cannot afford to pay the fee; and 9.1 per cent of members, 11.2 per cent of the accused and 13.4 per cent of villagers are of the opinion that the trial before Panchayati Adalats is an informal one and parties are mostly poor and cannot afford the fee so the presence of counsels is not necessary.

The inferences drawn from data regarding the exclusion of counsels to appear before the Panchayati Adalats are: (1) parties are mostly poor and cannot afford, and (2) it leads to expeditious disposal of cases.

Cross Examination of the Witnesses

With regard to cross examination of the witnesses, responses were sought from 178 members of the Adalats and their break up is given in Table 8.

Table 8 RESPONSE OF MEMBERS OF ADALATS ON DISCHARGE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONDUCTING CROSS-EXAMINATION OF WITNESS

Sl. No.	Persons Who Can Cross Examine a Witness	Response	Percentage
1.	The accused	10	5.6
2.	The victim	18	10.1
3.	Members of the Adalat	150	84.2

In all, 84.2 per cent members of the Panchayati Adalats think that examination of the witness is being conducted by the members of the Adalat only, whereas 10.1 per cent say that the victim can examine the witness. According to 5.6 per cent of members only accused can cross examine a witness in a case. It would, thus, be seen that in majority of the cases, cross examination of the witness takes place in accordance with the provisions of the law. However, in exceptional cases, the examination may be allowed by the victim or the accused as the case may be. During the course of study, it was, however, observed that in some cases the accused and the victim were allowed to cross examine each other under Section 294 and 505 of Rarih - D-1

Disposal of Cases in Absence of Parties

The Adalat is empowered to adopt any lawful means to find out truth. If a complainant after having been duly informed of the date, time and place of hearing, does not turn up for the hearing, the complaint would be dismissed. Even after the intimation of the date, time and place of hearing, if the accused does not turn up, Panchayati Adalat can proceed ex parte³⁰, provided that no sentence shall be imposed by an Adalat on any accused person, unless he has appeared either in person or by an agent before it and the substance of his statement has been recorded.³¹

Table 9 WHETHER PANCHAYATI ADALAT CAN PROCEED EX PARTE?

Sl. No.	Ex parte	Response	Percentage
1.	Yes	20	11.2
2.	No	158	88.2

With regard to ex parte proceedings, Table 9 reveals that a substantial majority of members (88.2 per cent) have expressed their view against ex parte proceedings but few members (11.2 per cent) are of the opinion that ex parte proceedings can be resorted to. The reasons attributed by such respondents to proceed or dispose of the case ex parte are either the failure of the parties to appear before Panchayati Adalat or when either of the parties submits to the Panchayati Adalat to proceed or dispose of the case ex parte.

Reference to Competent Regular Court

Panchayati Adalats as stated earlier have the jurisdiction to try petty offences.³² The offences where punishment provided by law is any type of imprisonment, in addition to fine, are excluded from the jurisdiction of the Adalats. Such offences can be referred by the Adalat to the competent regular court even when such cases come up before the Panchayati Adalat.

When any Panchayati Adalat having jurisdiction is of the opinion that any case before it is of such a nature or of such intricacy or importance that it ought to be tried by a regular court, the Panchayati Adalat shall stay proceedings and send the case to the nearest regular court of competent jurisdiction for trial.³³

Table 10 TYPES OF CASES WHERE ADALAT CAN REFER
CASES TO THE COMPETENT REGULAR COURT

Sl. No.	Types of Cases	Responses	Percentage
1.	Where Adalat has no jurisdiction	134	75.2
2.	Where the offence is grave	8	4.4
3.	Where a sentence of more than fine is necessary	9	5.2
4.	Where Adalat has no jurisdiction and where the offence is grave	27	15.1

Regarding the competence of the Adalat to refer certain cases to competent regular court, the data in Table 10 indicates that 75.2 per cent members of the Adalat favour reference of such cases to competent regular court where the Panchayati Adalat lacks jurisdiction to try such cases. Interestingly, 15.1 per cent say that, where the Panchayati Adalat has no jurisdiction and where the offence is grave, reference should be made to the regular court. As against these, only 5.2 per cent favour such a reference to regular court where a sentence more than fine is necessary, and 4.4 per cent favour such reference in cases where the offence is grave.

Power to Impose Penalties

A Panchayati Adalat's is not competent to impose on any person convicted of an offence tried by it any sentence other than fine not exceeding one hundred rupees.³⁴ A Panchayati Adalat may direct that the whole or any part of the fine, when realised shall be paid as compensation to the complainant or person affected by the offence.³⁵ If a Panchayati Adalat is satisfied after inquiry that the case brought before it is false, frivolous or vexatious it may order the complainant to pay the accused such compensation not exceeding 50 rupees as it thinks fit.³⁶

Panchayati Adalats are competent to impose a penalty prescribed by the Act upon persons convicted for offences. However, no imprisonment is awarded in case of default of payment of fine.

Table 11 PUNISHMENTS WHICH ADALATS CAN AWARD

Sl. No.	Mode of Punishment	Response	Percentage
1.	Fine in cash	140	78.6
2.	Admonition	20	11.2
3.	Compensation	15	8.4
4.	Expenditure on medical treatment	3	1.6

With regard to the types of punishments Adalat can award to the accused, the data in Table 11 indicate that 78.6 per cent of the members say that fine in the form of cash is the only punishment which can be imposed on an accused; 11.2 per cent members are of the opinion that admonition is the punishment which Adalat can award; 8.4 per cent are of the opinion that compensation to victims is the only punishment Adalat can impose; and 1.6 per cent say that expenditure on medical treatment is also a form of punishment which Adalat can award.

The amount of fine or compensation as punishment is collected by the Adalat itself. However, if such fine or compensation is not paid within 15 days, the Adalat may refer such cases to the Collector having jurisdiction to recover such fine as compensation.³⁷

Appeals and Revisions

No appeal shall lie from any sentence or order passed by an Adalat in any case tried by it. On application made within 60 days by any of the parties to a case tried by a Panchayati Adalat or on his own motion (the Sessions Judge having jurisdiction over an Adalat Circle may, in relation to any such case) call for and examine the record of proceedings of Adalat for the purpose of satisfying himself as to the legality of the order or sentence passed or as to the regularity of the proceedings held by such Panchayati Adalat. If it appears to the Session Judge that any order or sentence passed or any proceedings taken by an Adalat should be modified, cancelled or reversed, he may pass such order as he thinks just. All appeals pending before Court of competent jurisdiction at the commencement of the Jammu and Kashmir Village Panchayati Act (Amendment) 1973 shall be disposed of as such by the Sessions Judge in accordance with law under which it was made and, in doing so, he may confirm, reverse or modify the

decisions or allow an appeal thereto. The order of the Session Judge shall be final.³⁸

A right of appeal is not a natural right, it is created by statute and it must, therefore, be governed by the statute in conformity with which a particular offender is tried. An appeal is a continuation of the trial of the lower court.

Any case tried by any court other than the Panchayati Adalat having civil or criminal jurisdiction is revisable before the next court in hierarchy and the aggrieved party has also the right of appeal before the Session Court or the High Court, depending on the value of the property and the nature of the offence.

In all the cases triable by the Panchayati Adalats, the aggrieved party has a right for revision or an appeal before the Session Court of that district irrespective of the nature of the offence.

With regard to the provisions contained in the Act pertaining to appeals and revision, the members unanimously stated that any aggrieved party can go for an appeal to Session Court within a period of 60 days from the date of passing of decision of the Panchayati Adalat. The data given in Table 1, which was collected from secondary sources, reveal the fact that in 1980, 948 cases were instituted, out of which 40 cases were decided; 205 cases dismissed, and in 610 cases, the parties had gone for an appeal. In 1981, 1171 cases were instituted, 105 decided, 151 dismissed; 903 reconciled and 12 appealed; in 1982, 1045 cases were instituted, 310 decided, 78 dismissed, 648 reconciled and 9 appealed. In 1983, 810 cases were instituted, 75 decided, 119 dismissed, 605 reconciled; and 11 appealed; and in 1984, 985 instituted, 60 decided, 203 dismissed, 708 reconciled and 14 appealed.

Total Time Taken in Trial of a Case

It is considered that Panchayati Adalats should decide cases as expeditiously as possible. Justice delayed is justice denied. Talking about regular courts, the delay in deciding the cases at present is an acknowledged fact. To save the village people from legal inconvenience, delays and technicalities of procedural laws, Adalats existing in the villages of the state of Jammu and Kashmir decide cases in a very short span of time.

Regarding the total time taken by Panchayati Adalats in the disposal of the case, the data in Table 12 reveal that majority of the members, i.e., 58.9 per cent, state that the total time taken in the trial of the cases was from two to three weeks; 34.8 per cent members observed that it was from four to five weeks; and 6.1 per cent members stated that it took only a week's time for trial of case.

Table 12 TOTAL TIME TAKEN IN TRIAL OF CASES

Sl. No.	Time Gap	Response	Percentage
1.	Up to one week	11	6.1
2.	Two to three weeks	105	58.9
3.	Four to five weeks	62	34.8

Contempt of Panchayati Adalat

If any person intentionally insults an Adalat or any member thereof, the Panchayati Adalat may take cognisance of such offence before rising on the same day and punish the offender to a fine up to Rs.10.³⁹

CONCLUSION

The Panchayati Adalats have criminal jurisdiction extending over minor offences. The study of the Panchayati Adalats reveal that more emphasis has been laid on reconciliation than on decision, so far as criminal cases are concerned. An attempt has been made to see whether the cases are instituted by any person or the victim. It is found that a substantial majority of the members (98.3 per cent) agree that a case is instituted by a victim. The study also reveals that in majority of cases (75.2 per cent) complaint is filed in writing before a Panchayati Adalat. The study further reveals that wherever the Panchayati Adalats are in existence, they are serving a real felt-need of the villagers by disposing of the cases more expeditiously and with minimum inconvenience and expenses to parties.

The Panchayati Adalats also function on the broad principles of natural justice. They are established by formal statutory authority and vested with criminal jurisdiction. The Panchayati Adalats hold proceedings at the very place, as far as possible, where disputes arise, enabling a sense of efficacy among the villagers with speed and economy in their adjudication work. These factors contribute significantly towards the popular acceptance of Panchayati Adalats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

REFERENCES

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2. "Villages were of two types, Gosh and Graham, Gosh was bigger in size than that of Graham. They were used to be administered by an official called Gramini being appointed by the King enjoying high status. However, he was bound to work on advice of village elders, called by various terms as Graham Virdis, the Smitis or Panchayats." *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. Upendra Buxi, "Access to Development and Distributive Justice: Problems of Rural Population", *Journal of Indian Law Institute*, Vol. XVIII, 1976, p.394.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 405
5. India, 14th Report of the Law Commission of India, Vol. 2, p.874
6. Upendra Buxi, *op. cit.*
7. Article 40 provides "that the state shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government".
8. H. Hanoo and Janet Douglas, *India's Democracy*,
9. **Schedule I** (amendment introduced in 1973).
 Section A. 140, 160, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 202, 269, 277, 278, 279, 283, 285, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 323, 334, 336, 341, 352, 356, 357, 358, 374, 379, 380, 403, 411, 426, 428, 430, 447, 448, 461, 504, 506 and 510- R.P.C. 1989 (Smt.).
 Section B. Offences under the Cattle Trespass Act, 1977 (Smt.).
 Section C. Offences under the J&K Vaccination Act, 1967 (Smt.).
 Section D. Offences under the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals Act, 1990 (Smt.).
 Section E. Offences under the Public Gambling Act, 1977 (Smt.).
 Section F. Offences under the Prevention of Juvenile Smoking Act, 1986 (Smt.).
 Section G. Offences under this Act or the rules made thereunder.
 Section H. Any other offence under any law declared by government to be triable by a Panchayati Adalat.

Schedule II

Description of Suits	Period of Limitation	Time from Which it Becomes Operative
1. For money due on contract.	3 years	When the money became due to the plaintiff.
2. For recovery of moveable property or the value thereof.	3 years	When the plaintiff became entitled to delivery of the property.
3. For compensation towards wrongfully taking over or damaging property.	3 years	When a moveable property is wrongfully taken or when damage was caused to it.
4. For damages caused by Cattle trespass.	6 months	When the damage was caused by Cattle trespass.

10. M.Z. Khan and Kamlesh Sharma, *Profile of a Nyaya Panchayat*, 1972, p.7.
11. *J&K Year Book and Who's Who 1983*, Sec.IV; p.29. (In exceptional cases seven adjacent Panchayats in one block may constitute one Panchayati Adalat).
12. Upendra Baxi, *Socio-Legal Research in India--A Programme Schrift*, ICSSR 1975 (Monograph); S.N. Jain, "Doctrinal and Non-doctrinal Research", *Journal of Indian Law Institute*, XVII, 516 (1975), and D.N. Saraf, *Relevance and Utility of Empirical Research in Law*, *Journal of Indian Law Institute*, (1982) 10611.
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14. S.C. Jain, *Community Development and Panchayati Raj in India*, 1972, p. 195.
15. Government of India, Ministry of Law, *Report of Study Team on Nyaya Panchayats*, New Delhi, 1962.
16. R. Sahai, *Panchayati Raj in India* (1968)
17. *Ibid.*, p. 443.
18. *Rajya Sabha Debate*, 1959. Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, Col. 388.
19. Upendra Buxi, "Access Development and Distributive Justice", *op.cit.*, p.424.
20. See Supra Note 9.
21. M.Z. Khan and Kamlesh Sharma, *op. cit.*, p.81.
22. Section 92, J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
23. Section 98 (I), *Ibid.*
24. Section 98 (III), *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Section 100 (IV), *Ibid.*
27. No person shall be condemned unheard.
28. Section 118, J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
29. Section 505 (RPC) Criminal intimidation.
Section 294 (RPC) Obscene songs and acts.
30. Section 105 (II), J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
31. *Ibid.*
32. See Supra Note 9.
33. Section 107, J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
34. Section 77, *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. Section 81, J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
38. Section 109(iii)(iv), J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.
39. Section 116, J&K Village Panchayat Act, 1958.

INTERVIEW

Civil Service in France

1. M: Would you kindly elaborate on the role and place of Civil Service in France?

F: France has a strong tradition of the State and of government administration. The State created the Nation and guaranteed national unity. The monarchy, revolution and empire successively used the tough, disciplined and competent administration (civil service) to strengthen the role of the State.

The French Administration is divided into corps or bodies. The highest levels comprise engineers (e.g., Mines, Ponts-et-Chaussees) and administrators (e.g., Diplomatic Corps, Prefecture Corps, Conseil d'Etat, Cour des Comptes, Inspection Generale des Finances).

Certain bodies date back several centuries and, therefore, have very strong traditions. Ponts-et-Chaussees was founded under Louis XV. The prefects, as local representatives of the State, are direct offspring of the King's Intendants. Unchanged since founded by Napoleon, the Conseil d'Etat is somewhat related to the Conseil du Roi (the title Maitre des Requetes was created by Louis XIV).

All these administrative and engineering corps constitute the so-called 'high administration' which plays a decisive role in government administration for a number of reasons, the first of which is the strong sense of tradition just mentioned.

The second reason is the structural role of the State in society, economic, social, financial, monetary as well as in industrial policy-making. Despite extensive transfer of authority and responsibility to regional, departmental and communal government as a result

*An Interview of MICHEL FRANC, Conseiller D'etat, Directeur De L'Institut, Institute Internationa D'Administration Publique, Paris with Prof. S.R. MAHESHWARI of IIPA, who was in France recently in connection with a research study on the theme. The text of the interview by Prof. Maheshwari has been approved by Mr. Franc. Prof. Maheshwari expresses his grateful thanks to Mr. Franc, one of the most eminent experts on the French civil service, for granting the interview.

of decentralisation undertaken since 1982 and measures taken to restrict State control, the French State still assumes responsibilities substantially greater than those traditional to national sovereignty (i.e., diplomacy, justice, defence, currency and monetary control), and continues to act as a Welfare State (e.g., unemployment benefits, social security, health care, public education), and as Corporate State (major state industrial and banking sectors subsist despite the privatizations effected since 1986).

The third reason is that grandes 'ecoles' ('ivy league') alumni and other senior civil servants occupy key posts in banking, industry and politics. In France, it is hardly unusual for a senior civil servant with key government responsibilities to head a major corporation, public or private (e.g., Air France, Societe Nationale des Chemins de Francois (SNCF), i.e., French National Railways Gaz de France, Electricite de France, Societe Generale, Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP), and Indosuez Bank).

Politics attracts a number of senior civil servants, who usually succeed quite well. The present cabinet is headed by Mr. Michel Racard, an ENA (National School of Administration) alumni and former General Inspector of finance, and consists of six other ENA alumni out of a total 26 members. The last cabinet headed by Mr. Jacques Chirac, another ENA alumni and Cour des Comptes member, had 14 ENA alumni out of 41 ministers and secretaries of State.

2. M: What career paths are open to bright young man and women?

F: In terms of training top civil servants, France is noteworthy for her 'grandes ecoles' that co-exist with public universities. Admission is by highly selective competitive examination.

First, these schools are training schools. Some are very old and prestigious institutions (e.g., Ecole Normale Supérieure, Ecole Polytechnique, and Ecole Centrale) while other younger schools enjoy an excellent reputation (e.g., HEC, Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris (ESCP or Sup de Co.)). Alongside these schools, Institute d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Institute of Political Studies of Paris) also practices stringent admission policy and plays a major role of its own.

The ecoles d'application are another category of "grandes ecoles". Admission is open to graduates of university or of one of the above-mentioned schools. Ecole des Mines Schools, School for bridges and Roads, Ecole des Ponts-et-Chaussées and ENA (Ecole Nationale d'Administration) are among those with the oldest reputations or with alumni in key social, political and economic positions. The "grandes ecoles" have been sharply criticised for their dominant position. Against this, it must be stressed that a number of persons

with key economic responsibilities hold no 'ivy league' diploma.

3. M: Why do the best and brightest graduates in France prefer a career with the Conseil d'Etat (Council of State)?

F: The Conseil d'Etat is a supreme government body. It is one option open to ENA graduates. True, the 4-8 annual vacancies are filled by the highest ranking students of the graduating class. However, some top students opt for Finance Inspection and other posts. Lastly, the best and brightest do not all necessarily go to ENA; some seek degrees and have brilliant scientific, medical, university teaching and business careers without attending ENA.

4. M: The second most sought after government body is Cour des Comptes (Court of Accounts). What is so special about it and what are the fringe benefits?

M: Cour des Comptes is another supreme body. It appeals strongly to ENA graduates. It more commonly figures as third choice among ENA graduates, with either Conseil d'Etat and Finance Inspection in first place, depending on the mood of the graduating class in a given year.

The Cour des Comptes is the supreme financial body. France has a substantial public sector while the number and extent of state-owned enterprises have enhanced its scope. Initial job training provides a very strong background in auditing and highly flexible career options. As with conseil d'Etat, promotions depend on seniority practically and this guarantees their independence.

5. M: What is the attraction of a career as Finance Inspector?

F: Inspection Generale des Finances enjoys high prestige in the eyes of ENA graduates. In addition to missions proper to this body, these jobs lead to key posts within the Ministry of Finance itself, as well as the banking and industrial sectors.

6. M: How do you feel about the view that the French civil service is a tightly-knitted elite or closed caste?

F: The upper levels of civil service do appear to be an elite insofar as recruiting standards are increasingly selective and, if judged by competitive examination criteria, it attracts the best and brightest in every generation. It is further true that most senior civil servants are drawn from the wealthier, if not more cultivated social backgrounds. But this is only a more accentuated variant of the social composition of the university student population as a whole.

Lastly, this image of selective recruitment should take into account the special competitive examination open to working class

servants which provides a certain degree of upward job mobility.

7. M: Is there any need to democratise civil service and what improvements would you recommend?

F: The founding of ENA in 1945 with its admission procedures was a step forward towards equal opportunity in comparison to the previous system of competitive exams (grands concours) which restricted access to top civil service posts to an even smaller elite. However, democratising the upper state of civil service involves democratising access to higher education.

8. M: What accounts for the unusually high proportion of top-ranking French political figures with a strong civil service background, and is this compatible with a successful political career?

F: It is a fact that some of the most important political figures come from senior civil service.

This is due to the nature and quality of civil service training which gives better than average specialised training, not only for assuming administrative duties, but for public office as well. The civil service also offers job security to those voted out of office.

This is not an entirely healthy situation. Other socio-professional categories should be present in greater numbers in government policy-making and legislative bodies and a clear distinction should exist between civil service and public office.

9. M: The "minister's cabinet" is a unique feature of the French Administration: aren't the senior civil servants the minister's real cabinet? Doesn't this create friction between the cabinet and civil service staff? Don't such cabinets politicise the civil service?

F: Ministerial cabinets are a key structural feature of the French civil service. Ministers are entitled to fixed numbers of assistants who are increasingly selected from among senior civil servants in the same or some other ministry or in one of the supreme bodies. The duty of the cabinet is to assist and advise the minister although it may also serve as a shield between the minister and the ministry departments. In such a case, cabinet officials, and not department heads, effectively run departments. This is not as it should be.

It is also a fact that cabinet experience brightens considerably the career prospects of a civil servant. This requires vigilance if the civil service is not to become politicised in a way. This explains why the election campaign issue of the "Impartial State" aroused widespread interest.

stration in the 1990's?

Like all European civil services, the Administration will have to adjust to the Single European Market in 1992 and its provision for free circulation of people. For civil service, free circulation means that aliens may hold civil service posts not involving the exercise of public authority (incidentally, the notion is difficult to define). Furthermore, the Administration will have to adjust to change in the state itself. Public demand for less cumbersome government that carries out its rightful duties more efficiently will induce the State itself to rethink its organisational structure and operation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Team Building: Issues and Alternatives (2nd Ed.)

WILLIAM G. DYER, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1987, p. xiii +171.

People cooperating to achieve goals are often conceived as an essential element to the success and effectiveness of work units or organisations. Many managers agree better results can be achieved in their work units/organisation when effective teams operate within them. In spite of the general recognition of the importance of team work in organisations/work units, few managers recognise team building as a distinct organisational activity deserving special attention and/or emphasis.

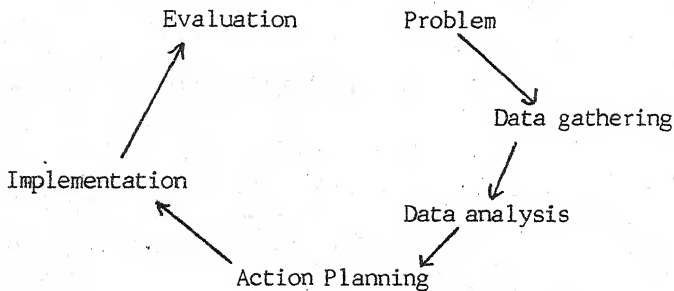
William G. Dyer's book focuses on the team building process and argues for the need to institute systematic organisation wide programmes to ensure team effectiveness. The book is conceived as a 'Handbook' for managers and a 'guide' for management consultants.

Dyer's book is in four parts. Part I deals with "What Team Development is about". Part II brings into focus how team building programmes are prepared. Part III discusses the "Application of Team Development". The last part, Part IV, highlights the "Special Issues and opportunities Facing Teams Today".

Dyer points to the ubiquity of teams. This omnipresence of teams, he argues, can be seen at the plant, sports clubs, the family, the church, and other associations that people belong to. But his focus is on the organisational teams. His interest is to assist work teams to identify their problems and evolve strategies to overcome them and build more effective teams. Dyer offers an insight into the development of team building by surveying the management literature and identifying the various stands, that lead to the maturity of the team building idea. He sees team building as an essential strategy for effecting organisational change and/or revitalising the work unit.

Dyer provides check lists for diagnosing weaknesses in teams and offers different development designs to meet different problems/weaknesses. He identifies the team building cycle as

follows:



Unfortunately, he fails to highlight the iterative nature of the content of the cycle. He emphasizes the importance of people's commitment for effective team building. He also highlights the need to handle resistance. He identified the sources of resistance and offers guidelines to deal with them. Dyer offers a number of design options and emphasizes the importance of avoiding the temptation of applying what has proved effective elsewhere to a different work unit/organisation. As such, Dyer places due emphasis on proper diagnosis.

Dyer applies his team building techniques to new teams, on-going teams with conflict problems, revitalising complaisant teams as well as reducing inter-team conflicts. But one is left with the impression that in spite of what Dyer would like his readers to believe his method is full of admonitions reminiscent of the Doctor-patient model of consultation.

Dyer also discusses convincingly steps necessary to ensure organisational health by eliminating unhealthy agreements within work teams. In essence, he agrees that certain degree of conflict is necessary within teams, insofar as they are brought to the surface for application of problem solving techniques.

He cites the now famous "Abilene Paradox" to demonstrate how destructive unhealthy agreement can be to relationships. He draws attention to people's problems in teams and offers guidelines to coping with them. Dyer also offers some cautions about team building: (a) "When team building should not be used" as well as (b) some, cautions in team building.

The Second Edition of Dyer's **Team Building** treats the topic well. It provides excellent insights to enable the reader to disentangle some of the intricacies of human problems in organisation, knowing that every problem situation is unique and requires specific option for its solution.

Terrorism and Insurgency in India

BISWAKESH TRIPATHY, Bhubaneswar, Pacific Press, 1987, p. 296.

Terror is with man from birth which itself is a traumatic and terrifying experience. Terror is used in varying forms and degrees by all, from saints and prophets to tyrants and criminals, systematically or arbitrarily to elicit desired response. Though the word terrorism acquired one of its meaning--government by intimidation--due to the reign of terror during the French revolution, it was practiced by regimes and conquerors since time immemorial. However, its use by private individuals, especially for political purposes, is a recent phenomenon when advancement in weapon technology made compact, portable and concealable means of destruction easily available to individuals.

Laymen and many scholars loosely use the terms terrorism, insurgency, extremism, revolution, internal war--nearly the entire gamut of the internal political strife using violence, as synonymous. Tripathy at the outset has differentiated between insurgency, revolution and terrorism on the basis of quantum of mass involvement.

Outlining various factors causing rise of national revolutionary terrorism, he holds that the revival of Hindu religion in India in the nineteenth century, coupled with the process of renaissance interacting with the British repression produced a wave of nationalist terrorism which gradually became communist terrorism. This gradual phasing out of nationalist terrorism was due to the emphasis laid by the Congress on non-cooperation movement of Mahatma Gandhi and establishment of the Communist Party of India. The Communist terrorism has been divided into three phases. It starts with ideological extremism, followed by armed action, notably insurgency in Telangana and West Bengal. This second phase was successfully suppressed by the Government in Independent India. Thereafter the split in the CPI was followed by the Naxalbari uprising based on Chinese model. Tripathy has dealt with Naxalite Movement in considerable depth substantiating his exposition with a wealth of data. This third phase of communist extremism, a combination of insurgency and terrorism declined due to a host of causes, foremost being the differences within the party [CPI(ML)], dictatorial tendencies of the leadership, and adoption of incorrect strategy.

Discussing insurgencies in the North-East in Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura, he differentiates between the sub-regional nature of the North-Eastern insurgencies; compared to the pervasive nature of the idealistic insurgencies analysed earlier. Though people in the rest of India generally tend to treat insurgencies in

the North-East as a single phenomenon, yet they are markedly different from each other in generating and precipitating factors, ideology, methodology, nature, and objectives. Naga insurgency was primarily politically motivated and from the very beginning it aimed at independence, much before even World War II. They even declared an independent State of Nagaland on August 14, 1947. The insurgency was facilitated and precipitated by inept handling by the government. The Mizo insurgency was again precipitated by indifferent and callous attitude of the Government of Assam to the plight of the people of Mizoram who (in spite of inducements offered by Phiso, had earlier declined to join him in his efforts to gain independence. Insurgency in Tripura was entirely different, caused by the influx of Bengalis from across the borders. This influx not only reduced the original tribals to a minority in their home State but also pushed them out of fertile plains to inhospitable terrain where they were marginalised. Insurgency in Manipur was in two parts. In the hills, the Tangkhil nagas joined the Naga insurgency a few years later and are still continuing insurgency long after the Shillong accord when insurgency in Nagaland ended. They are the main supporters of NSCN who are primarily pro-Chinese. The Meteis of the valley are Hindus and were rulers of Manipur and had conquered even Nagas up to Kohima. The rampant corruption in the government, the siphoning off of the funds for development provided by the Government of India to the pockets of a few politicians, officers and contractors, the horse trading of politicians making a mockery of the parliamentary institutions caused the unemployed educated youth to become frustrated. To top it all, they found that privileges granted to the hill tribes in Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram were denied to them because they were Hindus. Thus, when they came in contact with Naga insurgents the stage for start of terrorism in Manipur was set. Tripathy has dealt with, in great details and depth and with considerable insight, the development of insurgency, counter-insurgency and the decline of insurgency having been actively associated with the area for a long period of time in various capacities.

Punjab terrorism draws its strength from religion which got finely mixed up with politics when public discontent against mismanagement of Gurudwaras by Mahants and take over of the four Takhts by the British resulted in Gurudwara Reform Movement. Shiromani Akali Dal born out of a religious movement continued to retain its militant politico--religious characteristics. This utilisation of religion and religious place has been a feature of Akali Sikhs starting in 1920 when the British had to bow before the religious sentiments whipped up by the Sikhs. It was repeated in 1955 and the Nehru-Master Tara

and cultural affairs of the Sikhs did not last even five years. Tripathy has very objectively outlined the events leading to the emergence of terrorism in Punjab, including the Anandpur Sahib resolution which has been interpreted variously by moderate and extremist Sikhs, by the Hindus and by the government to suit their purpose. Differentiating between the rural based Jat Sikhs who form the main plank of Akali Dal and the non Jat Sikhs who have prospered in the urban areas, one major reason for the frustration of the rural youth was the green revolution which caused acute rural unemployment. The bulk of the terrorists are drawn from this group. His main recommendations for a permanent solution of Punjab terrorism is preservation of Hindu-Sikh amity, whose destruction is the objective of the terrorists, has to be accepted by all, forgoing the amount of political advantage that may be derived out of this situation fraught with danger to the integrity and security of the country.

The book makes a fascinating reading for a casual inquiring mind, on the other hand it contains a wealth of data and information to be of great utility for serious study and research.

--B. VERMA

**Political Regimes, Public Policy and Economic Development:
Agricultural Performance and Rural Change in two Punjabs**

HOLLY SIMS, New Delhi, Sage, 1988, p. 206, Rs. 175.00.

and

Development Administration in a Changing Society

R.D. SHARMA (ed.), New Delhi, National Book Organisation, 1987,
p. xix + 214, Rs. 175.00.

Not only because of the current political turmoil but primarily because of its sterling performance in economic growth, particularly a veritable agricultural revolution, Punjab has attracted a number of scholars for studying its economy, polity and society. Quite a few of them have achieved fairly high standards of scholarship and in the process thrown light on problems of Punjab. Even then many of such studies have been characterised by their narrow focus or an approach based on a narrow social science discipline. Among many of the studies which adopt a fairly comprehensive and, as far as practicable, an integrated political economy perspective, one may easily count the study by Holly Sims. This perceptive study, as a sub title suggests, deals with the question of agricultural performance and rural change in Indian and Pakistani Punjabs, particularly in the context of their sharply contrasted performance after 1975. It implies that the performance of the two Punjabs was not greatly

dissimilar during the period 1947-1975, which includes the first post-Green Revolution decade. During the subsequent period, the rate of agricultural growth in Indian Punjab at 8.3 per cent was nearly twice that experienced in the Pakistani Punjab (4.3 per cent). The study bears close parallel with many studies which have tried to contrast the performance of various Indian States, particularly that of Bihar against the performance of Punjab.

Such comparative studies have a clear methodological advantage. It consists of the fact that development theory cannot be based on short or medium run empirical evidence regarding certain select variables. This is because in such complex social processes like development, many short-run trends may well be like flashes in the pan rather than display any stable, meaningful or replicable relationships. In any case, a development theory which is not based on development history cannot have much validity, and such validity is enhanced when development history refers to many either similar and/or dissimilar set of circumstances. Insofar as the two Punjabs represent what the author calls "almost laboratory like conditions of comparability" for they share virtually identical "agro-ecological conditions, a common language and cultural traditions, and a legacy of institutions developed under colonial rule" (p.18), the value of the comparative study for deriving fairly meaningful conclusions about socio-economic processes and guidelines for policy and planning is enhanced.

One would, by and large, tend to agree with the presentation of the author about the problems faced in the two areas insofar as the political regimes and the policies regarding agriculture and rural development differed sharply as between the two areas of the study. Thus, the central thesis of the author is that the disparate performance of the two Punjabs is explicable in terms of the politics and the nature of the policies of their respective regimes, which explain how irrigation technology, fertiliser use and distribution and the methods and efficacy of dealing with the problems of water logging and salinity differed in the two regions. She also highlights the role of local institutions and various farm lobbies which reflect variations in agrarian structure and the role of political institutions. A noteworthy conclusion is her initial disregarding of the popular hypothesis in term of religious and cultural factors or the much flaunted sturdiness and enterprising nature of the Punjabis as significant factors contributing to the remarkable performance of Punjab, particularly in agriculture.

Her conclusions also highlight a very significant issue in the current development debate based on the difficulties in resource mobilisation and social restructuring faced by countries like India,

which adopted what is generally believe to be a parliamentary and democratic path of development. It is maintained that this path is inherently more arduous and less effective. On the contrary, based on the shining growth performance of the 'gang of four' of the newly industrialised countries of the far east, which have operated under highly authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, it seems to have become a part of the conventional wisdom to suggests that the sacrifice of a little bit of democracy and popular participation would contribute to strengthening the growth processes and paving the way for more egalitarian growth patterns. The performance of Pakistani Punjab in these matters for over two decades can be taken as an effective refutation of this naive view. In fact, the power of the large landlords in the Pakistani Punjab was much more than can be seen from the specifically regional data about distribution of assets, and land-holdings or in terms of local socio-political institutions, because, as the author recognises, "Pakistani Punjab constitutes a large entity within relatively a small State". The fact that the farmers of Pakistani Punjab were keenly aware of what was happening across the border in the East, could not make much difference to their relative performance.

The study like the present one, which is trying to weave together a large number of factors, faces some problems in effective coverage of all the relevant factors as well as in laying relative emphases. One would like to point out some such factors basically with a view to putting the perspective right in terms of the understanding that the reviewer happens to have. For one thing, according to Holly Sims, the performance of Indian Punjab is to a certain degree attributable to greater equity entailed by India's political regime, policy design and local institutions. Notwithstanding the evidence marshalled by the author in this respect, there seems to be a certain degree of difficulty in accepting her formulations regarding the role of public and private tube-wells in the two Punjabs. As the author correctly recognises, in Pakistan, a major consideration "in the decision to launch a major tube-well programme was equity".

She says "policy makers wish to extend the benefits of tube-wells to a larger constituency, and this could not be achieved if ground water development was left to the private sector". One has some difficulty in reconciling this view with the authors own hypothesis about the authoritarian and non-democratic nature of the Pakistani regime and relatively greater extent of social inequality in Pakistan and relatively fewer opportunities available to the forces of equity for mobilisation and assertion. A closer look at the reality in India in general and Punjab in particular would tend to show that despite the undoubtedly significant differences in the nature of

political power and the extent of democracy in the two countries, one has also to reckon with the fact that at a substantive level, the shell of democracy may contain effective democratic kernel of varying magnitudes. After all, some perceptive scholars like N. Simoniya* has described the Indian polity as parliamentary authoritarianism, and a lot of concern is often expressed by various segments of democratic opinion in India regarding the menace of State terrorism. These factors alongwith the fact that there is hardly any reference to the movements of the poor peasantry, particularly those by the landless agricultural labourers in Indian Punjab, tend to indicate that perhaps somewhat deeper probe is called for in order to further firm up some of the findings of Holly Sims. This is all the more essential in view of the fact that many analyses are now available regarding the nature of agrestic capitalism in Indian Punjab, as also many studies regarding the socio-psychological factors. In this connection, one can refer to the studies by Kusum Nair, Master Hari Singh and U. Patnaik which do not seems to have got the attention of the author. However, one must hasten to say that the sources and literature tapped by the author are undoubtedly impressive. One may also point out that there is relatively inadequate reference to the overall development strategy and policies in the two countries insofar as they influence the performance of agriculture in the two Punjab.

As for as the other book edited by Sharma is concerned, there is not much to write home about. It is a collection of papers presented at a Seminar, and perhaps not much effort was made to enrich or update the papers in the light of discussions which undoubtedly must have taken place during the seminar. There is a good deal of emphasis on what is loosely described as development in Himachal Pradesh. A number of presentations at the seminar, which appear to be in the nature of *obiter dicta* and anecdotes have been palmed off to the reader under impressive titles like "Development: theoretical perspective". The same story is repeated when the concept of development is being discussed in a contribution which is largely a statement of some points of the 20-point programme and what the banks have done in this connection. The reviewer does not remember having come across more misleading titles. When books like these are published, one is tempted to ask a question "why afterall, are books edited and published?". May be the university system or the prospects of career advancement impose the needs for publications. However, given the

*N. Simoniya, *The Destiny of Capitalism in the Orient*, Moscow, Progress, 1985.

fact that paper is a very costly material, library funds are even in shorter supply, and the readers may not always be succesful in telling the grain from the chafe merely by the looks of the book, one is constrained to observe that barring some 3-4 papers out of a collection of 20 papers, there is hardly any justification for the rest to find a place in a publication. Seminars may be useful but every thing that happens in the course of the Seminar may not justify publication. One may appear somewhat harsh but in view of proliferation of books of this kind, I think the time has come to call a spade a spade.

--K.N. KABRA

Peasant Farming and Growth of Capitalism in Indian Agriculture

Ed. Y.V. KRISHNA RAO, G. PARTHASARATHY, CH. RAJESHWARA RAO, M. YADAV REDDY and WAHEEDUDDIN KHAN, Hyderabad, Visalandhra Publishing House, 1984, p.xxxviii + 440, Rs. 150.00.

The book under review is a collection of papers presented by eminent scholars and political activists for discussion at the All India Seminar held in Hyderabad. The papers contained in this volume are not of the same nature, content and size. The heterogeneous character of the papers makes the reviewing of the book difficult. However, there exists a thematic structure which can be drawn upon the main issues and findings of the papers contained in the book. The thematic structure of the book in totality is related to discussion on the agrarian question of change in peasant farming concerning development of capitalism in Indian agriculture. This also appears from the highlights of the papers which are lucidly and synthetically brought out by G. Parthasarathy in the Introduction to the book.

R.S. Rao's paper 'Capital Without Capitalism', to me, appears to be the most significant point for discussion on the question of peasant farming and capitalist development in agriculture. Most of the papers such as those by Sunil Sen, S. Sengupta, Kalyan Dutt, Atchi Reddy, K.N. Kabra, Y.V. Krishna Rao, Sanjay Baru and Indradeep Sinha present analytical support with facts to Rao's contention that "capital exists without its corresponding superstructure". The fact is that capitalism introduced unevenly through colonial penetration had not been from within the agrarian society but was superimposed on it from the outside. In post-independent India, the uneven process of capitalist development based on the colonial superimposed structure continued unabated with the process of technology transfer and its corresponding institutional and organisational arrangements

for adoption of transferred technology in agriculture. The state has played some specific part in allowing the multi-nationals and other American dominated international agencies in this direction. What all this indicates is that the process of capitalist development, which is uneven area-specific in nature, is not spontaneous nor is internalised. In fact, it has been a product of colonial penetration and a sub-ordinate part of foreign capital or the world capitalist system. As a result, the growth of home capital remains to be tied to foreign capital and capitalist relations have emerged but with bolstering the pre-capitalist relations, having drawn into the context of money market relations.

The other papers, such as those by G.S. Bhalla, P.C. Joshi, etc., have discussed the nature and character of capitalist development on the basis of either technological change or production relations in agriculture. This discussion is held on the assumption that capitalism exists and capitalist development has taken place in agriculture. Hence, P.C. Joshi has thrown light on the question of how the development of technology brings about contradictions between its use and adoption and the socio-economic structure of production in agriculture. G.S. Bhalla has listed the factors responsible for growth of capitalism in the agricultural economy of Punjab, Haryana and Western U.P. Following the causes for capitalist development in these regions, the absence or negligible presence of his listed factors in other regions is an obvious causal explanation for their underdevelopment. Moreover, the failure of the left to radicalise the peasant movement seems to be another factor or force for restricting the process of transformation in agriculture. There are also some other papers which show how the existence of semi-feudal relations restrict the development of capitalism in agriculture. In this context, one has to examine the character of the state and the role of the party in power (i.e., government) in the planned process of development, which weighs in favour of the dominant class.

The last section of the book contains some interesting papers relating to remunerative prices and peasantry. The question of remunerative prices and peasantry is, by and large, discussed in the context of growing commodity relationship and capitalism within agriculture. In this connection, one has to bear in mind that the muted form of capitalist development has the characteristic co-existence of capitalist production relations with pre-capitalist relations in Indian agriculture. As a result, the process of exchange of agricultural commodities between the producers and traders is not progressive but retrogressive. However, the rich peasants and rural oligarchy being one of the dominants in the formation of political power and state derive some benefits from the prices administered by

the government. But the marketing of agricultural surplus produce by the producers is not based on the principal of maximising gains from trade. It is the trading class who, by and large, control the commodity market in rural India, despite introduction of market and price regulation by the state. Hence, price variability is a result of the existence of monopolistic control over the trade of surplus agricultural produce and it is also in the interest of the traders and industrial bourgeois. It is obviously on account of the dominant class based character of the state and the party in power at the centre. However, conflicting class interests are attempted for compromise and reconciliation through the process of market and price regulation by the state which has led to a number of contradictions at the market and price fronts. All this corresponds to or arise from the muted form of capitalist development initially introduced through colonial penetration and finally inherited, carried over and extended by the state in post-independent India in some form or the other. Hence, there is need to study the question of remunerative prices and peasantry in the context of the nature and type of capitalism which is growing in Indian agriculture.

What all the above shows is that the book under review is an addition to the literature on the agrarian question of peasant farming and capitalist development in Indian agriculture. It is a quite useful volume for students and researchers.

--G.P. MISHRA

Thriving on Chaos: Handbook for A Management Revolution

TOM PETERS, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1987, p. xii+562, \$19.95.

Thriving on chaos is a companion volume of **In Search of Excellence** and **A Passion For Excellence** which Tom Peters co-authored with Robert H. Waterman Jr. and Nancy Austen respectively. **In Search of Excellence** authors described eight parameters that characterise excellent companies: a bias for action; closeness to the customer; autonomy and entrepreneurship; productivity through people; hands on, value driven; stick to the knitting; simple form, lean staff; and simultaneous loose-tight properties. In **A Passion for Excellence**, the authors gave four prescriptions: care of customers; constant innovation; people, and leadership; and managing by wandering around. He e Peters argues that conditions have tremendously changed and managers confront constant changes. They face a chaotic new world in which competitors spring up overnight and old one's disappear as companies merge and demerge. The author offers 45 prescriptions

divided into five broad areas: creating total customer responsiveness; pursuing fast-paced innovations; achieving flexibility by empowering people; a new way of leadership; and building a system for a world turned upside down. Each prescription, covered in one section of the book, includes a description of the problem, examples of the companies that are using it, a course of action, and some recommended first steps.

Peters comments that chaos in the trade that is increasing trade deficit and declining value of dollar is most revealing of poor performance. It is suggested that the underlying source of USA's problematic economic performance is the cataclysmic change in competitive conditions which has turned every US strength at the level of individual firm into weakness. Peters writes that American industry has not paid sufficient attention to quality and has laid emphasis on sales economics rather than customer concerns, and short term financial orientation that had earlier injured manufacturing. There has been a decline in services also. Peters asserts that two assumptions at the very core of our economic system are causing harm: bigger is better and the biggest is the best; and labour/human beings at work should be ever more narrowly specialised or eliminated, if possible.

Five areas of management constitute the essence of proactive performance in our chaotic world: an obsession with responsiveness to customers; constant innovation in all areas of the firm; partnership the wholesale participation of and gain sharing with all people connected with the organisation; leadership that loves change and instills and shares an inspiring vision; and control by means of simple support system aimed at measuring the right stuff in today's environment. For the implication of public policy, Peters suggests to promote more, not less, competition; pass no protective legislation, push internationalism; support and expand research and development; constantly upgrade the workers' skills and provide them incentives.

A good deal of importance is attached towards customers and creating new markets for fast growing products. Managers have to develop the habit of listening to customers, suppliers and workers. The customer's feedback provide valuable information for improvement of product and services. Similarly, implementation of workers suggestions help in improving the efficiency and quality. It is emphasised that the importance of manufacturing/operations is recognised. Similarly, the sales persons need good training and looks to perform their job. The criteria of judging quality is as perceived by the user. For innovation, author suggests application oriented, small start and team based product development. At the same time we must

be prepared to accept genuine failures.

Flexibility is achieved through empowered people by high involvement, minimal hierarchy and increased rewards based upon new performance parameters. Peters holds that recruitment and training are essentially line functions. One important area of training is problem solving ability. Formation of self-managing teams is also high lighted. They should become the basic organisational building block. The role of supervisor is seen as facilitator, coordinator and functional boundary smasher. Span of control for supervisor needs to be increased--25 to 75 workers per supervisors and hierarchical levels in an organisation may vary from three to five.

The role of leader is seen as to prepare people and organisation to deal with change in an innovative environment. They have to develop an inspiring vision, manage by example and practice visible management. Peters exhorts the managers to set challenging goals and try to achieve them with the cooperation of one and all. Every encouragement has to be given to line functionaries and for staff; he urges that they go into the field and meet customers.

System prescriptions aim at both controlling and decontrolling. It is beneficial to measure such things as quality, innovation, flexibility, love for change and effectiveness at bureaucracy bashing. A plea is made for simplifying performance appraisal system and to eliminate job description. Decentralisation is achieved by sharing information increasing the spending limit of managers and other personnel and instituting non-bureaucratic bottom up strategic planning. Needless to say that for smooth functioning of the company, it is necessary to inculcate trust and to demand total integrity in all dealings with the people in the system.

In brief, **Thriving on Chaos** will appeal to all those who are interested in improving the efficiency and performance of organisations. In a book like this, there is bound to be some repetitions. To bring to the notice of the reader, Peters has italicized and underlined the important themes. At times, Peters gives the impression of being over confident and somewhat dogmatic in his assertions. Notwithstanding this, the book contains many useful suggestions for implementation. The author's efforts will be rewarded if the top echelons in the organisation think about improving the efficiency and performance in their organisations and take some concrete steps towards it. Tom Peters deserves the gratitude of the reader for his endeavour. The publisher has done a good job.

An essential reading for managers.

Understanding Arabs: A Guide for Westerners

MARGARET K. NYDELL, Yarmouth, Maine, Intercultural Press, 1987, p. vii+157, Price not indicated.

One of the serious problems confronting peoples and nations all over the world is **cross-cultural ignorance**; we do not know enough about the thought, behaviour, values, and traditions of one another; there has been a tendency to view one another in stereotypes and epithets. The book under review, is "a long way toward dispelling many of the Westerner's misconceptions regarding Arab perceptions and behavior" according to the book jacket. It neither claims authoritativeness (in terms of an in-depth political analysis) not to be the answer to the very complex "Middle East Problem". However, the book serves as a very useful guide to government officials, tourists, travellers, and others who wish to know more about Arab culture and behaviour.

The author did her Ph.D. in linguistics and her M.A. in Arabic from Georgetown University and has directed Arabic language training at the Foreign Service Institute of the US State Department and the School of Arabic Language and Area Studies in Tunis. In addition, she has also authored several publications on Arabic and given lectures on Arab culture. With these credentials, she has succeeded in explaining Arab culture and society to her readers in ten well-organised and well-written chapters.

Among the topics she has included in this volume are: beliefs and values, friends and strangers, emotion and logic, getting personal, men and women, social formalities and etiquettes, the social structure, role of family in Arab society, religion and society and communicating with the Arabs. She includes two appendices: the Arabic language and on the similarities and differences between/among Arab countries, such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, North and South Yemen, Kuwait, and the Arabian Gulf States, such as Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman.

This book is a significant contribution to the increasing literature on cross-cultural perspectives, especially for tourists. The book is a very important handbook for foreign service officers and personnel, for those planning to work in the Arabic countries, and even for scholars trying to get a summary review of Arab culture and behaviour.

The author and her publisher are to be congratulated for publishing this very useful and interesting cross-cultural handbook.

Departmental Inquiry--A Practical Approach

LACHHMAN SINGH, New Delhi, Aakansha Publications, 1987, p. 212, Rs.75.00.

Discipline is one of the important aspects in the management of 'Civil Service.' The power to discipline Civil Servants is subject to constitutional provisions and the rules framed thereunder. Tenure of Civil Servants, no doubt, depends on the pleasure of the President and Governors as the case may be. However, the pleasure doctrine contained under Article 310(1) is neither relic of feudal age nor is based on any special prerogative of the British Crown but on public policy. Article 311 of the Constitution, which is in the nature of proviso to Article 310(1), provides certain safeguards to Civil Servants against arbitrary, unreasonable and unjust exercise of power. The requirement of inquiry and giving of opportunity of hearing under Article 311(2) are such safeguards conforming to the requirement of adjectival rule of law. Thus, all service rules, framed pursuant to the constitutional delegation of power, require holding of inquiry and observance of the requirement of fair opportunity of hearing.

The Book under review was brought out by Lachhman Singh while he was the Director, Central Vigilance Commission. Therefore, needless to mention that the book is the product of a person experienced and intimately associated with the conduct of departmental inquiry in a number of cases conducted by the Central Vigilance Commission. The book comprises nine chapters. Chapters I, II and III give a general account of the importance of departmental proceedings in the light of constitutional requirements and the service rules. Rule 14 of the CCS (CCA) Rules, 1965 have specifically been discussed under chapter III. The requirement of holding of inquiry has been discussed under chapters IV and V. Chapter IV deals with the steps and requirements of preliminary hearing. The importance of preliminary hearing has also been discussed. Chapter V of the book deals with the requirement of regular hearing and steps to be followed in order to conform to the legal and procedural requirements and also to provide fair opportunity of hearing to the charged officer. The main thrust of various requirements in the process of conducting departmental inquiry are in conformity with the rules of natural justice or principles of fairness.

Chapters VI and VII deal with writing of inquiry report and the role of presenting officer respectively. In the process of conducting departmental inquiry, the stage of writing inquiry report is a very important aspect. The components of inquiry reports have been clearly

and unambiguously emphasised. Chapter VIII deals with general topics, like hostile witnesses, adjournments, ex-parte proceedings, dilatory tactics, etc. The object of this chapter seems to be to alert the inquiry officer about various tactics so that the departmental inquiry must not be prolonged and outcome unduly delayed. The last chapter deals with the framing of charge-sheet and action to be taken on the inquiry report.

The book is informative, handy and presented in a lucid language and also considerably influenced by the practical experience of the author. However, the book has no account of the case laws in the area of departmental enquiry. The essence of judicial approach in departmental enquiries rests on rationality, natural justice and fairness, objectivity, exclusion of extraneous materials or considerations; and checking perversity or arbitrariness, bias or surrender of independence of judgement and also to infuse sense of confidence in the findings of the inquiry officers through proper application of mind resulting in the requirement of reasoned decision or speaking order. However, the judgement of the Supreme Court in *Union of India Vs. Tulsiram Patel* (AIR 1985, SCI416) has changed the entire complexion of the principles of fairness in departmental enquiries. Till date, the trend established by the Supreme Court in *Tulsiram* has been followed in a number of cases.

The book, no doubt, is an important addition to the existing literature on departmental enquiries. Its precision, lucidity and practical approach will certainly provide useful guidelines to those who are entrusted with the task of conducting departmental enquiry. Besides, it is useful to the students and teachers of Administrative Law and Public Administration.

--S.S. SINGH

Crime, Community and Police

V.K. MOHANAN, Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1987, p. V+172, Rs.160.00.

In a democratic welfare state, the functions of police can hardly be confined to prevention of crime and disorder. Being an important service department of the state machinery, it is also responsible for enforcement of progressive social enactments and protection of the rights and interests of the people, particularly the weaker sections. The extent to which these roles are accomplished by the police depends largely upon the support and cooperation they receive from the community around them. The growing complexities in the actual

process and outcome of police-community interaction in a changing society like ours, therefore, deserve serious academic attention. In recent times, a number of studies on police have attempted to highlight the emerging issues in police-community relations. The work under review is knitted with this trend.

Mohanan's book is the outcome of an empirical research conducted among criminals, community members and police in the six districts of Kerala in the context of changing police-community responses to criminal offences. Organised in seven chapters, it presents an exhaustive analysis of the nature and type of police behaviour towards offenders and the community around, examines the relationship of the nature of police career and the degree of professional attainments by the police in service, and discusses the actual nature of police-community relations from the viewpoint of both the police officials and the community members. It also seeks to analyse the mechanism of police corruption and its impact on the police-community relations.

Among its many significant findings, the study reveals that educationally more backward and young offenders in the age group of 20-30 years are the extreme sufferers in experiencing police behaviour as intolerable. It also brings out that the recidivists are exposed to police brutality in greater degree than the first offenders. It is quite encouraging to find that more than 90 per cent of the police personnel in the sample, irrespective of their official status and length of service, feel that the approach of the police to the community is generally not satisfactory and needs modification. What may be even more encouraging is that although the police are often subjected to severe public criticism, as much as 47 per cent of the community members in the sample have admitted that the police officials are cooperative and sympathetic towards the needy people, and of them, the respondents from rural areas are found to be more satisfied with the police attitude. As regards the prevalence of corruption among the police, over 40 per cent of the police respondents have admitted that the subordinate police personnel are more corrupt than the higher officials, whereas over 61 per cent of the community members have maintained the view that corruption is very common among the police.

However, due to at least one major lacuna in the selection and stratification of sample, it becomes difficult to accept some of the findings obtained in the study. For instance, the study shows that while a large section (44.1 per cent) of community members are of the opinion that political pressure on the police is the main reason for the escape of real offenders from police charge or even punishment, only a minority (about 14 per cent) of offenders have admitted this

view. The author offers no explanation for this broad variation in the perception of the two groups of respondents in regard to political pressure on police administration. This is perhaps due to the reason that the community members included in his study were not stratified on the basis of their experiences as a complainant, a victim, an accompanying person to a complainant or a victim, a friend of a policeman or a person having no knowledge of police working. Stratification of the sample on such a comprehensive basis must have enhanced the utility of the study.

On the whole, the data, information and analysis contained in this study are valuable for an understanding of the intricate problems of police-community relations. The book will be of immense use to those who are concerned with research, planning and performance appraisal of the police. The production part of the book is satisfactory, but the price appears to be on the higher side.

--JAYTILAK GUHA ROY

Techniques of Zero Base Budgeting: Text and Cases

P.L. JOSHI and V.P. RAJA, Bombay, Himalaya Publishing House, 1988, p.xiv+264, Rs.175.00.

The term 'budget', has been derived from a French word, *bougette*, which means: a leather bag or wallet. This word, came into existence in England by the year 1773. The Chancellor of Exchequer used to have a leather wallet to carry his finance-related papers, etc., to the House of Commons in it. Once, when he set off to place his fiscal plans and proposals before the House, he opened his *bougette*, synonym to the English word 'budget', that is the bag. Since then, the term is used in its present sense. In the same years a beautiful and memorable satire, entitled "Opened The Budget", pointing to Mr. Walpole's financial plans was also brought out that very year. Then on, the word budget began to be recognised for a financial scheme and or statement of accounts, etc.

Finance is the fuel of the administrative machine. And hence, the budget is an important report, and the most significant of all, on the financial matters, their operations and affairs of the government of the day; which is presented and placed before the legislature. Indeed, it is one of the most pertinent communications from the executive to the public at large, through this mode of the legislature. It is also a proposal, because it makes provision of finance for various schemes, plans and projects of the government for the next financial year. And, it certainly gives the indications about

the future course of actions, policies and programmes of the government in power.

A zero base budgeting (ZBB) system, by its very nature, scope and concept, permits a detailed and elaborate analysis--focusing mainly on the justifications of the budgetary proposals and requests, by a thorough evaluation of the importance of each operation performed in the past, especially in terms of achievement of physical targets, etc.

In the present work, which is a sequel to Dr. Joshi's **Introduction To Zero Based Budgeting** (1987), the authors discuss some of the major issues and problems that are encountered in the traditional governmental budgeting system. They have highlighted the uses and advantages of the zero base budgeting in the present context of the modern managements, which have been very frequently facing difficulties and problems in controlling and administering the overhead expenditures, etc. It is all, mainly, because of the increasing rate of inflation. In order to face such problems effectively, some 'control techniques' have also been recommended. They must provide a 'feedback' to the managements to take appropriate and timely actions.

While advocating the practice of the ZBB in all the fields of managements, the authors have stressed the need to find ways and means to operationalise it by tackling the day-to-day's obstacles and hurdles that arise in the process--particularly personnel problems. The book is designed to acquaint the readers with the various ramifications of a system of zero base budgeting. It covers the fundamental conceptual framework, identification and sharpening of the aims and objectives of ZBB. The volume also discusses the structuring of decision units and decision packages, relevant analytical techniques, including cost-benefit analysis, etc. The work also suggests elimination of such activities, schemes and projects, which have become redundant to facilitate a more purposeful allocation of the limited resources available at our disposal. Information on technologies, discussion on problem areas and issues involved; and identification of relevant case studies and discussion thereon, etc., are the other highlights of the work.

The book has been organised into 16 chapters, with two appendices. Each chapter has been clearly sub-divided into their relevant sub-headings; followed by a summary in some cases and a large number of references at the end for further indepth study and analysis. The arguments for the rationale and requirements of ZBB are supported with the help of illustrations, diagrams and figure-work, etc. The cases quoted therein make the study more interesting, relevant and realistic. The bibliography, given at the end enhances the value of the volume. The work is, indeed, neat and clean, in an easy-to-read

type-setting and with an overall impressive get-up in an affordable price in these days of high rising cost of production of this comparatively pertinent, but new and recent area of financial management discipline. The paper-back edition of the book, if made available, would certainly go a long way to help individuals, researchers, scholars, students, administrators and policy-makers, etc., in fact, all who are interested in structural transformation in our budgetary system--both in public and private sectors.

--OM PRAKASH SETHI

Moral Dimensions of Statecraft : A Plea for an Administrative Theology*

O.P. DWIVEDI

IT IS widely accepted that governments are, and ought to be, legally and morally responsible for their actions. While the legality of a government's action can be challenged, either domestically before a court or tribunal or externally before an international body, the moral responsibility of a modern secular state is much more difficult to secure. The difficulty arises because moral responsibility is usually attributed to the individual; we generally do not hold 'things' or entities morally responsible because they do not commit purposive action by themselves. Does the state then fall into the category of 'things', so that it cannot be held morally responsible for its action? And even if one can find the state morally wrong, the question arises how can one compel it to behave morally?

Irrespective of inherent difficulty in assigning moral responsibility, I would argue that as all actions of governments are based upon the initiative of individuals employed by and working for the state, and as governments do take purposive actions called public policies, therefore both the governmental entities and individuals employed by the state should be held morally and legally responsible. In this, I side with Hegel's view of the state as a moral organism, which means it is more than a system of legal norms. Thus, legal activity by the state and for the state is rooted in moral and ethical principles. The state provides people a freedom of action (under certain constraints) and a chance for self-realization. In such, it is a moral reality. Therefore, all governmental actions become moral actions. It should also be noted that governmental actions include not only the conduct of elected and appointed public officials but also the means utilized by the instruments of governance to achieve certain policy objectives. Thus, the conduct of both individuals and agencies in government constitute an important element of the moral dimension of government.

While the debate on the state as a moral reality continues, albeit amorously, statecraft was to become amoral as soon as Woodrow Wilson's article, "The Study of Administration", emphatically declared that "administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions."¹ This set the stage for separating administration from politics, a task which was taken up by Frank Goodnow and other theorists of public administration. This emphasis on separation was further strengthened by the rise of scienticism and professionalism in the discipline. In the

*Presidential address delivered in June 1987 to the Canadian Political Science Association, Hamilton, which is being reproduced from Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. XX, No. 4, December 1987.

context, public administrators were likened to applied scientists or engineers who remain dispassionately aloof from the subjective, and hence irrational, realm of values and morality. Thus, when the first two textbooks on public administration were published by Leonard D. White (*Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, New York, Macmillan, 1926), and by W.F. Willoughby (*Principles of Public Administration*, Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1927), the emphasis on separation was reiterated.

For about a century, then, ethical issues and moral questions were kept separated by the practitioners and scholars from the study and training programmes of public administration.² It was not until the early 1980s that the issue of morality in the practice, study, and teaching training of public administration became prominent, particularly in North America. However, the separation did generate moral illiteracy in the field. The damage was already evident in the sense that for several decades, the research, teaching and training in public administration tended to treat the question of ethics and values peripherally or even dismiss it altogether. Scholars examining public policy and administration issues carried out their research as if the moral dimension of statecraft did not matter. Although by the early 1980s, a plea for imbedding ethics and values of public responsibility in the teaching and training of public policy and administration programmes started receiving support, a state of amorality appears to have continued.³ This plea for the moral dimension of government represents an attempt to articulate a concern for improvement of quality of statecraft and governmental conduct.

The contemporary interest in the moral dimension of government is attributable to several factors: (1) the continued growth in size, scope and complexity of government and its resultant negative attributes (generally referred to as an overpowering leviathan in the form of the administrative state); (2) insistence of the public on open and accountable government; (3) demands for enhancing and protecting individual rights and freedoms; (4) a general feeling of disappointment with the conduct of elected public officials, and frustration with the erosion of the concept of service and the doctrine of vocation among government employees; (5) growing cynicism about the capacity of government leaders to protect the quality of the environment, and in their ability to enhance human dignity; and (6) a deep feeling that people in politics and administration are not to be trusted. These and related factors have increased the demand for a more moral and accountable government and administration. However, the contemporary moral outrage expressed worldwide by the public in the 1970s and 1980s is of a different variety compared to the demands of civil service reforms in the West during the late nineteenth century and early 1900s when the emphasis was to transform the civil service from a corruption-riddled nest of patronage to a professional service. But those earlier reforms, coupled with the growth of the administrative state, gave immense discretionary power to public officials.⁴ Thus, the recent outrage is a reflection of the demoralizing and dehumanizing tendencies in public bureaucracies as well as the evidence of conflict of interest and post-employment practices.

Deriving from this situation and at the heart of the morality issue is the fear that people have regarding the power of government and its possible abuse. In a sense, people are afraid that an unknown quantity of risk is confronting them, and they would like not only to

reduce the 'moral risk' in government but also to assess and manage such a risk. Governmental action or public policies in a modern system of government are not things that just happen; on the contrary, they are goal-oriented. A public policy is based on legal norms, and is authoritative; it affects a large area of our lives. Its effects are profound. Because we participate, however, indirectly, in the process of public policy-making and because we are ourselves responsible for putting into office a political party which initiates many policy decisions, we consider ourselves partly responsible for its actions. Furthermore, because the government is supposed to represent us, in that sense it represents our values and our way of life. Consequently, any governmental action or a governmental policy reflects, directly or indirectly, our moral concerns. Since all governmental actions are 'purposive' courses of action, we tend to criticise those elected politicians and appointed public servants who are in charge of performing such actions as if they were our agents. If these people are supposed to work as our loyal agents, then they have a moral obligation to conduct public policies with the single-minded purpose of optimising our interests, not yielding to their own or anyone else's interests.⁵ Hence, their role in the functions of government becomes morally as well as legally important.

We further know that public policies are 'the means by which a government seeks to implement its views on what constitutes the public good, how the public is going to participate in the governing process, and what resources will be available so that people can pursue their ideals of the good life. Government achieves its objectives by establishing priorities, raising revenue, allocating resources and managing expenditures, deciding about social welfare criteria, and selecting among the host of alternatives to settle domestic and foreign issues. All these activities are, and should be, subject to ethical and moral judgment. While policies are formulated and implemented by individuals or groups of individuals, their personal behaviour and moral quality generally affect the outcome of those policies. However, collectively, they and the particular organisation they represent become responsible for their actions. In consequence, therefore, all government policies and programmes are moral actions.

II

As mentioned earlier, there is much public cynicism and general distrust about the conduct of government and public officials. The prevailing view is that the concept of service has weakened if not altogether disappeared from their ranks. What can be done to recapture that sense of mission, dedication, and service which used to be the hallmarks of our public service? In this section, the concept of "theology of administration" (or administrative theology) is discussed as a possible source for a moral government and its statecraft.

The "theology of administration" may be seen as a study of concepts and practices relating to matters of ultimate concern in statecraft. Administrative theology, on the one hand, subsumes administrative ethics which "involves the application of moral principles to the conduct of officials in organisations."⁶

Administrative ethics, in turn, is related to (and is generally influenced by) political ethics. Administrative theology, on the other hand, drawing

on the doctrine of vocation (or callings) and the concept of service, relates to the sense of mission which a public official is supposed to undertake, to serve the public, perform duties and fulfil obligations. Of course, the term theology also reminds us of the past (but also the present in some parts of the world) when the church (as well as other high religions of the world) was involved in providing religious backing to corrupt governments, making political deals to entrench its political power base and using the power of the state to enforce its own orthodox views. The abolition of the concept of the divine right of kings and the separation of the church from temporal affairs was hailed as the most important victory for democracy and humanity. Hence, many may feel that the suggested concept of administrative theology may undo centuries of great effort to strengthen the democratic form of government. But such is not the objective of this plea; instead, it is based on three specific elements.

First, the term 'theology' is used here in a most ecumenical way. While in the past theological movements, normally were Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist, administrative theology can strengthen the moral dimension of government by drawing one special feature from all high religions of the world. That feature is the concept of service. In all religions, people have been exhorted to serve others; in each religion as well as in all cultures, this doctrine is considered to be the ultimate concern of all human beings. Thus, when such a concern is expressed through a vocation such as public administration whose ultimate aim is to serve humanity and to protect the public good, it acquires the desired prerequisite of a moral government.

Secondly, the term is based on the doctrine of vocation or callings which is evident in all major religions of the world. For example, Calvin in his *Institutes* states:

...it is to be remarked that the Lord commands every one of us, in all the actions of life, to regard his vocation. For he knows with what great inquietude the human mind is inflamed, with what desultory levity it is hurried hither and thither, and how insatiable is its ambition to grasp different things at once. Therefore,...he has appointed to all their particular duties in different spheres of life. And that no one might rashly transgress the limits prescribed, he has styled such spheres of life vocations, or callings.¹

A similar doctrine of vocation was prescribed several thousands of years ago by Lord Krishna in *Bhagavad Gita*: "One must perform his prescribed duties as a vocation, keeping in sight the public good."² The doctrine of vocation, as enunciated by many religions may, however, be narrowly interpreted if it is viewed purely from a specific religious teaching. For example, there are many issues of public policy which are not mentioned in scriptures or reflect social conditions of bygone days which are not very relevant now. But the doctrine, as it relates to statecraft, and specifically to duties and obligations of public officials, is still greatly relevant and requires urgent revival.

Third, the use of the term "administrative theology" could relate to different interpretations to established norms of modern secular bureaucracy. For example, the concepts of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' in this context would not mean total detachment and non-

involvement as well as avoidance of morality; rather they would require sympathetic involvement of public officials in protecting, enhancing and serving the public good. It also means displacing or minimising such traits of the administrative state as impersonality, authoritarianism, red tape, and bureaucratic oppression by considering all God's creation as a sacred trust, and believing in the vocation of public service as a true calling to be a servant of mankind. For all religions agree that the true measure of a religious man and woman is whether he or she is able to serve others.

These three major elements suggest that administrative theology can be an important dimension of moral government and administration. Religious precepts can be a formidable force to support any democratic form of government so long as we are not compelled to accept either theocracy or orthodoxy that suppresses the acknowledgment of other viewpoints, leads to a unidirectional handling of public policy and administration and suppresses existing democratic values.

Is "administrative theology" possible? The two most serious obstacles to administrative theology come from the foundations of the modern state and administration--the separation of the state from religion, and the presumption of the neutrality of administrative action. Neither of these needs to be displaced in order to include administrative theology as one of the basic standards and requisites of performance of administrators; also, by introducing such an element, we might find ourselves in a self-consciously moral society which would have to put duties and obligations first, and relegate rights and individualism (including all that they stand for) to a subordinate place in the democracy. However, this plea for administrative theology, which draws upon the doctrine of vocation and overrides the contemporary negative Weberian and bureaucratic values, could serve as the most practicable resolution of the dilemma posed at the outset: how do we secure moral responsibility of the state and its functionaries?

The conflict between bureaucratic values and democratic values becomes much more evident when one considers the destructive effect of transplanting the value assumptions of business administration to public administration: it has led to a devaluation of the concept of public service as a vocation to just another set of jobs in which one can seek career advancement by using and manipulating organisational rules and goals. The moral foundation of any public service organisation in a democracy requires that administrators and public officials show a genuine care for their fellow citizens. Devoid of such a moral foundation, a situation could emerge akin to the Nazi bureaucracy when state administration was enlisted in the cause of evil led by self-righteous people in government who sacrificed the moral obligation of the profession of serving the public.¹⁰ Democratic values, such as equality, law, justice, right and freedom have moral connotations, and demand an unwavering commitment from those who govern. Public servants are obligated to uphold these values (which may be enshrined in a nation's constitution or considered as self-evident truths), particularly because in the final analysis the appropriate implementation and enforcement of government policies and programmes rests upon their shoulders. **Thus, they have a primary moral obligation to serve.** This is the basic premise upon which depends the normal functioning and survival of a democratic system of government.

But does not bureaucracy embody values, such as obedience, anony-

mity, neutrality, chain of command, and impersonality? Does it not then superimpose these values upon the cherished democratic values? If so, what should be done to ensure that democratic values are not dominated by such bureaucratic values? The first and foremost condition of a public bureaucracy in a democracy ought to be that public servants view the governmental process as a moral endeavour. And in order to appreciate the moral basis of government, they will have to believe in democratic values. Second, such a belief must be strengthened by a resolve to serve and care for all citizens. Third, public servants should exhibit a personal commitment to serve society by considering their employment as a vocation. Fourth, if there is a conflict between the democratic values and policies laid down by elected public officials, it is absolutely essential that such a difference be brought to the notice of elected public officials; if it is not resolved then public servants should refuse to implement such orders or policies. (Of course, before one refuses to obey, one should be definite that such orders or policies are contrary to established democratic values. Perhaps, one may also consider using the doctrine of *obedeisco, pero no cumpro*--"I obey, but I do not execute"--a formula used by the Spanish colonial officers who were given unenforceable and clearly immoral orders from Spain.)¹¹ Finally, protecting democratic values requires morality and idealism; as the essential foundation of a democratic government is moral, such an essential purpose cannot be sacrificed at the altar of administrative rationality or political expediency. At present, the pendulum in the practice and the study of public administration has swung too far towards administrative technocracy, rationality and management practices; now there is a need to centre the pendulum by insisting that bureaucratic values acknowledge the moral basis of governing a democratic nation. Public administrators have an obligation to serve the public in a manner which strengthens the integrity and processes of a democratic society. This is a resolve which draws on the doctrine of vocation as it relates to administrative theology.

The essence of this plea is in the identification of the strongest asset in any individual, that is, serving others. The basic thrust of the concept discussed above is to motivate people in government so that they can make a full contribution of their capabilities in better serving their country and the public. The plea is addressed mainly to those who are the backbone of the statecraft--public servants--and the objective is to create an environment, an administrative culture, in government so that public servants as well as ministers are able to respond to the challenge of moral government. But such an environment will not result by itself unless there is a change in the management philosophy, attitudes of public service unions, and conduct of elected and appointed public servants--all to be oriented towards the broader aims of this plea: achieving excellence by serving others.

III

It is a truism that governmental actions are full of moral ambiguities. Circumstances of history which may justify one set of public policies have later deemed them morally reprehensible actions. Slavery is one such example. While moral ambiguities are going to remain with us (because no one can formulate policies which are going to be morally justified in all circumstances and in all places and

times), it is important that those who are responsible for formulating, implementing and evaluating public policies should be made aware of these ambiguities and be ethically sensitised so as to act in a responsible and moral manner. Ambiguity, it should be noted, does not diminish the importance of the issue; the moral dimension of governance represents a concern for an improvement in the quality of public service and the conduct of statecraft. Otherwise, how can citizens trust that their affairs are fairly and objectively managed and that they have not surrendered their rights and freedoms to an irresponsible and immoral administrative state? It should be evident that nations assess complex social and political issues less according to the fundamental truths they proclaim but more from the standpoint of changing directions and evolving public agenda. For is it not self-evident that some of yesterday's morally accepted issues have become today's immoral acts? Yet the broad principles which should govern our governmental conduct are not obscure. They grow out of the practice by individuals and leaders of simple things which Buddha, Christ, and Gandhi taught. Such moral principles mark the direction into which those who govern must channel their acts if they are to serve humanity. These principles include individual self-discipline, sacrifice, compassion, justice, and striving for the highest good. No doubt, people in government and politics act from selfish motives, but at the same time they are "moved to action by moralistic appeals for idealism, and this is best achieved through public utterances of righteous political leaders".¹² Of course, "righteous leaders" in government and politics would have to appreciate the difference between a theological fervour and a secular moral position so that they do not indulge in self-righteousness.

Morality has been a guiding force in the history of mankind, particularly in statecraft: how we are governed, our individual and collective relationships with others, and our understanding of the nature and destiny of man. While in the recent past, emphasis on secular government and democracy may have relegated the place of morality to individual conduct and behaviour, it has, nevertheless, maintained a continuing tension between the requisites of public policy and programmes, and the moral standards by which they can be measured. But the tension, particularly in the post-Second World War era, when we have rarely talked about the morality in statecraft, has not been maintained as we witness immoral and unethical activities on the rise everywhere. If justice, equality, equity and freedom are to be maintained, proximate political and administrative acts must have moral standards by which they can be judged. All governmental acts, if they are to serve the present and future generations well, must be measured against some higher law. That law cannot be a secular law because it is framed by imperfect people in their limited capacities and therefore limited in vision. That law has to be, perforce, based on the principles of higher spiritual and philosophical foundations. Administrative theology is one such foundation which can provide an important base to a moral and responsible statecraft.

The morality which determines political and administrative action is multidimensional. Although rooted in the civilization of mankind, it is future-oriented. The morality draws from the community of nations and various religions and cultures, and influences the universe that we know of. As it broadens its horizons, it becomes more complex, and consequently it creates more dilemmas. But the confidence and trust in a democratic state can be safeguarded only

when the governing process of that democracy exhibits a high moral tone. This calls for a re-dedication on the part of politicians and administrators toward a moral government and administration. Moralising on politics and bureaucracy may not have always produced desired results, but on occasion moral indignation has helped societies to escape from a total eclipse of immorality.

There will always be instances of unethical conduct in government and politics just as there will be demands for reform. But each reform and revolution, predicated on the need to secure a just and moral government, will eventually lead to another demand for the same and thus the cycle of moral and immoral, just and unjust, and newer ends and different means will continue. Of course, the meaning and scope of these terms may change over time. Also, it should be remembered that mere exhortation for moral government is, and has been, useless. We get a moral government by creating those conditions within which a moral government can operate, by making it possible for both elected and appointed public officials to acquire the necessary traits, and by the practice of the same. A moral public servant, to be specific, is not simply one who obeys the laws and behaves within the confines of bureaucratic values, but also one who strives for a moral government. Such is the duty for those who wish to be involved in the difficult and complex world of statecraft. This is the essence and basis of a moral state. Only by demonstrating the highest standards of personal integrity, honesty, fairness, justice, and by considering their work as vocation, can public officials inspire public confidence and trust, the true hallmarks of a moral government. Administrative theology, then can act as a source of strength for them, for the statecraft, and for society at large.

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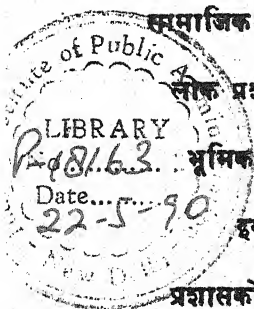
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